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The Victoria History of the
Counties of England

EDITED BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

A HISTORY OF
NORFOLK

VOLUME II

The publisher regrets that a few pages of this
scarce copy are slightly soiled as it had to be made
up from old sheet stock.

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTIES
OF ENGLAND
NORFOLK



LONDON
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE
AND COMPANY LIMITED

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INSCRIBED
TO THE MEMORY OF
HER LATE MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA
WHO GRACIOUSLY GAVE
THE TITLE TO AND
ACCEPTED THE
DEDICATION OF
THIS HISTORY



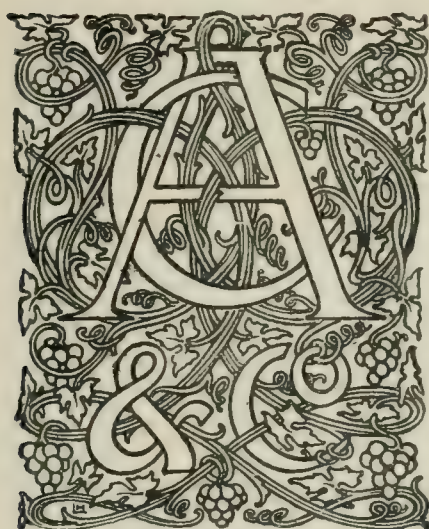
G. F. Fox, del.

PLATE VIII.—CEILING FROM A CHAPEL IN THE CHURCH OF EAST DERHAM

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTY OF
NORFOLK

EDITED BY
WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

VOLUME TWO



LONDON
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EDITORIAL NOTE

The editor has, with much regret, to announce that since the publication of the first volume of the *Victoria County History of Norfolk*, Mr. Walter Rye, owing to failing eyesight and other causes, has been obliged to relinquish the editorship of Volumes III, IV, V, and VI of the *Victoria County History of Norfolk*. Mr. Rye has, however, placed at the disposal of the editor the material he had collected for his work. In consequence of certain alterations necessitated in the scheme for the article on the Political History of the county prepared by Mr. Rye, which for the same reasons had to be made by other hands, Mr. Rye thought it would be better that the article should not be wholly attributed to him.

It was with much regret also the editor learnt from Canon Jessopp that in consequence of ill-health he had been compelled to relinquish the greater part of the article on the Ecclesiastical History of the county which he had undertaken.

The editor wishes to express his gratitude to the Rev. William Hudson, M.A., F.S.A., for much advice and assistance, and particularly for reading the proofs of several of the articles ; and also to Mr. J. Horace Round, M.A., LL.D., for revising the proofs of the article on the Introduction to Domesday. He is likewise indebted to Mr. G. E. Fox, Hon. M.A., F.S.A., for the use of his drawings of ancient paintings for reproduction ; to Mr. W. T. Bently, LL.D., F.S.A., and Mr. L. Bolingbroke, for assistance and advice ; Mr. E. M. Beloe, jun., Rev. Francis Lane, the British Archaeological Association and others for illustrations.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbrev. Plac. (Rec. Com.)	Abbreviatio Placitorum (Record Commission)	Chartul.	Chartulary
Acts of P.C. . . .	Acts of Privy Council	Chas.	Charles
Add.	Additional	Ches.	Cheshire
Add. Chart. . . .	Additional Charters	Chest.	Chester
Admir.	Admiralty	Ch. Gds. (Exch. K.R.)	Church Goods (Exchequer King's Remembrancer)
Agarde	Agarde's Indices	Chich.	Chichester
Anct. Corresp. . . .	Ancient Correspondence	Chron.	Chronicle, Chronica, etc.
Anct. D. (P.R.O.)	Ancient Deeds (Public Record Office) A 2420	Close	Close Roll
Ann. Mon.	Annales Monastici	Co.	County
Antiq.	Antiquarian or Antiquaries	Colch.	Colchester
App.	Appendix	Coll.	Collections
Arch.	Archæologia or Archæological	Com.	Commission
Arch. Cant.	Archæologia Cantiana	Com. Pleas. . . .	Common Pleas
Archd. Rec.	Archdeacons' Records	Conf. R.	Confirmation Rolls
Archit.	Architectural	Co. Plac.	County Placita
Assize R.	Assize Rolls	Cornw.	Cornwall
Aud. Off.	Audit Office	Corp.	Corporation
Aug. Off.	Augmentation Office	Cott.	Cotton or Cottonian
Ayloffe	Ayloffe's Calendars	Ct. R.	Court Rolls
		Ct. of Wards . . .	Court of Wards
		Cumb.	Cumberland
		Cur. Reg.	Curia Regis
Bed.	Bedford	D.	Deed or Deeds
Beds.	Bedfordshire	D. and C.	Dean and Chapter
Berks	Berkshire	De Banc. R. . . .	De Banco Rolls
Bdle.	Bundle	Dec. and Ord. . . .	Decrees and Orders
B.M.	British Museum	Dep. Keeper's Rep.	Deputy Keeper's Reports
Bodl. Lib.	Bodley's Library	Derb.	Derbyshire or Derby
Boro.	Borough	Devon	Devonshire
Brev. Reg.	Brevia Regia	Dioc.	Diocese
Brit.	Britain, British, Britannia, etc.	Doc.	Documents
Buck.	Buckingham	Dods. MSS.	Dodsworth MSS.
Bucks	Buckinghamshire	Dom. Bk.	Domesday Book
		Dors.	Dorsetshire
Cal.	Calendar	Duchy of Lanc. . .	Duchy of Lancaster
Camb.	Cambridgeshire or Cambridge	Dur.	Durham
Cambr.	Cambria, Cambrian, Cambrensis, etc.		
Campb. Ch.	Campbell Charters	East.	Easter Term
Cant.	Canterbury	Eccl.	Ecclesiastical
Cap.	Chapter	Eccl. Com.	Ecclesiastical Commission
Carl.	Carlisle	Edw.	Edward
Cart. Antiq. R. . . .	Cartæ Antiquæ Rolls	Eliz.	Elizabeth
C.C.C. Camb.	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	Engl.	England or English
Certiorari Bdles. (Rolls Chap.)	Certiorari Bundles (Rolls Chapel)	Engl. Hist. Rev. . .	English Historical Review
Chan. Enr. Decree R.	Chancery Enrolled Decree Rolls	Enr.	Enrolled or Enrolment
Chan. Proc.	Chancery Proceedings	Epis. Reg.	Episcopal Registers
Chant. Cert.	Chantry Certificates (or Certificates of Colleges and Chantries)	Esch. Enr. Accts. . .	Escheators Enrolled Accounts
Chap. Ho.	Chapter House	Excerptæ e Rot. Fin. (Rec. Com.)	Excerptæ e Rotulis Finium (Record Commission)
Charity Inq.	Charity Inquisitions	Exch. Dep.	Exchequer Depositions
Chart. R. 20 Hen. III. pt. i. No. 10	Charter Roll, 20 Henry III. part i. Number 10	Exch. K.B.	Exchequer King's Bench
		Exch. K.R.	Exchequer King's Remembrancer
		Exch. L.T.R. . . .	Exchequer Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Exch. of Pleas, Plea R.	Exchequer of Pleas, Plea Roll	Memo. R. . . .	Memoranda Rolls
Exch. of Receipt .	Exchequer of Receipt	Mich.	Michaelmas Term
Exch. Spec. Com. .	Exchequer Special Commissions	Midd.	Middlesex
		Mins. Accts. . .	Ministers' Accounts
		Misc. Bks. (Exch. K.R., Exch. T.R. or Aug. Off.)	Miscellaneous Books (Exchequer King's Remembrancer, Exchequer Treasury of Receipt or Augmentation Office)
Feet of F.	Feet of Fines	Mon.	Monastery, Monasticon
Feod. Accts. (Ct. of Wards)	Feodaries Accounts (Court of Wards)	Monm.	Monmouth
Feod. Surv. (Ct. of Wards)	Feodaries Surveys (Court of Wards)	Mun.	Muniments or Munimenta
Feud. Aids	Feudal Aids	Mus.	Museum
fol.	Folio		
Foreign R.	Foreign Rolls	N. and Q. . . .	Notes and Queries
Forest Proc. . . .	Forest Proceedings	Norf.	Norfolk
		Northamt. . . .	Northampton
Gaz.	Gazette or Gazetteer	Northants. . . .	Northamptonshire
Gen.	Genealogical, Genealogica, etc.	Northumb. . . .	Northumberland
Geo.	George	Norw.	Norwich
Glouc.	Gloucestershire or Gloucester	Nott.	Nottinghamshire or Nottingham
Guild Certif.(Chan.)	Guild Certificates (Chancery)		
Ric. II.	Richard II.	N.S.	New Style
Hants	Hampshire	Off.	Office
Harl.	Harley or Harleian	Orig. R.	Originalia Rolls
Hen.	Henry	O.S.	Ordnance Survey
Heref.	Herefordshire or Hereford	Oxf.	Oxfordshire or Oxford
Hertf.	Hertford		
Herts	Hertfordshire	p.	Page
Hil.	Hilary Term	Palmer's Ind. . .	Palmer's Indices
Hist.	History, Historical, Historian, Historia, etc.	Pal. of Chest. . .	Palatinate of Chester
Hist. MSS. Com. .	Historical MSS. Commission	Pal. of Dur. . . .	Palatinate of Durham
Hosp.	Hospital	Pal. of Lanc. . . .	Palatinate of Lancaster
Hund. R.	Hundred Rolls	Par.	Parish, parochial, etc.
Hunt.	Huntingdon	Parl.	Parliament or Parliamentary
Hunts	Huntingdonshire	Parl. R.	Parliament Rolls
		Parl. Surv.	Parliamentary Surveys
Inq. a.q.d.	Inquisitions ad quod damnum	Partic. for Gts. .	Particulars for Grants
Inq. p.m.	Inquisitions post mortem	Pat.	Patent Roll or Letters Patent
Inst.	Institute or Institution	P.C.C.	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
Invent.	Inventory or Inventories		
Ips.	Ipswich	Pet.	Petition
Itin.	Itinerary	Peterb.	Peterborough
		Phil.	Philip
Jas.	James	Pipe R.	Pipe Roll
Journ.	Journal	Plea R.	Plea Rolls
		Pop. Ret.	Population Returns
Lamb. Lib.	Lambeth Library	Pope Nich. Tax. (Rec. Com.)	Pope Nicholas' Taxation (Record Commission)
Lanc.	Lancashire or Lancaster	P.R.O.	Public Record Office
L. and P. Hen. VIII.	Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII.	Proc.	Proceedings
Lansd.	Lansdowne	Proc. Soc. Antiq. .	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries
Ld. Rev. Rec. . . .	Land Revenue Records		
Leic.	Leicestershire or Leicester	pt.	Part
Le Neve's Ind. . . .	Le Neve's Indices	Pub.	Publications
Lib.	Library		
Lich.	Lichfield	R.	Roll
Linc.	Lincolnshire or Lincoln	Rec.	Records
Lond.	London	Recov. R.	Recovery Rolls
		Rentals and Surv. .	Rentals and Surveys
m.	Membrane	Rep.	Report
Mem.	Memorials	Rev.	Review
		Ric.	Richard

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Roff.	Rochester diocese	Topog.	Topography or Topographi- cal
Rot. Cur. Reg. . .	Rotuli Curiae Regis	Trans.	Transactions
Rut.	Rutland	Transl.	Translation
		Treas.	Treasury or Treasurer
		Trin.	Trinity Term
Sarum	Salisbury diocese	Univ.	University
Ser.	Series		
Sess. R.	Sessions Rolls	Valor Eccl. (Rec.	Valor Ecclesiasticus (Record Com.) Commission)
Shrews.	Shrewsbury	Vet. Mon.	Vetusta Monumenta
Shrops	Shropshire	V.C.H.	Victoria County History
Soc.	Society	Vic.	Victoria
Soc. Antiq.	Society of Antiquaries	vol.	Volume
Somers.	Somerset		
Somers. Ho. . . .	Somerset House	Warw.	Warwickshire or Warwick
S.P. Dom.	State Papers Domestic	Westm.	Westminster
Staff.	Staffordshire	Westmld.	Westmorland
Star Chamb. Proc.	Star Chamber Proceedings	Will.	William
Stat.	Statute	Wilts	Wiltshire
Steph.	Stephen	Winton.	Winchester diocese
Subs. R.	Subsidy Rolls	Worc.	Worcestershire or Worcester
Suff.	Suffolk		
Surr.	Surrey	Yorks	Yorkshire
Suss.	Sussex		
Surv. of Ch. Liv- ings (Lamb.) or (Chan.)	Surveys of Church Livings (Lambeth) or (Chancery)		

A HISTORY OF
NORFOLK

.

DOMESDAY SURVEY

The commissioners and their instructions, 1—Their procedure, 2—The Domesday hundreds, 4—The assessment of geld in East Anglia: The Leet, 5—Measurements and geld, 6—Mr. Corbett's hypothesis, 8—Manors and berewicks, 9—Domesday landowners: *The king*; Ancient demesne, 9—The forfeiture of Earl Ralf, 10—The great escheats, 13—*The church*: The bishop, 14—The religious houses, 15—*The lay barons*, 17—Their *antecessores*, 21—Minor tenants-in-chief, 21—The clergy, 21—Pre-Conquest landowners, 22—The stock on the manors: Cows, horses, 23—Sheep and salt-marsh, 23—Swine and woodland, 24—Mills and fisheries, 25—Saltpans, 26—Bees, 26—Hawks and deer, 26—Industries and markets, 26—The inhabitants of the manor: Villeins, bordars, and serfs, 27—The effects of the Conquest, 27—The under-tenants, freemen and sokemen, 28—Their services, rent, 29—'Commendation' and 'Custom,' 29—Mill-soke and fold-soke, 31—Restrictions on the sale of land, 32—Manorial jurisdiction: soke, 32—The pleas of the crown, 34—Judicial procedure, ordeal, 34—Currency, 35—The boroughs, 35—Conclusion, 37.

WHEN King William's commissioners began to survey the county of Norfolk they were acting, we may assume, on instructions similar to those of the commissioners for the county of Cambridge, which have fortunately been preserved to us.¹ Professor Maitland renders them as follows:—²

The king's barons inquired by oath of the sheriff of the shire and of all the barons and of their Frenchmen and of the whole hundred, the priest, reeve, and six *villani* of every vill, how the mansion (*mansio*) is called, who held it in the time of King Edward, who holds it now, how many hides, how many plough-teams on the demesne, how many plough-teams of the men, how many *villani*, how many *cotarii*, how many *servi*, how many *liberi homines*, how many *sochemanni*, how much wood, how much meadow, how much pasture, how many mills, how many fisheries, how much has been taken away therefrom, how much added thereto, and how much there is now, how much each *liber homo* and *sochemannus* had, and has: All this thrice over, to wit as regards the time of King Edward, the time when King William gave it, and the present time, and whether more can be had thence than is had now.

A hasty glance at the description of almost any manor in Norfolk will show how nearly these instructions correspond with the information which we find recorded. The typical entry in Domesday Book tells what tenant-in-chief owns such a manor, who held it in King Edward's time (i.e. 'on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead'), the name of the under-tenant (if any) in 1086, and all the other particulars enumerated above. We do, however, mark certain discrepancies. Instead of hides we hear of carucates or ploughlands, as we do also in Suffolk, and in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicestershire. We do not as in the five latter counties hear anything of bovates. Our carucates are divided into halves, but the smaller fractions are usually expressed in acres, though in one case, at Merton,³ we hear of a virgate, and feel doubtful whether to render it as a quarter-carucate or as a quarter-acre, a rood.⁴

¹ Hamilton, *Inq. Com. Cantab.* p. 97.

² Dom. Bk. f. 252.

³ Dom. Bk. and Beyond, p. 24.

⁴ Cf. *virgata*, f. 207b, and *virga*, ff. 184, 264b.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

Again, instead of the *cotarii* we invariably find *bordarii*, who are common throughout England and sometimes distinguished from the *cotarii*.¹ Besides this we find a careful return of the quantity of stock on the demesne of each manor, and of the stock belonging to the dependent freemen and sokemen. Then we are told how much the manor is and was worth, and the value of the tenants holding under it, and last of all what it, or the vill in which it lies, measures, and how much it pays to the king's geld.

We remark in the instructions quoted above that a double method is adopted for ascertaining these points. The commissioners do, indeed, seem to proceed hundred by hundred, but the first inquiry is made of the sheriff and of the lords and their Frenchmen. We may imagine if we will that the commissioners sat at Norwich, and took first of all the evidence of each tenant-in-chief and his men as to the lands which he claimed within the county, proceeding to verify their evidence, hundred by hundred and vill by vill, by the verdict of the juries. In view of the later practice of the justices in eyre, it seems unlikely that the commissioners held their inquiry in the chief town of each hundred. There are certain marginal notes in the Norfolk Domesday which seem to bear on this. Some of the later chapters or *brevia*² are marked with the letters *f.*; *n.*; *f. r.*; *n. f. r.* It may be fanciful to interpret these as indicating that the tenant-in-chief whose possessions are in question made, or did not make, a return to the commissioners, but we find very many cases where the claim of a tenant-in-chief is substantiated or challenged by the verdict of the hundred. We may return to the consideration of some of these cases, but as some sort of evidence of the existence of written returns we may quote from the *invasiones* the following case at Fersfield :—

In Feruessella is a freeman with four acres who was commended to Alsì, and William Malet had him on the day on which he was alive and dead, and now Walter [of Caen] holds him of R[obert Malet]. But Robert Malet asserts that he knew nothing of it (*contradicit se nescisse*) until the day on which he was enrolled (*inbreviatus*).³

On the same page we find a freeman in Bradenham, formerly belonging to Earl Ralf, and afterwards 'Robert Blund [had him] at farm of the king, and Godric has him in the King's Treasury in his *breve* for 20s.'⁴ He is not to be found in the chapter on the king's lands among those farmed by Godric in S. Greenhoe hundred, so that this must refer either to a return made by

¹ Maitland, *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, p. 38.

² Cf. Dom. Bk. ff. 176*b*, 205*b*, 238, 276, 277*b*, for this use of *breve*.

³ Dom. Bk. f. 276*b*.

⁴ Mr. Round points out that this use of *breve* is illustrated by two entries which are of special value as relating to the same contested estate. They are as follows :—

'In Biskele i liber homo Ulketelli commend' et dim. liber sub eo de xvii ac. terrae . . . semper dim. car. . . . Hanc terram calumpniatur Godricus dapifer per hominem suum iudicio vel bello, Radulfum scilicet, quod tenuit ad feudum comitis R. et Hund' testatur ad feudum R. Bigot, sed Godricus reclamat istam cum medietate quae est in *breve Regis*. Hanc recepit Godricus pro dim. carucata terrae' (ff. 176–176*b*).

'In Bichesle i liber homo Anslec commend' cum dim. libero T.R.E. de xvii ac. semper dim. car. . . . Istum servavit Rogerus Bigot in manu Regis sicut dicit et reddit census in Hund'; sed Hund' testatur quod Godricus dapifer tenuit sub rege ad feudum R. comitis antequam forisfaceret i anno, et post per ii annos ex dono Regis. Et contra homo Rogeri Bigot contradicit iudicio vel bello. Godricus reclamat istam cum medietate terrae quae est in *breve Rogeri Bigot*. Hanc recepit Godricus dapifer pro dim. carrucata terrae' (ff. 277*b*–278).

The extract on the left is from the account of Roger Bigot's fief, and that on the right from the record of aggressions ['Invasiones']. Another reference to the *breve* is on fol. 238, 'est mensurata in brevi sancti Adeldredae.' The measurement referred to is that of the whole Ely manor, which is duly found on fol. 212*b*.

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Godric or to the charge against Godric in the books at the Treasury. We cannot, however, deny the likeness of this passage to that in a well-known writ of William Rufus,¹ which tells us of certain land in Winterton and Burgh in Flegg, 'ista terra inbreviata fuit in meis brevibus ad opus Sancti Benedicti que sunt in thesauro meo Wintonie.' As the land in question duly appears in Domesday,² though not quite in the same form as in the writ, we ought probably to refer both passages to the *Rotuli Wintonie*, from which Domesday seems to have been compiled, much as the *Testa de Nevill* was drawn up at a later date; though, on the whole, with more care than those puzzling volumes.

We may gather from Domesday Book that another question arose of which we read nothing in the instructions quoted above, namely, how each owner came by his tenement. In very many cases Domesday supplies us with an answer, and it is likely that these facts are derived from the comparison of the owner's statements with the verdicts of the hundreds. In most cases the title to the property falls under one of three heads. Either the owner has stepped (by inheritance or otherwise) into the shoes of one or more pre-Conquest tenants, his *antecessor* or *antecessores*, or he has received the estate by livery from the king (*liberatio*), or he has exchanged other land in England against what he holds in Norfolk (*escangium*). The necessity for obtaining the king's permission—which had presumably to be purchased—for any transfer of land is, here as elsewhere, illustrated. A freeman, for instance, had forfeited his land, and a monk of St. Benet of Holme had given the king's reeves half a mark of gold to discharge the forfeiture, thus acquiring the land for the abbey. But Domesday notes that this was done 'absque licentia regis.' On the other hand we read, a few lines further on, that when Ralf the Staller gave some land to the abbey it was 'concessione regis.'³ Wihenoc the Breton, however, the former holder of a fief, had added thereto the land of his English wife without receiving it as a gift from the king, Domesday, with a solitary touch of romance, recording that Wihenoc had loved and married her,⁴ which accounted for her land being found in the possession of his successor Rainald.⁵ A few cases of actual purchase are recorded. Five sokemen of Saham Toney holding 25 acres in Breckles were sold by the reeve of Saham to Earl Ralf by livery of a bit (*per unum frenum*), and thus became appurtenant to Great Ellingham.⁶ But in most cases the lawful acquisition of property took place in one of the three ways described. The unlawful acquisition of property (*invasio*) was, however, very common. Time after time we read that free-men have been seized and joined to some manor; that is, made to render dues to which their lord had no claim. Besides the chapter of *Invasiones* at the end of the account of Norfolk, scattered instances will be found right through the text. In one case we hear how this change was effected. At Foston, in Clackclose hundred (*Fotestorp*), there were six freemen commended to the predecessor of Hermer de Ferrières. He succeeded in making them pay 5s. a year custom by driving their beasts off the pasture of the

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 86.

² Cf. Round, *Feudal England*, p. 215.

³ Dom. Bk. ff. 217b, 218.

⁴ 'Sed unus homo, Wihenoc, amavit quandam feminam in illa terra et duxit eam, et postea tenuit ille istam terram ad fedum W., sine dono regis et sine liberatione, et successoribus suis' (f. 232).

⁵ This passage on the king's permission is by Mr. Round.

⁶ Dom. Bk. f. 110b.

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manor (*quia non possunt carere sua pastura reddunt ei consuetudinem*).¹ No doubt the same method was found efficient in other cases also.

It will be seen that before the *Brevia* of the tenants-in-chief could take the form in which we now have them, they must have undergone a great deal of revision, and it is not wonderful that they should have lost something in the process. We are fortunately able to produce a definite instance of this from the *Inquisitio Eliensis*. That document presents so close a resemblance to Domesday in its account of the Norfolk manors of Ely, that it has been assumed that it was actually copied from Little Domesday as we now have it.² This cannot, however, be the case, since it includes an account of Burgh Apton, which Domesday omits.³ The correspondence is, however, so close, that we must conclude that the same returns were copied into both books. We can determine from Domesday the order in which the returns were arranged. They were compiled hundred by hundred, in accordance with the verdicts of the juries, and were arranged more or less in the following order:—Clackclose, Freebridge, Docking, Smethden; South Greenhoe, Grimshoe; Wayland, Shropham, Guiltcross; Launditch, Forehoe, Midford; Gallow, Brothecross, Holt, North Greenhoe, North Erpingham; Walsham, Blofield, West Flegg; Henstead, Earsham, Diss, Loddon; Eynesford, Taverhall, South Erpingham, Tunstead, Happing; East Flegg; Humbleyard, Depwade, and Clavering.

We see, accordingly, that Little Domesday, though more primitive than the larger volume, can hardly have sprung into existence in 1086.⁴ We have too many stages to allow for: the original inquiry by the commissioners, first of the lord, then of the hundred; the preparation of the verified returns by the comparison of the statements of the lords with the verdicts of the juries of the hundreds; and lastly the copying out of the amended *Brevia* into the form in which we now have them. And there is, as we have seen from the allusions to the *Rotuli Wintonie*, some temptation to place the final stage as late as 1100, even in the case of the smaller of the two volumes, which contains the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, and is styled Little Domesday Book. The other volume, which contains much less detail, is obviously later and shows signs of much more careful compilation.

Proceeding from the manner to the matter of the survey, we must first consider its main object, the assessment and collection of the king's geld, for which purpose the unit was the hundred, and we shall see that these units as we find them in Domesday are not primitive. We may, however, make a good guess at the economic conditions of Norfolk when the first assessment was made by noticing the relative sizes of the hundreds, as it is clear (if the hundreds were areas of equal assessment) that the population must then have been thickest in the smallest hundreds. The arrangement of the Domesday hundreds in Norfolk differs a little from the modern arrangement, as will be seen from the map. In some cases the boundaries have been dictated by physical considerations. Thus the two hundreds of East and West Flegg must at a comparatively

¹ Dom. Bk. f. 274.

² Round, *Feud. Engl.* p. 137.

³ Hamilton, *Ing. Com. Cantab.* p. 136.

⁴ It was observed by Mr. Round (*Feud. Engl.* pp. 139-140) that 'It seems to have been somewhat hastily concluded that because the survey ("*Descriptio Angliæ*") took place in 1086, Domesday Book (which styles itself *Liber de Wintonia*) was completed in that year.' The colophon to 'Little Domesday' refers, in his opinion, to the survey, not to the volume.

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recent period have been an island. The place-names of Flegg seem to point to an early settlement of Scandinavians, since nearly all of them end in 'by,' and a purely 'Danish' community could be most simply established in a district with definite boundaries, from which the earlier inhabitants could be easily excluded. The large proportion of small freeholders in Flegg is thus in all probability not accidental, but due to its specifically 'Danish' character. Again, the division between East and West Flegg is a natural one, and other hundreds will be found to have rivers and marshes for their boundaries. We shall, however, find in Domesday equally strong traces of a highly artificial arrangement. Thus the northern hundreds, Smethden, Docking, Brothecross, Gallow, and North Greenhoe, show signs of having been laid out so as to give each hundred a proportion of salt-marsh for its sheep. We do not know precisely how the boundary ran between Brothecross and Gallow, but the remarks on the measurements and geld of Burnham indicate some kind of artificial arrangement.¹ The same cause may have led to the transfer of Saxlingham from Holt hundred to the comparatively distant hundred of Gallow, where it seems to be required to make up the geld. The transfer of Snettisham to Freebridge hundred,² which seems to upset the fiscal arrangements of Smethden hundred, is probably due to the influence of Stigand; and Salthouse is doubtless in North Erpingham, owing to its being a berewick to Siward's manor of Sherringham. The most noticeable changes in the map of Norfolk since Domesday are the inclusion of Emneth in Freebridge hundred, the abolition of the hundred of Docking, which was thrown into Smethden hundred, and the rearrangement of the hundreds of Brothecross and Gallow in such a manner that the former has all the coast and the latter the inland villages, the old boundary, the River Wensum, being disregarded.

The former unity of East Anglia,³ typified by Norfolk and Suffolk having not only a common earl, but also a common bishop, the seat of whose see at one time was at Thetford on their border, prepares us for certain cases of inter-relation. Diss, for instance, though in Norfolk and giving name to a Norfolk hundred, is surveyed under Suffolk as a royal manor in the hundred of Hartesmere.⁴ But Burston, its outlyer to the north, is surveyed under Norfolk, though valued under Diss in Suffolk.⁵ The 'half hundred of Diss' also is surveyed under Norfolk. Thetford, on the other hand, as Domesday admits, lay partly in the one and partly in the other county, and yet is surveyed wholly under Norfolk. Gillingham in Norfolk, opposite Beccles, appears to be only mentioned under Gorleston, Suffolk, to which was appurtenant a small estate there.

The two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, as they appear in Domesday Book, are marked off from the other counties of England by the peculiarity of their system of assessment. This has been well explained by Mr. J. H. Round,⁶ but it will not be amiss to repeat the conclusions to which his researches lead. The counties were divided for purposes of assessment into hundreds, and the hundreds into leets, which were areas of equal, or approximately equal, assessment. Unhappily, the traces of these leets are

¹ Dom. Bk. f. 237b.

² Ibid. f. 142.

³ This paragraph is by Mr. Round.

⁴ Dom. Bk. f. 282.

⁵ 'Hoc appendet ad Dice in Sutfulc et ibi appretiatur' (f. 114).

⁶ *Feud. Engl.* pp. 98-103.

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hard to find, though we know¹ that the hundred of South Greenhoe consisted of fourteen leets, whereas that of Clackclose had ten,² while Mr. Round gives a perfect specimen of a hundred in leets from Suffolk. We may, perhaps, assume that the villis were so distributed among the leets that a fair proportion of taxation fell upon each vill at the time when the assessment was made. Thus, out of every pound levied on the hundred,³ each leet would have to find a certain number of pence, and the leet being a small group, the number of pence for which each vill within it was to be held liable would be easily reckoned. Owing to the plan on which Little Domesday is drawn up we cannot see how this assessment was made. We have only the statement that such a vill measures so many furlongs by so many, and pays so many pence of geld towards every pound paid by the hundred, or rather 'out of every pound paid by the hundred.' The measurement is always stated with the assessment, but it does not appear that any proportion exists between them even in the same hundred. If we could reconstruct the leets in the several hundreds, we might chance upon the solution of the puzzle, but such reconstructions are conjectural at best, and owing to the imperfections of the record they are almost impossible, since the geld assessed upon the hundreds can hardly ever be made to add up to even pounds. The occasional coincidences, however, in the sums assessed on separate townships do seem to imply some such method of distribution of taxation as has been suggested. Thus the neighbouring villis of East Harling and Quidenham are both assessed at 1*s.* 5½*d.*, while Garboldisham, with Wykes, seems to be balanced against the two Lophams at a rate of 2*s.* 9½*d.* Riddlesworth, Rushford, and the two lost villages of Snarehill are each taxed at 11½*d.*, or 2*s.* 10½*d.* in all, just balancing East Harling and Quidenham, and the recurrence of this sum seems to suggest that Giltcross hundred may have consisted of seven leets. Turning to the north-east corner of the county, in the Domesday hundred of Docking, we find the adjacent villis of Fring and Bircham each rated at 2*s.* 3*d.*, as is also Shernborne, while Brancaster is assessed at 2*s.* 4*d.* This suggests a hundred of eight leets, of which Docking, with its assessment of 5*s.* 2½*d.*, would constitute two. In the same way half the hundred of West Flegg can be arranged in four leets, each paying 2*s.* 6*d.*, and grouped about the towns of Hemsby, Somerton, and Winterton, Ashby and Repps together making up the fourth. South Greenhoe can be conjecturally distributed into its fourteen leets, paying sums varying from 1*s.* 5*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.*

But when we attempt to discover how the villis in the hundred were set off against each other for purposes of taxation even conjecture fails us. If we compare taxation and measurement, we find for instance that Docking measuring 1 league by half a league pays 5*s.* 2½*d.*, while Brancaster with the same measurements pays 2*s.* 4*d.*, and Fring measuring half a league by half a league pays 2*s.* 3*d.* It is true that we might throw Southmere into Docking, and Titchwell into Brancaster, on the ground that no measurements are given for either of them; but then we find that the whole taxation of the hundred is 2*s.* 5*d.* short of 20 shillings. If we take South Greenhoe, which adds up nearly right, we find Pickenham measuring half a league by 5 furlongs

¹ Dom. Bk. f. 119*b.*

² Ibid. f. 212*b.*

³ At the standard rate of two shillings on the hide the Danegeld of a theoretical standard hundred would amount to £10.

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paying 1 shilling, while Cockley Cley measuring 1 league by 1 league pays 1s. 2d. Even the measurements themselves are confusing, being expressed sometimes in leagues and occasionally in miles,¹ while the value of the league is itself uncertain, Blomfield estimating it at 2 miles,² while Professor Maitland inclines to 12 furlongs,³ and 1 mile has been suggested. Neither can we deduce any exact statements as to area from the measurements given. As Professor Maitland has shown,⁴ they indicate shape rather than superficial measurement, and only afford the roughest guess at actual area.

If we attempt to compare the actual geld paid with the number of assessed carucates we are in no better case. In some cases, especially upon the king's lands, the number of carucates is not given at all, and comparison with other manors shows that the relation between the number of carucates and the number of ploughs is a very uncertain one. We may, however, take a few instances at random. The adjacent vills of Fring, Shernborne, and Bircham are assessed equally for geld, all paying 2s. 3d. The lands held in each are as follows :—

FRING ⁵													
					Carucates	Acres	Valet			T.R.E.			
							£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
151b. <i>Count Eustace</i>													
[Orgar]					1	—	}	3	0	0	2	0	0
1 freeman					1½	—							
1 sokeman					—	30							
1 sokeman					—	15							
163b. <i>William de Warenne</i>													
1 freeman					—	20	0	1	4	0	1	4	
					—	—	<hr/>			<hr/>			
					3	5	4	1	4	3	1	4	

151b. Fring is half a league long and half a league wide.

SHERNBORNE												
						Valet			T.R.E.			
						£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
167a. William de Warenne												
4 freemen . . .				2	—	}	3	0	0	3	0	0
1 freeman . . .				—	40							
244b. Ivo Talboys												
16 freemen . . .				3 [5] ⁶	—		4	0	0	2	0	0
268a. Bernard Arblaster . . .												
				1	—		1	0	0	0	16	0
278b. Invasiones												
[1 sokeman of Harold] . . .				—	60		0	6	8	0	6	8
Now W. de Pertenai												
1 freeman . . .				—	6		0	0	6	0	0	6
				<hr/>	<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
				6 [8] ⁶	106		8	7	2	6	3	2

244b. Shernborne is 1 league long and half a league wide.

¹ e.g. Massingham, f. 109b.

² *Hist. Norf.* i, 2 n.

³ *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, 432.

⁴ *Ibid.* 370, 371.

⁵ Part of Fring was a 'berewick' in Smethden (f. 193b), but the carucage is not given, and cannot safely be deduced from the plough-teams, and is, therefore, ignored here.

⁶ The figures in brackets give the areas T.R.E. The figures, however, look as though there had really been 20 freemen holding 5 plough-lands, of whom Ivo Talboys had 16 with 3 plough-lands and William de Warenne 4 with the remaining 2 plough-lands.

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		BIRCHAM		Valet			T.R.E.			
		Carucates	Acres	£ s. d.			£ s. d.			
222b.	<i>William de Scobies</i>									
	[Bern] R. d'Evreux	1	—	0	10	0	0	10	0	
	Tor	4	—	4	0	0	2	0	0	
	3 freemen	—	85	}	0	12	0	0	12	0
	1 freeman	—	30							
226.	<i>Ralf de Beaufou</i>									
	Fradre	3	—	}	1	0	0	2	10	0
	2 freemen	—	2							
		8	117					5	12	0

222b & 226. Bircham is 1 league long and 1 league wide.

Here, accordingly, we have three areas of equal assessment for geld in the same hundred, whose estimated size is in the proportion, 1 : 2 : 4, the carucage 3 : 7 : 9, or on the old assessment 3 : 9 : 9, and the valuation 4 : 6 : 8½, or on the old valuation 3 : 5½ : 6.

We may mend matters a little by throwing Barwick, which is not assessed to geld, into Fring, though Domesday gives us no warrant for doing so. Barwick¹ consists of two freemen holding 1 carucate, and 1 freeman holding 60 acres. No measurement is given. The value is 20 shillings, formerly 15. This will make the carucage proportions 4½ : 7 : 9 or 4½ : 9 : 9, and the valuation 5 : 6 : 8½, or 4 : 5½ : 6. Such a result cannot be regarded as satisfactory, and yet it is on the whole a fair specimen. If highly assessed areas are taken, much more extraordinary results can be reached; but this is probably because the assessment of a group of villis which pay together has been attached to the chief vill of the group. It is only our ignorance which prevents us from saying how large the group was. Docking with its 5s. 2d. and Barmer with 4s. 3d. in the same hundred are clearly cases in point. Similar instances could be given from other parts of the county, and we find the same thing when we turn to Suffolk. There we know precisely how the leets of Thingoe hundred were arranged,² but if we take Domesday Book and set down the carucates and acres of the several villis in the hundred leet by leet, we shall find glaring inequalities of assessment. Thus Sudbury, which gelds as three leets, is set down to contain 5 carucates. The other leets vary from 13½ carucates (Nos. 1 and 5) to 4½ carucates (No. 9, Horningsheath), while the total valuation (T.R.E.) of the first leet amounts to £18, or as much as Sudbury, which is a quarter of the hundred. It is true that Barrow, which is royal demesne, accounts for £10 of this sum, but other leets are valued as high as £13 13s., and as low as £6 4s. We seem then to be driven to the conclusion either that the East Anglian carucates are not geld carucates, or that beneficial carucation and the errors in the compilation of Little Domesday have destroyed all traces of the data which determined the assessment.

We may, however, learn something about the assessment of Danegeld besides what has already been put forward. Mr. Corbett has shown how the leet system worked in Walsham hundred.³ It is true that this is an unusually symmetrical specimen, but a glance at the accompanying tables will show how

¹ Dom. Bk. f. 161b.

² Round, *Feud. Engl.* 98-99.

³ *Roy. Hist. Soc. Trans.* xiv, 215.

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closely the facts preserved to us agree with the hypothesis of a method of assessment by progressive distribution of a fixed burden. On this hypothesis Norfolk has thirty-six hundreds to Suffolk's twenty-four, because its estimated rateable value as a county is to the estimated rateable value of Suffolk as 3 to 2. The county is then divided into hundreds, and the hundred into leets. We cannot, as has been said already, always see clearly into how many leets each hundred was divided, but the tables give evidence of the balancing of district against district and parish against parish. Thus in Gallow hundred we find a tendency to divide the whole hundred into units, each paying a shilling. Smethden hundred seems to favour a 4-shilling unit, while West Flegg is divided into two halves, one consisting of four half-crown units, while the other half is irregularly broken up. There, however, we find Burgh St. Margaret clearly set off against Rollesby, each township paying 25½ pence, and the more closely the tables are examined the more clearly this principle of subdivision within the district will appear.

We may now examine the material before us a little more in detail. Before, however, reviewing the statements of Domesday on the tenants-in-chief, we may consider for a moment the nature of the units of which their estates were made up. These seem to be classed by the commissioners as manors and berewicks. The vexed question 'What was a Manor?' we may put aside for the present,¹ noting, however, the use of *mansus* in one instance as apparently equivalent to *manerium*.² We may be content to assert that most of the land mentioned in Domesday for Norfolk either is a manor, or lies in a manor. We are led to define a 'berewick' as an outlying estate which is not an economic unit, which 'lies in' a manor; we may perhaps guess that it has no *Aula* of its own. Thus we hear that Bawsey was a manor and counts as a manor, but is actually a berewick in Glosthorp.³ So Blo Norton, which was a manor in King Edward's time, has been made a berewick of Lopham.⁴ Thornage has four berewicks, Brinton, Saxlingham, Beckham, and Hempstead,⁵ the third of which is some way off. Islington, a berewick of Fincham, was in another hundred.⁶ We hear how Bishop Aylmer made two sokemen in Fring into a berewick of Sedgeford.⁷ Finally we learn that one-third of the church of Hindolveston was in the berewick of Wood Norton.⁸ The analogy of the parish church and its chapelries thus suggested seems the readiest explanation, and we may venture the conclusion that the manor was the economic unit on which the berewicks depended. Such were the units of which the great holdings were composed.

The holders of the land are divisible into three great classes: the great lords, clerical and lay, who held of the king in chief, i.e. directly, without any mesne lord, the free tenants who held under them, and the servile or semi-servile population, who are not regarded by Domesday with much more concern than the plough oxen which they drove. Above all these classes comes the great landholder of the realm, the king himself.

The description of King William's lands in Norfolk occupies about a fifth of the entire survey, and includes the account of the boroughs of Norwich, Thetford, and Yarmouth. The first section, which precedes the account of

¹ Cf. Maitland, *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, 107-129. *Engl. Hist. Rev.* (J. H. Round), vol. xv, 293-302.

² *Dom. Bk.* f. 121. The expression *caput manerii* occurs at Deopham, *ibid.* f. 227.

³ *Ibid.* f. 153*b*.

⁴ *Ibid.* f. 178*b*.

⁵ *Ibid.* f. 192.

⁶ *Ibid.* f. 209.

⁷ *Ibid.* f. 193*b*.

⁸ *Ibid.* f. 192.

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the boroughs, is concerned with the estates which the king held as his own demesne, and for which the sheriff was doubtless responsible. After the boroughs we have an account of two great escheats, the lands formerly held by Earl Ralf, and those held by Stigand. The former were farmed by Godric 'dapifer,' the latter by William de Noyers.

Over the survey of East Anglia, and more especially that of Norfolk, there hangs the shadow of a great catastrophe, the forfeiture of 'Earl Ralf.'¹ Although the revolt of the earls in 1075, of which this forfeiture was the fruit, belongs more properly to the section on political history, it may briefly be explained that Ralf, earl of East Anglia, having married in 1075 Emma, sister of Roger earl of Hereford, rose with him against the king, but fleeing from the forces sent against him hurried oversea, leaving his bride to defend Norwich Castle. Although she made a stout defence with the help of her husband's Breton followers, the king's forces prevailed, and Lanfranc wrote to congratulate William on the cleansing of the realm from the filth of the Bretons (*spurcitia Britonum*), of whom Ralf's mercenaries were expelled at short notice, while those who held land had to leave shortly after them. It is the writer's opinion that the Bretons who are mentioned in Domesday as former holders of fiefs in the county lost them on this occasion. Such were Eudes son of Glamahoc, Wihenoc, and Walter de Dol.

Of Earl Ralf himself and of his father and namesake the history is so difficult that Mr. Freeman, who gave to it special attention, changed his view while his work on the history of the Norman Conquest was actually in course of publication.² Eventually he wrote :

I believe that I have gradually felt my way to the true history and position of a somewhat mysterious person of whom we get glimpses in the reign of Eadward, and who becomes prominent under William ; this is Ralph, called of Gael or of Wader, afterwards earl of Norfolk or of the East Angles. I believe him to have been of English birth, and I therefore have not scrupled to speak of him in the text as an English traitor.³

Nevertheless, the evidence is so curiously puzzling that Mr. Freeman, evidently, was still somewhat confused as to who the English traitor was. In his summary,⁴ however, he identifies him absolutely with the younger Ralph :

The evidence seems quite distinct. There were two Ralphs in Norfolk, father and son, the younger being the son of a Breton mother. The elder was staller under Eadward and earl under William⁵ . . . there is nothing to show that he was ever dispossessed of his lands or office. But, as we find his son fighting among his mother's countrymen on William's side at Senlac, it is plain that the younger Ralph must have been outlawed either by Eadward or by Harold for some unrecorded treason or other crime, whether for a share in the enterprise of Tostig or for anything else it is hopeless to guess. In his exile he evidently migrated to his mother's country and joined himself to the Breton followers of William.

At the battle of Hastings, if Wace can be trusted,

E Raol i vint de Gael, E maint Breton de maint chastel,

.

Chevalcha Raol de Gael ; Bret esteit e Bretons menout.⁶

¹ This and the following six paragraphs are contributed by Mr. Round.

² See vol. iii (1st ed.), 752, 753 ; (2nd ed.) 773-776 ; vol. iv, 253, 573, 727.

³ Vol. iii (2nd ed.), p. 773.

⁴ Vol. iii (2nd ed.), p. 776.

⁵ This seems to be the Ralph of the previous quotation, who is therein described as the English traitor.

⁶ *Roman de Rou*, ll. 11,512, 13,627. Gaël lay west of Rennes in the extreme west of what is now Ille-et-Vilaine. He is more usually styled 'de Guader' as (by Orderic) when repelling the Danish attack on Norwich in 1069 or in the writer's *Calendar of Documents preserved in France* (p. 400.) ; de Wader, as by Robert of Torigny ; or de Waer, as in the Norfolk Domesday.

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It seems improbable to the writer that, as the younger Ralf did not marry till 1075, he could have been exiled before the Conquest or have held a command at the battle of Hastings, but the question is full of difficulty. As Mr. Freeman justly observes, it seems impossible to reject the definite statement of the English chronicle that the elder Ralf was an Englishman, born in Norfolk,¹ though the name is almost out of the question for a man of English birth. The same authority makes the younger Ralf a Breton on his mother's side only,² but William of Malmesbury terms him 'Brito ex patre.'

What is certain is that the elder of the two Ralfs, the Ralf 'Stalra' of Domesday, was 'staller' in Edward's days, and, under Norfolk, Domesday shows him receiving from that sovereign great crown or comital manors such as Sporle and Swaffham.³ He is found attesting charters before the Conquest, and he was addressed by William shortly after that event as earl in East Anglia, in conjunction with the bishop of Elmham.⁴ As such he was the 'comes R. vetus' of the Norfolk Domesday,⁵ from the pages of which also we learn the interesting fact that, as Ralf 'Stalra,' he gave land to the local monastery of St. Benet of Holme, with his wife (*cum uxore sua*),⁶ in King William's time, with his permission. It is very difficult to understand what this can mean, for the formula is used in Domesday of lands given with a woman when she entered a nunnery. St. Benet was a house of monks, not of nuns; nor does one see how or why Ralf's wife should enter a monastery except after his death. If on the other hand the meaning is that his wife joined with him in the gift, one does not see how a Breton heiress came to have land in Norfolk.⁷

A further complication is introduced by the mention in the Norfolk Domesday of a 'Godwine uncle (*avunculus*) of Earl Ralf.' Godwine, as Mr. Freeman observed, is a name distinctively English, and as it does not, he rightly contended, exclude a father's brother, he decided that Godwine and the earlier Ralf were brothers; for if Ralf's wife was a Breton, Godwine could not be her brother. This Godwine is mentioned three times at least (fols. 127*b*, 131, 262), and he is charged with robbing another Englishman of his lands at Quidenham so late as 1069. He certainly held land at Sall and Wood Dalling, and probably, in the writer's opinion, was also that Godwine who held at Saxthorpe and Mannington, North Wootton, Lessingham, and Palling, his lands passing to his nephew, the younger Ralf, by whom, shortly after, they were forfeited.

The date at which the elder Ralf was succeeded by his son as earl is of some importance to determine, but the vagueness of Domesday in its use of styles, a vagueness to which Orderic also was prone, leaves it in some doubt. Perhaps the most important passage is one relating to Eccles, which was twice cited by Mr. Freeman⁸ and which he rendered 'Hanc terram habuit

¹ 'Rawulf his fæder wæs Englisc, and wæs geboren on Northfolce.'

² 'Se ylca Raulf was Brittisc on his modor healfe.'

³ He is spoken of as earl (*comes*) in the record of each grant, but this does not prove that he held that title at the time of these grants.

⁴ 'William Kyng gret Ægelmær Bischof and Raulf Earl and Nordman and ealle myne thegnæs on Sudfolke fremdliche' (*Feud. Engl.* p. 427).

⁵ Dom. Bk. ff. 128*b*, 129.

⁶ Ibid. ff. 158, 158*b*, 217*b*, 218.

⁷ According to John of Oxenides (pp. 291, 292) Ralf 'Stalre' gave South Walsham to the house, and Earl Ralf gave 'Hovetone,' both before 1046. But the two Ralfs must here be the same.

⁸ Vol. iii (2nd ed.), p. 775; vol. iv (1st ed.), p. 727.

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A[rfastus] episcopus in tempore utrorumque [Radulforum, sc.],’ concluding from it ‘that the elder Ralf was living as late as 1070, in which year the episcopate of Erfast begins.’ But it has been shown by the writer¹ that Mr. Freeman misread the passage and that the context (‘Ailmarus episcopus de utroque postea Arfastus episcopus’) clearly shows that we should read it ‘habuit A[ilmarus]episcopus in tempore utrorumque,’ and that therefore the elder Ralf died before Æthelmær was deposed in April, 1070.

Questions of title at the time of the survey often turned upon the younger Ralf’s possession before his forfeiture. Thus we read of his officers exchanging with those of St. Edmund’s Abbey four of his tenants at Gissing for four of theirs at Burston, ‘quando Rad. comes fuit potestativus et sui et terræ suæ’ (fol. 211*b*). Under Wymondham we detect an allusion to his tragic fall. The plough-teams of its tenants had diminished from sixty to twenty-four, and Domesday explains that ‘hanc confusionem facit Rad. de Warr (i.e. Waer) antequam forisfaceret’ (fol. 137*b*). When Ralf retreated from Cambridge before the royal troops he must have passed through Thetford and Wymondham, and one cannot resist the conclusion that the bulk of the missing oxen (288) were slaughtered by his Breton followers. There were burgesses of Norwich also who had cause to rue the day when Earl Ralf’s rebellion in their midst involved them in his fall from power.²

Most of King Edward’s estates in Norfolk remained in the hands of King William. He retained Saham Toney, Hingham, Holt, Wighton, and Foulsham, and the manor of Diss in Suffolk, with their dependent members. The remainder of the king’s direct holding was made up of Harold’s manors of Great Massingham, Southmere, Fakenham, and Cawston, and Gurth’s manor of Ormesby. But in Norfolk, as in Essex,³ there had been considerable alienations of crown land before the Conquest. This is clearly stated in the cases of Swaffham, which ‘pertinuit ad regionem,’⁴ and Sporle which ‘fuit de regno.’⁵ In both cases King Edward gave the manors to Earl Ralf, and the latter manor returned to the crown upon his forfeiture. But we may safely put down some of Harold’s lands to the same source, as, for instance, when we read that Necton, which afterwards fell to Ralf de Toesni, ‘reddebat sex noctes de firma.’⁶ Again we may conjecture that manors which paid rents in honey had at some time belonged to the crown. We know that Kenninghall belonged to King Edward, though we find it described as part of Earl Ralf’s escheat, and we may probably say the same of the same earl’s manor of Buckenham, and of Stigand’s manor of Thorpe-next-Norwich. We cannot, however, limit these food-rents to royal demesne, since we know that Toli the sheriff gave a ploughland in Broome to St. Edmund’s, and held it of the saint ‘per firmam duarum dierum,’⁷ while the *Inquisitio Eliensis*⁸ tells us of a freeman in Lurling who held 1½ ploughlands of Ely, and rendered two ‘sesters’ of honey. These notices are only incidental, and we shall probably be right in assuming that detailed information as to rents is only given as a rule in the case of property which was, at or before the date of Domesday, in the king’s hands.

¹ Round, *Feud. Engl.* pp. 428, 429.

² ‘Isti fugientes et alii remanentes omnino sunt vastati partim propter forisfacturas R. comitis’ (fol. 117*b*).

³ *V. C. H. Essex*, i, 336.

⁴ Dom. Bk. f. 140.

⁵ Ibid. f. 119*b*.

⁶ Compare Mr. Round’s conclusions in a similar case; *V. C. H. Essex*, i, 336.

⁷ Dom. Bk. f. 211*b*.

⁸ Hamilton, *Inq. Com. Cantab.* p. 140.

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Necton was the only considerable estate belonging to Harold which King William granted out, though he seems to have bestowed Blickling and Marsham, formerly part of Harold's estate at Cawston, upon the bishops of Thetford. Of Gurth's estates the king only retained Ormesby. Aylsham, with its members Shipden (or Cromer) and Brundall, appears among the lands farmed by Godric, but we do not hear whether Earl Ralf ever held it. Costessy with Bawburgh was bestowed on Count Alan of Brittany, Sedgeford on the bishop. Brooke was given to St. Edmund's on the king's first visit to the abbey,¹ when the monks claimed his alms. The soke which Gurth had usurped over certain freemen was also granted to the abbey. Eight freemen in Burgh in Flegg became directly dependent on the king.

Next to the lands which the king held directly come the lands which were farmed by Godric 'dapifer.' Like the lands in Suffolk and Essex which he also farmed, most of these, if not all, had at some time belonged to Earl Ralf, either as 'comital' manors or by inheritance from his father,² the old Earl Ralf, or by the grants made by King William out of the lands forfeited by those who had taken part in the battle of Hastings. The bulk of Earl Ralf's lands remained in the king's hands under the charge successively of Robert Blund³ and Godric,⁴ but a few of them fell into other hands. Thus Belaugh, Hickling, and Ingham fell to Count Alan, and the neighbouring manor of Sutton to Roger Bigod. The bishop became a tenant-in-chief at Eccles, which he and his two predecessors had held of the earl, while a manor in Filby was given to Rabel the engineer.

The other group of lands fell into the king's hands a little earlier, upon the deposition of Stigand from the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1070.⁵ They were farmed successively by Richard Pugniant⁶ and William de Noyers, who seems to have had a certain Siward as his bailiff.⁷ Some of the property was, however, granted out. The bishop of Bayeux obtained the valuable manor of Snettisham, with its berewicks of Harpley, Flitcham, West Newton, and Rising, and the manor of Grimston.⁸ Well Hall, in Gayton, was granted to St. Stephen's, Caen,⁹ and Wroxham to Ralf de Beaufou or Bella-Fago, a near kinsman of Bishop William of Thetford, who also received some of Stigand's under-tenants in the villages south of Norwich. The bishop held Hemsby, which Stigand had taken from Alwi of Thetford, who bought it of Earl Algar, and had bestowed on his brother Aylmer, his own successor in the bishopric of Elmham. The land at Taverham, which Stigand had held of St. Michael's, Norwich, returned to the church. Many of the under-tenants in the south of the county fell to Roger Bigod. The lands remaining in the king's hands were Hunstanton, which had probably been detached from Snettisham, Methwold and Weeting, Croxton, Mileham with Litcham, Great Dunham and Horstead, Wymondham and Tacolneston,

¹ Dom. Bk. f. 210; cf. Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 138, 'Prima vice qua ejus requisiverunt suffragium.'

² Ibid. f. 194.

³ Or 'Blancar,' Dom. Bk. f. 243b.

⁴ Dom. Bk. f. 277b.

⁵ The great extent of Stigand's possessions in Norfolk should be observed. Beyond the fact that he had held, before his brother Æthelmær, the old East Anglian bishopric, there seems to be nothing to account for them or for those in Suffolk, which were similarly farmed in 1086 by William de Noyers. The point is of some historical importance, owing to the part played by Stigand. His tenure of St. Michael's estate at Taverham gives a hint of his dealings with church lands, which is well seen across the Suffolk border, at Mildenhall, which he held of St. Edmund's Abbey, but which passed with his other lands to the crown (J. H. R.).

⁶ Dom. Bk. f. 138. He held in chief in several counties.

⁷ Ibid. ff. 135b, 137.

⁸ Ibid. f. 142.

⁹ Ibid. f. 221b.

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Thorpe next Norwich with Lakenham, an under-tenant at Somerton, Earsham with Ditchington and Stockton, and Toft Monks with Seething.

The king's lands and the boroughs occupy nearly as much space in this part of Domesday Book as the lands held by the church. As might be expected, the largest block of these latter was held by the bishop of Thetford. His estates are divided into two parts—the ancient lands of the bishops of Elmham, or of the East Angles, being distinguished from the ‘*Terre ejusdem de Feudo*,’ the lands which the bishops had acquired since the death of King Edward.¹ A third section is concerned with the ‘*Invasiones*’ of the fee, the lands and rights which the bishops had usurped. A glance at the map will show that the ancient lands of the see lay mainly in the northern and central parts of the county grouped about the manors of Thornage, Hindringham, Hindolveston, North Elmham, and Helmingham, with outlying manors at Colkirk and Egmere. Thornham and Gaywood in the west, Cressingham Tofts and Stratton in the south, also belonged to the see. Bishop Aylmer added Gunton, Beighton, and Hemsby, as well as Blofield, which he got with his wife before he was bishop,² and North Langley, which he owed to the sudden death of Anant,³ with whom he seems to have been a joint-tenant. Anant was apparently a thane or *buscarl* of Edward the Confessor, and held land at Broome, and also in Suffolk and elsewhere. The other lands of the see were granted by King William from the holdings of Harold and Gurth, and afterwards of Earl Ralf. William de Noyers, who has already been named, has left his mark on the map at Swanton Novers, which he held of the bishop's manor of Hindolveston.⁴ We also find him holding the land at Blakeney which Edric had held of Harold, and which the bishop had seized.⁵ The mention of the same William de Noyers holding under the bishop at Bradiston leads us to identify this Edric with the steersman of King Edward's ship, who fled to Denmark as an outlaw after the battle of Hastings.⁶ Roger Longsword (*Lungus ensis*) appears as another wrongful holder under the bishop, since he had eight of Harold's freemen, whom he should probably have held of the manor of Fakenham, and had transferred to Hindolveston. Among other aggressions the most interesting is the seizure by Bishop Aylmer of a plough-land at Plumstead near Norwich because the widow of Godwin, the owner, who had held of Gurth, had re-married within a year.⁷ In this case the bishop and not the lord got the forfeited land, but it seems equally likely that he claimed it as appurtenant to his manor of Blofield.

We get a few incidental details about the East Anglian bishops; ⁸ we have seen how Stigand was succeeded by his brother Aylmer, now a widower; we hear that Bishop Arfast had a niece Helewis (or Alice) who held land at Witton,⁹ which her uncle had wrongfully acquired on the fall of Earl Ralf. Arfast was the bishop who succeeded Aylmer when he shared the fate of his

¹ See *V.C.H. Essex*, i, 339, for a fuller discussion of the same distinction.

² Dom. Bk. f. 195.

³ Ibid. f. 196.

⁴ Ibid. f. 192.

⁵ Ibid. f. 198.

⁶ Ibid. f. 200. As Edric ‘Styresman’ he appears as a great benefactor to St. Benet of Holme, in the chronicle of John de Oxenedes (p. 291), where he is said to have given five estates in the neighbourhood of North Walsham. Of these we can only connect him in Domesday with Honing (J. H. R.).

⁷ Ibid. f. 199. It is not clear who succeeded Gurth, but probably Earl Ralf. Compare Brundall (Ibid. f. 268b).

⁸ The fact that William was bishop at the time of the survey gives us an important note of date, for he was not consecrated till 1086 (J. H. R.).

⁹ Dom. Bk. f. 200b.

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brother Stigand in 1070. We may gather that the occasion was favourable, since we find that Arfast also obtained possession of some of the 'thegnland'¹ of St. Benet of Holme.² The account of the bishop's lands is followed by an entry of the plough-land at Taverham which belonged to St. Michael's, Tombland, in Norwich.

The other church lands are separated from those of the bishop, since we can hardly reckon Bishop Osbern's fee as ecclesiastical property any more than that of the bishop of Bayeux. We find them forming a little group consisting of the lands of St. Edmund's, Ely, Ramsey, St. Benet of Holme, and the Conqueror's foundation of St. Stephen's, Caen—the Abbaye aux Hommes. Of these, as is natural, the local house of St. Benet of Holme had the largest estates. These were in the eastern part of the county, grouped about Horning—the 'Sedes abbatie,' as Domesday tells us. The saint can have had no great favour from the Conqueror, since no royal benefactions are recorded, and Bishop Arfast's encroachments suggest that the abbey took the losing side in the disturbances which led to Stigand's deposition.³ A similar conclusion may be drawn from the fact that part of the mensal land of St. Benet's Abbey in Worstead was held at the date of the survey by Robert, one of the four arblastars who were tenants-in-chief, as an under-tenant of the abbey.⁴ Another manor in the same vill had fallen completely into the hands of Count Alan.⁵ Such land as had been acquired since the Conquest seems to have come either from Edric of Laxfield or from the old Earl Ralf. Edric had fallen into the hands of Waleram, whose nephew John appears as a tenant-in-chief at the date of the survey. He pledged a plough-land in Saxlingham to St. Benet for his ransom,⁶ and the pledge remained unredeemed. At the date of the survey Waleram's nephew John held the land of the abbey.⁷ In the same way Edric granted some land at Honing to the abbey on condition that he should hold it together with an equal quantity of the abbey land as a tenant.⁸ Earl Ralf again, who is also called Ralf the Staller and must therefore be identified with the father of Ralf de Waer, granted some sokemen in Coltishall and Hautbois to the abbey with his wife.⁹ This land fell into the hands of William de Warenne in exchange for his possessions in Sussex. The abbey, however, retained the principal estate in Hoveton and the appurtenances in Easton and Wroxham, which formed part of the same gift.¹⁰ The grant was made, as we are told, by the Conqueror's leave, but we do not hear that he compensated the abbey for the lands which he gave to Warenne. The only other new land was a holding of 30 acres in Rackheath, which had been forfeited to the king, and was

¹ Cf. Round, *Feud. Engl.* p. 28; Maitland, *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, p. 162.

² Dom. Bk. f. 201.

³ The disfavour of the Conqueror is definitely accounted for by the chronicle of John de Oxenedes, which alleges that the abbot undertook to guard the coast on Harold's behalf (p. 293) (J. H. R.).

⁴ Dom. Bk. f. 219.

⁵ Ibid. f. 148.

⁶ 'Ut se redimeret a captione Waleranni.'

⁷ Dom. Bk. f. 217. Mr. Round is disinclined to identify this Edric with Edric of Laxfield, but the latter certainly did hold in Saxlingham, and may have held other land there of Stigand. (See Ibid. f. 154.) The proof is, of course, by no means complete.

⁸ Ibid. f. 219*b*. Cf. p. 14, note (6) above.

⁹ Ibid. ff. 158, 158*b*. See p. 11, above. Mr. Round points out that according to John de Oxenedes (pp. 291, 292), South Walsham was given by Ralf 'Stalra,' and Hoveton by 'Earl' Ralf. Domesday surveys the former immediately after the latter among the abbey's possessions, but does not mention Ralf. This, however, proves nothing, in his opinion, for it is similarly silent as to Thurgarton having been given by 'Edgyve Swanneshal' (Ibid. p. 292), the famous 'swan-necked Edith.'

¹⁰ Dom. Bk. ff. 217*b*, 218, 218*b*.

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bought by one of the monks from the king's reeve, Alwi of Colchester, for half a mark of gold (about £3) without the royal licence. We shall find, however, on reference to a charter of Edward the Confessor,¹ that some of the most important of these acquisitions to which Domesday bears witness, Hoveton and Honing, were actually granted to the abbey before the Conquest.

We have seen how St. Edmund's had been enriched by the Conqueror out of the possessions of Earl Gurth. Its estates lay, as might be expected, mainly in the southern portions of the county. It had at one time possessed Langham and Swanton Novers,² the gift of Bishop Aylmer, but the former seems to have fallen into Gurth's hands, and both had returned to the see at the date of Domesday.³ The earlier benefactions of Bishop Ælfric,⁴ Hunstanton and Docking, seem to have passed out of the hands of the abbey even before the death of Edward the Confessor.

The possessions of Ely have a special interest from the opportunity which they afford of comparing the statements of Domesday with those of the *Inquisitio Eliensis*. In Norfolk we find a close correspondence between the two documents, but the compiler of the *Inquisitio* has included among the possessions of Ely a number of holdings which Domesday ascribes to other tenants. Thus, Earl Ralf had got possession of Westfield and of some sokemen in Yaxham; these fell to Count Alan.⁵ William de Warenne had a number of sokemen and freemen in Feltwell, Methwold, Northwold, Mundford, Weeting, and Cranwich.⁶ He obtained these in exchange for the honour of Lewes, and it seems probable that they, or some of them, had been in Stigand's hands before 1070. He also obtained a number of sokemen in Midford hundred⁷ in the same fashion. Alington, which Ely claimed in exchange for Burgh Apton, was in the hands of Godric Dapifer.⁸ Ralf de Beaufeu had the freemen in Mattishall whom his predecessor, Eudo son of Clamahoc, had seized.⁹ Hugh de Montfort had exchanged some of his land for 24 sokemen in Marham,¹⁰ and his predecessor Gudmund, had held a sokeman in Garboldisham.¹¹ John, nephew of Waleran, had a freeman of Ely in Brettenham.¹² Ely itself had, however, profited at Stigand's expense in Lynn, and at that of Ramsey in Fordham.¹³

The majority of these strayed possessions were claimed by Ely in the suit before Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances, between 1072-1075,¹⁴ but none of them seem to have been recovered. Even the towns which Stigand had held of the abbey at a food rent, Methwold and Croxton, remained like the rest of Stigand's property in the hands of William de Noyers.¹⁵ Ely does seem to have recovered its property in Bexwell,¹⁶ though this is scarcely clear, and we are expressly told that it recovered 14 sokemen in Yaxham against Roger Bigod 'coram episcopo Constantiensi.'¹⁷

The great Huntingdonshire abbey of Ramsey held land in the low-lying western portions of the county. The most important of its possessions

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 83.

² Dom. Bk. ff. 192, 194.

³ Dom. Bk. f. 145b; *Inq. Com. Cantab.* p. 140.

⁴ Ibid. ff. 162-163; *I.C.C.* pp. 138, 139.

⁵ Ibid. f. 203; *I.C.C.* p. 141.

⁶ Ibid. f. 238; *I.C.C.* p. 137.

⁷ Ibid. f. 266; *I.C.C.* p. 140.

⁸ Round, *Feudal England*, p. 457.

⁹ Ibid. f. 212b.

¹⁰ Ibid. iii, 140.

¹¹ *Mon. Angl.* iii, 140.

¹² Ibid. f. 166b; *I.C.C.* p. 140.

¹³ Ibid. f. 228; *I.C.C.* p. 195.

¹⁴ Ibid. f. 238b.

¹⁵ Ibid. f. 276; *I.C.C.* pp. 131, 137.

¹⁶ Dom. Bk. f. 136; *I.C.C.* pp. 137, 195.

¹⁷ *Inq. Com. Cantab.* p. 135.

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was the soke of the hundred-and-a-half of Clackclose, which went, so the Ramsey Cartulary tells us, with Wimbotsham and Downham Market.¹ The abbey does not seem to have increased its holding in Norfolk since the Conquest.

The Conqueror's foundation of St. Stephen's, Caen, held Well Hall and Gayton, formerly part of Stigand's possessions. No other religious house appears as a tenant-in-chief, but Cluny held West Walton of William de Warenne,² the nucleus of an estate which duly developed into Castle Acre priory; and St. Riquier near Abbeville held a small estate in Palgrave from the same lord.

In the Norfolk Domesday there is a little group of lay tenants whose lands take precedence even of the bishop's. They are the five barons of comital rank who held in Norfolk, together with Robert Malet, William de Warenne, and Roger Bigod.

Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, may be most conveniently treated as a lay baron.³ His lands come next to the king's, and he takes precedence of the other *Comites*. His estates in Norfolk—Snettisham, with its dependencies, Framingham and Cringleford—had all belonged to Stigand. On Odo's fall they returned to the crown. Following the earl of Kent, we find Robert count of Mortain and earl of Cornwall, Count Alan of Brittany (or rather Penthièvre), Count Eustace of Boulogne, and Hugh earl of Chester.

Of these, Count Alan⁴ was the chief landowner, and his fief formed a considerable portion of the later honour of Richmond. Costessy, however, Count Alan's chief manor, became detached from the rest of the honour, being granted to the Mowbrays by the crown on the first escheat of the fief. Count Alan, as we have seen, profited by the fall of Earl Ralf, and seems to have had a definite share of the earl's lands granted to him.⁵ The count appears in Domesday as holding a composite estate rather than as representing any definite 'antecessor,' since Gurth, Harold, Edric of Laxfield, Alfah, Alestan, and others are mentioned as previous holders. The history of the honour of Richmond belongs more properly to Yorkshire, as that of Mortain does to Cornwall, but Count Alan himself may be regarded as an East Anglian magnate, since we learn that he was buried at St. Edmund's.⁶

The lands of Robert Malet which became the later 'honour of Eye,' lay, as might be expected, mainly in the south of the county; though they included lands as far north as Bacton. Although William Malet, and Robert after him, appear as the representatives of Edric of Laxfield,⁷ the Malet fee did not include all Edric's property. Domesday has supplied a few details of the life of William Malet. He had already died as a monk of Bec⁸ at the date of the survey,⁹ and we learn that at some previous date he went on the king's

¹ *Ramsey Cart.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 214.

² Dom. Bk. f. 160.

³ Cf. *V.C.H. Essex*, i, 342.

⁴ A discussion of the pedigree of three 'Counts Alan' will be found in Munford's *Analysis of Dom. Bk. for Norfolk* (1858), pp. 9-12. See also Anselme, *Hist. de la Maison Royale de France*, iii, 49, 52.

⁵ Dom. Bk. ff. 147, 150, 254.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 140.

⁷ Dom. Bk. ff. 148b, 150b, 154, etc.

⁸ Lanfranc, *Opp.* (ed. 1648), App. 53.

⁹ Dom. Bk. ff. 133b, 189, 276b.

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service¹ into the fens,² presumably in 1071.³ Between these two dates a good deal of his property seems to have passed into other hands. His widow was living at the date of the survey,⁴ and seems to have recovered some property from Odo, bishop of Bayeux.⁵ She held 20 acres at Borston which the queen had given to her son Robert.⁶

Following the account of Robert Malet's lands come those of the lands of the two greatest lay holders, William de Warenne and Roger Bigod. The history of the Warenne family belongs more properly to that of the county of Sussex than to our present subject; nor do we learn much from the Norfolk Survey about William's own life. His property in the county, as a glance at the map will show, was almost all west of Norwich. Castle Acre, his own residence, where his wife Gundreda had died the year before the survey, may fairly be regarded as the centre of gravity of his fee in Norfolk. Domesday Book makes a somewhat unmethodical distinction between the portion of this property which William held as the representative of his brother Frederic,⁶ and that which he held 'for the Exchange' or 'for the Châtellenie' or honour 'of Lewes.'⁷ The history of this exchange is not clear,⁸ but for whatever reason the exchange was made, it was made manor for manor, since we are told that so much land or so many freemen were delivered 'for a manor' or 'to make up a manor.'⁹ These lands were the new part of the fee,¹⁰ and seem to have been made up largely of Stigand's forfeited estates. They consequently included lands like the Ely lands in the south-west of the county, of which Stigand had wrongful possession. The Alveva whose Norfolk lands also formed part of this exchange was presumably the Countess Alveva, mother of Earl Morcar,¹¹ and her lands must have come into the king's hands at the same time as those of Stigand.

Domesday tells us but little of Frederic, the original holder of the Warenne fee in Norfolk. We gather from the *Chronicon Monasterii de Hyda* and from the uncertain authority of the *Gesta Herewardi*¹² that he was William's brother, and that he was slain by Hereward in the rebellion of 1070. Domesday represents him as the successor of a Saxon Toka holding large estates in the north and west of the county. The two gifts to religious houses at West

¹ Dom. Bk. f. 247. The Domesday juries seem to say that he died on *this* expedition; cf. f. 332b.

² Ibid. ff. 133b, 260.

³ Mr. Freeman held that he could not be identical with the William Malet who died at Bec, because he 'died fighting in the marshes of Ely' (vol. iii, 2nd ed. p. 777), a statement which he repeats in vol. iv (1st ed. p. 473), and vol. v (p. 39), relying on the Norfolk passage (f. 133b) 'quando ivit in maresc.' But Mr. Round has suggested (*Academy*, 26 April, 1884) that 'maresc' (a most unlikely word) is a scribal blunder for 'euuic' (i.e. York), which would make perfect sense (J. H. R.).

⁴ Dom. Bk. f. 155.

⁵ Ibid. f. 450.

⁶ Ibid. f. 157b, sqq.

⁷ Ibid. and ff. 162b, 163.

⁸ Mr. Salzmänn points out that an examination of the Domesday Survey of Sussex shows that a manor in the hundred of East Grinstead in the count of Mortain's 'rape' or honour of Pevensey had belonged to William de Warenne's Lewes rape (*V. C. H. Sussex*, i, 418), and another still did so (ibid. 419), while William himself held land in the count's hundred of Rotherfield (ibid. 420), which suggests that these two hundreds, with those of Hartfield and 'Riston,' lying north-west of the archbishop's hundred of Malling, may have originally belonged—as they do geographically—to the Lewes honour, but have been taken away by the king and given to the count of Mortain, William de Warenne being compensated by the grant of these Norfolk lands. However, it seems also possible that the story may be connected with the Warenne benefactions to Cluny, since we find of Barnham Broom 'Hoc totum est de escangio de Laquis de terra sanctorum' (Dom. Bk. f. 166b). But against the evidence of this single passage must be put the constant references to the 'castellatio' and 'castellum' of Lewes and the fact that William's benefactions to Cluny were almost entirely made after the date of the Domesday Survey.

⁹ Dom. Bk. f. 164. *Hoc est pro uno manerio de Laquis.*

¹⁰ *de nova terra*, Dom. Bk. f. 165b.

¹¹ Ellis, *Int. to Domesday*, i, 370 n.

¹² *Liber de Hyda* (Rolls Ser.), 295; *Gesta Her.* (in *Gaimar*, Rolls Ser.) i, 369.

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Walton and at Palgrave were both made out of his lands. If we are right in regarding Gimingham and Sidestrand as part of his estates, we can probably place Waleran's tenure of Norwich before 1070,¹ since the latter seems to have been acting as sheriff when the manors were united.

As in the case of the Lewes exchange, so in that of Frederic we find a reckoning by manors, as though the Conqueror's barons had each received some definite number of them in each county.²

The lands of Roger Bigod, the founder of the house of the earls of Norfolk, occupy more of the space of Little Domesday than those of William de Warenne. They hardly look so important on our map, since so many of the holdings mentioned have not been marked, being of less than one carucate. The salient feature of the Bigod holding is the immense number of small freeholders which it comprised. A special section of the account (ff. 183-190) is devoted to these freeholders, and many others will be found in the description of Roger's larger estates. As William de Warenne was the great landholder of the north and west of Norfolk, so in the south and east Roger's was the predominant power. Like William, again, he owed a considerable portion of his Norfolk lands to a recent exchange. The king had enfeoffed Isaac, a Suffolk tenant-in-chief, with certain lands formerly belonging to Earl Ralf, and had given Roger Bigod other lands in Norfolk by way of compensation.³ Roger seems to have been sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk at the date of the survey,⁴ and probably had burgesses in Norwich⁵ and Thetford⁶ in that capacity. He had previously held Earsham under Stigand.⁷ He had a brother William who came from Apulia with Geoffrey Ridel, and thus forms a curious link with the Norman kingdom of Sicily.⁸ The connexion of the two realms still subsisted under Henry II.⁹ Roger's estate was a composite one. Besides the land which he had held of Stigand, some of which came to him on Stigand's fall, he held the lands of Alwi of Thetford which King William gave him,¹⁰ and he is mentioned as the successor of Godwin, Earl Ralf's uncle,¹¹ and of Bishop Aylmer,¹² and he had obtained a share of the lands of Edric of Laxfield.¹³

Of the remaining lay tenants we may notice Godric Dapifer, whom we have met before as the farmer of Earl Ralf's lands. In his own capacity he seems to have succeeded to many of the earl's free tenants, as well as to the lands of Edwin, one of King Edward's own thegns.¹⁴ Hermer de Ferrières, the holder of the later barony of Wormegay, afterwards held by the Bardolfs, was the successor of a Danish Turchetel,¹⁵ and his fee is a good example of the simple substitution of a Norman tenant for a pre-Conquest holder. The holding seems to have remained almost unaltered as late as the fourteenth century, as will be seen by comparing Domesday with the returns of knights' fees in *Feudal Aids*.

¹ Dom. Bk. 117*b* and 170*b*.

² Ibid. f. 170*b*; cf. Maitland, *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, pp. 127 sq.

³ Dom. Bk. f. 179.

⁴ Ibid. and 185*b*. See Mr. Round's note below, p. 37, note 15.

⁵ Ibid. f. 118.

⁶ Ibid. f. 173.

⁷ Ibid. f. 139.

⁸ Ibid. f. 180.

⁹ *Dial. de Scaccario*, I, vi, and note.

¹⁰ Dom. Bk. ff. 181*b*, 182.

¹¹ Ibid. f. 143*b*.

¹² Ibid. f. 175*b*.

¹³ Ibid. f. 179*b*, 180.

¹⁴ Ibid. ff. 175*b*, 203, 203*b*. Godric, however, seems to have got into trouble on one occasion, as a 'forisfactura' which he suffered is mentioned on f. 278.

¹⁵ Ibid. ff. 205*b*, sqq.

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William de Scohies (presumably a Norman from Écouis, near Les Andelys) held a composite fee. His lands are said to have been sold, and thus to have come into the barony of Giffard, from which they became a part of the Clare estates. Ralf de Bella Fago, who held a similarly composite fee, seems to have been related to William, bishop of Thetford. His lands remained almost unaltered in the fourteenth century as the Barony of Rie. Much of his holding had previously been in Stigand's hands, and Osmund, a thegn of Stigand, is named as his 'antecessor,'¹ as is also Eudo, son of Clamahoc.² Rainald son of Ivo similarly succeeded his father Ivo, and through him Wihenoc, one of the despoilers of Ely.³ His lands also became part of the Clare inheritance.

Ralf de Toesni, a benefactor of St. Taurin, Evreux, and a holder in several English counties, got possession of Harold's manor of Necton, with its dependencies, and this constituted the bulk of his Norfolk estate, which remained for a considerable period in the family, and was later augmented by the acquisition of Saham Toney. The fee of Hugh de Montfort, the later honour of Haughley, seems to have become attached to the office of the constable of Dover. In Norfolk Hugh appears as the successor of a Saxon Bond,⁴ though a single estate, that at Wykes in Garboldisham, was derived from Gudmund, the brother of Abbot Wulfric of Ely. The *Inquisitio Eliensis* tells us that the hundred bears witness that this manor 'semper jacuit ad abbatiam.'⁵ The same Gudmund was Hugh's predecessor in Essex.⁶ The relationship of the *Honor Constabularie* to the office of Constable of England may be more profitably discussed in connexion with Suffolk.

The small estate of Eudo Dapifer in Norfolk seems not to have passed into the honour of Clare, as did his Essex property, but to have gone to another branch of the family, escheating to the crown on the death of Stephen de Cressi. As in Essex, Eudo was the successor of Lisois de Moutiers.⁷ Walter Giffard's estate, with that of William de Scohies, fell to the Clares. He appears to have succeeded to Hervey de Vere, who succeeded Bodin de Vere.⁸ As in Essex, so in Norfolk, Ralf Bainard owed a considerable part of his holding to a Saxon lady, Ailid.⁹ This fee escheated to the crown, and was re-granted to form the barony of Fitz-Walter. It is noteworthy that the lands held under Ralf Bainard by Geoffrey Bainard reappear in the fourteenth century in the hands of a Fulk Bainard, who holds the barony of Fitz-Walter.

The honour of Hatfield Peverel has been sufficiently dealt with under Essex.¹⁰ Ketel, whom Ranulf Peverel succeeded at Great Melton (not Melton Constable), had also held Frating, in Essex. In this fee, as in the previous case, we find a John Peverel holding in the fourteenth century what Warin, an under-tenant, held at the date of the survey, and conclude that Warin was a kinsman of Ranulf Peverel.

Robert de Verli's Norfolk fee is of interest, as having been given him in exchange for land in the Rodings in Essex. The compensation seems to have been taken out of the forfeitures due to Earl Ralf's rebellion. This fee can still be traced in the fourteenth century, when it was held by Philip de Virli, no longer in chief, but through Hugh Bardolf, of the earl of

¹ Dom. Bk. f. 151b.

⁴ Ibid. f. 197b.

⁶ V. C. H. Essex, i, 346.

⁹ V. C. H. Essex, i, 347.

² Ibid. ff. 138, 226b.

⁵ Inq. Com. Cantab. p. 140.

⁷ Dom. Bk. f. 239b.

¹⁰ Ibid. i, 346.

³ Ibid. f. 161b.

⁸ Ibid. ff. 115, 242.

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Warene. The fee of the Saxon Tovi can be similarly identified as that held later of the earl of Warene by Constantine de Mortuo Mari.

It will be noticed that the Domesday tenants often represent definite 'antecessores.' Thus, besides the instances already mentioned, Tibel de Heliun the Breton represents Leustan, Roger the Poitevin both Robert Blund and, as in Essex, Reimund Girald;¹ while Drew de Beuvrières and Eudo son of Spiruwic seem both to stand in the shoes of Humphrey (*Hainfridus*) of St. Omer.² Peter de Valoignes represented Bishop Aylmer's partner Anant.³

We must not, however, omit to notice the smaller tenants-in-chief, whom we find at the end of the survey.⁴ Two were priests, Iuikel and Colebern, both of them tenants in Humbleyard hundred. The latter had himself built a church dedicated to St. Nicholas,⁵ and offered to endow it with twenty acres of land, holding it by divine service. He was to say mass weekly, and sing the psalms for the king's benefit. Two other priests, who held by the similar service of saying three masses weekly for the king and queen, are mentioned as under-tenants on Earl Ralf's escheat at Hevingham and Witton,⁶ but they paid rent in addition. Besides these, we find four arblasters and an engineer, who is variously described as *artifex* and *carpentarius*.⁷ These were presumably employed in the defence of the castle of Norwich. A falconer, Edric, held fifteen acres at Shelfanger.⁸ Another falconer had a large holding in Redenhall, but he was an under-tenant.⁹ He had been quit of court as Earl Ralf's falconer, and so now held under Godric, but paid no rent.¹⁰ The last two chapters before the 'Invasiones' are devoted to the king's freemen who hold directly of him. Some of these were farmed by Almar. It will be noticed that all of them held land in the eastern district of Norfolk.

Among the names destined to be better known at a somewhat later period, one may mention that of Robert de Glanville among the under-tenants, among whom also we note W. Peche (*percursum*), the forefather of an East Anglian house, and, under Roger Bigod, Aitard and Robert de Vaux (*vais*), whose house held of Roger's heir in 1166 no less than thirty fees. Reinald de Perapunt was of that family which settled, under Warene, in East Anglia and Sussex and gave name to Hurstpierpoint in the latter district. The earl of Chester had for tenant Richard de Vernon, his Cheshire baron and Count Alan had enfeoffed Bretons, Ribald, Guihumar, and Gingom.¹¹

In Norfolk we have less information than usual as to the churches and their glebes, owing to Domesday's practice in this county of including their value, as it warns us,¹² in that of their manors.¹³ This was pre-eminently the

¹ Dom. Bk. f. 140b; *P. C. H. Essex*, i. 334.

² Dom. Bk. ff. 138b, 140.

³ *Ibid.* f. 103b.

⁴ Among these was one who held but in this county, and only a single manor, and yet whose name was, in later days, to become great among the feudal barons, this was Humfrey de Bohun (J. H. R.).

⁵ Dom. Bk. f. 263b.

⁶ *Ibid.* ff. 133, 133b.

⁷ *Ibid.* ff. 260b, 270b.

⁸ *Ibid.* f. 272.

⁹ *Ibid.* f. 103b.

¹⁰ Mr. Round points out the interesting fact that the 'one carucate' in Redenhall which, after Ralf's forfeiture, he held of the king, was still held in the thirteenth century by falconer service, viz., 'keeping and mewing one goshawk' (*Cal. of Ing. p.m.* i. No. 33; cf. *Tenn.* pp. 283b, 284b, etc.).

¹¹ This paragraph and the next are by Mr. Round, who also calls attention to the name of Walter of Caen (f. 154), an under-tenant of Robert Malet, who fills an important place in the pedigree of the Stewarts and the Chesneys. (See *Genealogia*, xvii. pp. 6 and 13; and *Engl. Arch. Trans.* (New Ser.), viii. 102-108.)

¹² e.g. Dom. Bk. ff. 172, 208.

¹³ We may, however, note an interesting case of joint endowment at Swanton-in-Fornett (f. 183b), where there was '1 ecclesia, 60 acre de libera terra elemosina plurimorum' (C. J.).

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case with the churches on the royal demesne, which we usually find, in other counties, richly endowed. The most interesting feature is found in the glimpses of the clergy's family life. At Thetford the mother-church of St. Mary, which had been held by Archbishop Stigand, was, at the time of the survey, in the hands of 'the sons of Erfast,' the late bishop.¹ His predecessor, Æthelmær, we saw, had been married; his wife had brought him an estate at Blofield, which passed with the see to Bishop William.² Of Hemsby, surveyed just after it, we read that he had been given it by his brother Stigand, who seems to have obtained it in doubtful fashion, but that thenceforth it had passed with the see. This confusion of private and official estate is not uncommon in Domesday. Towards the end of the county survey we find the lands of an Englishman, Edmund the son of Payn, in the hands of Rainald the priest 'cum filia Pagani,' whom he had presumably married.

In dealing with the Domesday tenants-in-chief we have learnt incidentally something about their predecessors, both before and after King Edward's death. We may, however, take occasion to mention the Siward who appears as holding land in Sherringham, Salhouse, and Beckham, under the title of 'Seiard,' or 'Seiar' Bar.³ Siward held land in several counties and is known as one of the companions of Hereward.⁴ His Norfolk estate was held at the date of the survey by William de Scohies.⁵ As might be expected, many of the pre-Conquest holders had Danish names, such as Ketel, Ulfketel, Thurketel, Thorgrim, and so forth. Some of them are described as thegns, either of King Edward, as Alsì,⁶ Hagane,⁷ Edric (of Laxfield),⁸ Olf,⁹ Edwin,¹⁰ Leuolt,¹¹ Fradre,¹² Leofric son of Bosa,¹³ Ordinc,¹⁴ Alric,¹⁵ Toreth,¹⁶ or of other persons. Thus, Harold had three thegns, Alestan,¹⁷ Alfere,¹⁸ and Aluric;¹⁹ and Stigand two, Algar²⁰ and Offo.²¹ At Saxlingham²² we find Stergar, a huscarl; and Edric, the king's steersman, held land at Bradiston.²³

Many of the holders of land before the Conquest seem to have been ladies. In Norfolk we know the names of about a dozen, the chief of whom is that Ailid whose lands in the three eastern counties went to make up the fief of Ralf Bainard.²⁴ We also find an Alveva to whom William de Warenne succeeded at Feltwell, Woodrising, and Grimston,²⁵ and hear of the wives of such great landholders as Ulchetel²⁶ and Earl Ralf.²⁷ Not the least interesting are the kinswomen of the bishops, Stigand's sister, who had land in Norwich,²⁸ Aylmer's wife, before he became bishop,²⁹ and Arfast's niece Helewis.³⁰ We hear incidentally of smaller holders, such as the poor widow who held Aluin's land in Mileham and Bittering, and 'nichil reddit quia nichil habet,'³¹ Godric paying her rent for her. At Seething a poor nun

¹ Dom. Bk. f. 118b.

² Ibid. f. 195.

³ Ibid. ff. 223b, 128.

⁴ Mr. Round has discussed the identity of this Siward in *V.C.H. Warwick*, i, 283 seq. The surname certainly suggests a connexion with the Northumbrian family, but Mr. Searle (*Ang-Sax. Bishops, etc.* 446), apparently on Orderic's authority, calls him 'tribunus Merciorum' and son of Æthelgar.

⁵ A very great landowner, Ansgar the staller, is incidentally mentioned under Riston (J. H. R.).

⁶ Dom. Bk. f. 130.

⁷ Ibid. f. 130b.

⁸ Ibid. f. 178.

⁹ Ibid. f. 180.

¹⁰ Ibid. f. 203.

¹¹ Ibid. f. 208.

¹² Ibid. f. 226.

¹³ Ibid. f. 228b.

¹⁴ Ibid. f. 229b.

¹⁵ Ibid. f. 246b.

¹⁶ Ibid. f. 250.

¹⁷ Ibid. f. 181b.

¹⁸ Ibid. f. 244.

¹⁹ Ibid. f. 268.

²⁰ Ibid. f. 152b.

²¹ Ibid. f. 186.

²² Ibid. f. 266.

²³ Ibid. f. 200.

²⁴ *V. C. H. Essex*, i, 347.

²⁵ Dom. Bk. ff. 160b, 162, 167.

²⁶ Ibid. f. 182b.

²⁷ Ibid. f. 244.

²⁸ Ibid. f. 116.

²⁹ Ibid. f. 195.

³⁰ Ibid. f. 200b.

³¹ Ibid. f. 121.

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claimed 4 acres which she held before and after Ralf's forfeiture. The king, however, had given her land to Isaac, and we do not know whether any compensation was made.

As in Essex and Suffolk, so in Norfolk, the quantity of stock upon each manor is recorded. Besides the oxen for the ploughs, which we may fairly set down as eight for each plough,¹ we find cows, horses, pigs, sheep, and goats.² Beehives are also thought worth registering, and in some places we find brood mares. One donkey is recorded at Beechamwell,³ and one mule at Rudham,⁴ but it is incredible that there should have been no others in the county. We may conclude that the others are to be found among the *otiosa animalia* which head the list of stock for each manor. We know, however, from the *Inquisitio Eliensis* that 'idle beasts' is sometimes merely a paraphrase for cows; since where Domesday records one cow in the Ely manor of Marham, the *Inquisitio* reports the existence of *una animalia*.⁵ Domesday is usually reticent about cows as such; they are not named more than three or four times in the Norfolk Survey.⁶

Horses also seem but few. The necessary carting may have been partly done by the plough oxen, and a manor which employs as many as five to eight plough-teams will be content with two *runcini*⁷ or even one *equus in aula*.⁸ It seems likely that horses used for riding are not reckoned as part of the farm stock.

Horsebreeding seems to have been a decaying industry in Norfolk at the time of the survey. There were about two-fifths as many brood-mares running wild as there had been twenty years before, but this may be due to a local change in the south of the county. Thus Edric of Laxfield's 220 mares at Great Hockham had altogether disappeared, as had Lovell's eleven at Sturston, while at Tottington, close by, Alwi's herd of sixty-three had fallen to fifteen. Roger Bigod and Ralf Bainard may have found horsebreeding unprofitable, but Hermer de Ferrières seems to have kept up Turchetel's stud at Stow Bardolph and at Great Ellingham, and both in Clackclose hundred and in the little horsebreeding district in Happing⁹ hundred the stock seems to have been fairly maintained. Low marshy ground was probably regarded as the most suitable, since we find sheep wherever we find horses, and it is not unlikely that the sheep replaced them in the south of the county.

Mr. Round has pointed out¹⁰ how important a position in the economy of Domesday is filled by the sheep, as producing milk and cheese, and with this consideration before us we wonder less at the apparent scarcity of cows. We know that the salt marshes were their favourite pasture,¹¹ and we are not therefore surprised to find the largest flock, numbering 1,300, attributed to Walton, one of the 'seven towns' intercommoning on Tilney

¹ Round, *Feud. Engl.* 35, 36.

² As many as eighty goats are found at Bradenham, Dom. Bk. f. 252.

³ Dom. Bk. f. 190b.

⁴ Ibid. f. 169b.

⁵ Ibid. f. 212b; *Inq. Com. Cantab.* p. 130.

⁶ Mr. Round draws attention to a remarkable and possibly unique case at Hempnall, where the manor, in addition to its annual rent, rendered, in live stock, six cows, twenty swine, and twenty rams (f. 249). No cows are mentioned among its standing live stock, which indeed seems small for so large an annual render.

⁷ e.g. Bacton, Dom. Bk. 155b.

⁸ Ibid. f. 246.

⁹ Horsey in Happing hundred suggests 'Horse Island' and is close to the Danish district of Flegg. We may not be entitled to regard 'wild horses' as a Scandinavian characteristic; still stallion-fighting was one of their most famous amusements. (See e.g. *Burnt Njal*, ch. lviii.)

¹⁰ *V. C. H. Essex*, i, 371.

¹¹ Hence the French term 'pré salé' for mutton (J. H. R.).

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Smeeth.¹ A glance at the ordnance map reveals the extreme complication of the south-western corner of Freebridge hundred, and suggests that at least two parcellings out of reclaimed land must have been made. This classic instance is not, however, so interesting as a similar tract between the rivers Yare and Waveney, which is split up between the six parishes of Langley, Chedgrave, Toft Monks, Stockton, Loddon, and Raveningham, half of which belong to Clavering hundred, and half to that of Loddon. The corresponding tract north of the Yare, known as The Marsh, is similarly divided between the hundreds of Walsham and Blofield. We are not, therefore, entitled to assume that the sheep enumerated in the account of any manor actually fed in the immediate neighbourhood of the village which now bears the name of the manor.

If we make a rough map of the county, marking each manor where more than 100 sheep are recorded, we find, as might be expected, that much of the sheep-farming went on in the western portion of the county in the marshes of Freebridge and Clackclose hundreds. We find sheep along the course of the Little Ouse, near Thetford, and also in the tract extending along the valleys of the Yare and Waveney, and in the northern hundreds of Smethden, Brothercross, Gallow, and North Greenhoe. It is probably safe to assume that these last were pastured on the salt marshes which stretch from Blakeney to Titchwell along the north coast, just as Bishop William's 100 sheep in Hindringham (f. 192) seem to have been pastured in Wells and Warham. In most cases we are left to infer the existence of these pastures from the numbers of the stock, so it may not be out of place to enumerate the few instances in which the 'pastura ovium' is mentioned. In Clavering hundred Haddiscoe has pasture for forty sheep and for fifty more,² Wheatacre for 200,³ Heckingham has 'marsh' for sixty sheep,⁴ while in Raveningham 'one freeman, Ketel Friedai,' has seven acres and 1 marsh.⁵ In Freebridge hundred there is a pasture at Upwell, or Outwell, measuring five furlongs by four.⁶ In Clackclose hundred there is a marsh at Marham, whereof 'nescitur mensura.'⁷ In North Greenhoe hundred there is pasture for 200 sheep at Wells next the sea,⁸ and finally there are sixteen acres of marsh in Norwich hundred.⁹

The part of the county in which sheep seem least numerous may be found by drawing a line from Cromer to East Dereham, and another line from East Dereham to Harleston or Diss. For about five miles on each side of these lines, which form an angle at East Dereham, sheep may be said to be comparatively scarce. Norfolk is, on the whole, a flat county, but a good deal of the higher ground lies within the tract just described. This ground was probably fairly well wooded in 1086. We can infer this with tolerable certainty from the distribution of pigs in Domesday Book. As in the case of the sheep we must allow for a good deal of intercommoning at all events between manors, but when we find groups of villages lying near together and supporting more than a hundred swine each, we may safely conclude that they lay in a well-wooded district. Wood is often expressed in terms of pigs, as at Whinburgh,¹⁰ but in a few cases measurements are given. Thus

¹ Maitland, *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, 365 n.

² Dom. Bk. ff. 182, 190.

³ Ibid. f. 250.

⁴ Ibid. f. 205.

⁵ Ibid. ff. 135b, 273b.

⁶ Ibid. f. 221b.

⁷ Ibid. f. 212b.

⁸ Ibid. f. 271.

⁹ Ibid. f. 234b.

¹⁰ Ibid. f. 207b.

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in Clackclose hundred 'half a league' of wood belonged to Fincham,¹ an acre to Stow Bardolph,² 16 acres to South Runcton,³ and 4 acres to Barton Bendish.⁴ In Brothercross hundred we hear of a wood called Fangeham Wood 'sixty acres in length'⁵ at Colekirk, while in Depwade hundred at Hemenhale there was a wood called 'Schieteshaga' supporting 200 swine.⁶ Bittering, in Launditch hundred, had 7 acres,⁷ and Sparham, in Eynesford hundred, had six.⁸ For the most part, however, we must be content with statistics as to swine, and these would lead us to conclude that apart from some stray woods about Heacham and Snettisham and along the course of the Nar, most of the woodland was precisely where we find a scarcity of sheep, that is to say, from Diss north-westwards to Wayland Wood, where the babes

'were found stiff and stark,
And stone dead, by two little cock robins,'⁹

and thence north-easterly in the hundreds of Midford, Launditch, and Eynesford. Nearer the north coast pigs become decidedly scarcer. The largest herd of swine for which pasture is recorded was one of 1,200 at Thorpe next Norwich, but several towns such as Mileham, Necton, and Buxton had 1,000, and there had been 1,500 at Harold's manor of Cawston. We may regard these numbers as guesswork, but Domesday is sometimes very precise about subdivisions of such pastures as those described. At 'Strincham' (i.e. Itteringham), for instance, we find two sokemen who have 'wood for 18 pigs and 2 thirds of another,'¹⁰ which may well take rank with the famous 'semibos.'¹¹

The same two sokemen had seven-eighths of a mill, which might seem at first sight to require explanation. Professor Maitland suggests that in such cases the 'mill has been erected at the cost of the vill.'¹² We may conclude that in both these cases the fractional expression is the result of co-ownership, even though we are unable to trace the remaining eighth of the mill. Half-mills are somewhat common in Norfolk, the profits being divided between two owners, and in some cases perhaps between two adjoining townships.¹³

There was no lack of mills in Norfolk. For the most part they follow the courses of the rivers, the Great Ouse, with its tributaries, the Nar, Stoke, and Little Ouse in the west, the Bure, Wensum, Yare, and Waveney in the east. Some places, such as Thetford, where there were seven mills, must have had a considerable milling industry. One of the Thetford mills brought in £1 12s. a year.¹⁴ Wymondham had 5½ mills, Gooderstone 5, Aylsham and East Dereham 4 each, as had Heacham, Snettisham, and Castle Rising near the west coast, North Barsham, near Walsingham, and Shropham in the south.

We hear of a good many river fisheries; Hockwold had six and Methwold seven, but in many places where we should expect to find them we find no record. Of sea fisheries we hear little or nothing since we cannot certainly set down the fisheries at Hunstanton, Heacham, and Castle Rising as such. Even on the Yarmouth herring fishery Domesday is silent, so far as Norfolk

¹ Dom. Bk. f. 205b.

² Ibid. f. 230b.

³ Ibid. f. 137.

⁴ Dom. Bk. f. 196b.

⁵ Dom. Bk. and Beyond, 144.

⁶ Ibid. f. 206.

⁷ Ibid. f. 197.

⁸ Ibid. f. 204.

⁹ Maitland, *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, 142.

¹⁰ Cf. *V. C. H. Essex*, i, 379.

¹¹ Ibid. f. 209.

¹² Ibid. f. 248.

¹³ Vide *Ancestor*, xii, 179.

¹⁴ Dom. Bk. f. 173.

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is concerned. The only allusion occurs under Lothingland hundred in Suffolk.¹ We do, indeed, hear of a rent of 2,000 herrings, but that is paid by Thorpe in Blofield hundred, within two miles of Norwich.² We can hardly imagine that the Thorpe boats came all the way up the Yare to land their catch, and it is not impossible the Thorpe fishery was really at Yarmouth, and that the fish were cured there and taken up to Thorpe as occasion served.³

In Norfolk, as in Essex, the salt industry was extremely local, being confined almost exclusively to the hundreds of Freebridge and East Flegg. We hear nothing of any fishery at Lynn, any more than at Yarmouth, but beyond a few incidental notices we know nothing of Lynn. It seems likely, however, that the concentration of the salt industry on these two centres points to a great consumption of salt in the preparation of salt fish, and the fasts of the Church made that occupation of vastly more importance than it is now. The largest block of saltpans is found at Caister, near Yarmouth, where there were 39, belonging to 80 freemen who held under the king, and 6 belonging to the abbey of St. Benet of Holme. But the whole hundred was full of saltpans; we find them at Mautby, Runham, Herringby, Stokesby, Filby, Thrigby, and Ormesby. In West Flegg there were fewer, but Somerton, Winterton, Hemsby, Clippesby, and Burgh all possessed them. We may probably place the saltpans of Halvergate, Cantley, and Plumstead, the $2\frac{1}{2}$ of South Walsham, and the half saltpan of South Burlingham, east of Acle, in the marsh district between the Yare and the Bure. The half saltpan at Sutton, in Happening hundred, is difficult to place, since it is hard to imagine that Stalham Broad could be very salt, and Hickling Broad is not within the parish boundary. On the north coast the only saltpan mentioned was at Burnham, but from Heacham southwards they are common enough. The whole hundred of Freebridge is full of saltpans, and they continue along the coast through Sandringham, Dersingham, Ingoldisthorpe, and Snettisham to Heacham. Inland we find a single saltpan at Shouldham Thorpe, at Rainham, and at Roudham, and a considerable number along the course of the Nar as far up as Lexham. It is hard to say whether these inland towns had outlying portions on the coast, or if not how far inland the salt water came.

We hear a great deal about bees in Norfolk, the number of hives being very frequently stated. To a society which had no 'groceries' this form of sugar was no doubt of great importance. The constant allusions to honey in the Welsh laws will occur to everyone as parallel evidence. Of the possible significance of honey rents we have already spoken.

Sporting rights are hardly mentioned; we find hawks in the renders of Norwich and Yarmouth, and we have already alluded to the existence of falconers. We may add the single instance of a deer park in Count Alan's manor of Costessy.⁴ Neither can we gather much as to any industries except salt works. The hides in the render of Thetford point to some working in leather, but this cannot have been in any way exceptional. Markets are mentioned in Holt (where there was also a 'port'),⁵ Dunham in Launditch hundred,⁶ and Litcham,⁷ but we may probably assume that the chief town of

¹ Dom. Bk. f. 283.

² Ibid. f. 138.

³ Ballard, *The Domesday Boroughs*, 11 sqq.

⁴ Dom. Bk. f. 145.

⁵ Ibid. f. 111.

⁶ 'Half a market,' Ibid. f. 137.

⁷ 'A quarter of a market.' Ibid. f. 207b.

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every hundred was a market town. Ellis, by a strange mistranslation, adds a market in Colney.¹

The human live stock of the Domesday manor in Norfolk is divided into the usual three classes of villeins, bordars, and serfs.² They differ from the freemen and sokemen in being reckoned as appurtenant to the estate, with the ploughs and the cattle. To specify the exact extent of the servitude of these three classes would be very difficult, but we may regard them all as, in a sense, *adscripti glebæ*, and all dependent for such rights as they possess on the manor court. The villeins at least have their virgates or half virgates of land and their oxen; the bordars may be supposed to have their cottages and curtilages.³ Of the serfs we know next to nothing, but we seem to trace some numerical connexion between them and the plough-teams, and we know that they were slaves in a sense in which the others were not. As the effect of the Conquest on the relative numbers of these three classes is so decidedly marked in Essex,⁴ it may be worth while to set out the pre-Conquest and post-Conquest 'states' of a few manors in Norfolk also. In many cases there is no change recorded, so that the selection of instances is a little difficult.

ROYAL MANORS

SOUTHMERE						* SAHAM TONEY ⁵					
	V.	B.	S.	Demesne Teams	Men's Teams		V.	B.	S.	Demesne Teams	Men's Teams
1066	. . 21	2	6	. . 3	. . 1	1066	. . 43	0	1	. . 1	. . 12
1086	. . 19	2	6	. . 2	. . 1	1086	. . 4	11	1	. . 2	. . 3

* HINGHAM						* WIGHTON					
	V.	B.	S.	Demesne Teams	Men's Teams		V.	B.	S.	Demesne Teams	Men's Teams
1066	. . 60	18½	0	. . 1	. . 15	1066	. . 26	24	0	. . 1	. . 10
1086	. . 60	29	0	. . 1	. . 20	1086	. . 26	17	0	. . 1	. . 7

EARL RALF'S MANORS

* SPORLE						KIMBERLEY					
	V.	B.	S.	D.T.	M.T.		V.	B.	S.	D.T.	M.T.
1066	. . 32	0	2	. . 1	. . 10	1066	. . 10	8	4	. . 2	. . 8
1086	. . 20	3	6	. . 4	. . 3	1086	. . 14	12	4	. . 2	. . 8

CANTLEY						REDENHALL					
	V.	B.	S.	D.T.	M.T.		V.	B.	S.	D.T.	M.T.
1066	. . 4	33	4	. . 3	. . 8	1066	. . 30	6	4	. . 2	. . 6
1086	. . 4	42	2	. . 2	. . 8	1086	. . 10	6	1	. . 2	. . 2½

CHURCH LANDS

SEDGEFORD ⁶						BEIGHTON ⁶					
	V.	B.	S.	D.T.	M.T.		V.	B.	S.	D.T.	M.T.
1066	. . 15	39	5	. . 0	. . 5	1066	. . 0	40	0	. . 2	. . 5½
1086	. . 5	39	5	. . 0	. . 5	1086	. . 0	29	0	. . 2	. . 5

FELTWELL ⁷						LODDON ⁹					
	V.	B.	S.	D.T.	M.T.		V.	B.	S.	D.T.	M.T.
1066	. . 40	5	14	. . 5	. . 6	1066	. . 3	8	0	. . 2	. . 2
1086	. . 28	10	12	. . 4 ⁸	. . 3	1086	. . 3	16	0	. . 3	. . 1

¹ Dom. Bk. f. 204b.

² On these classes cf. Maitland, *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, 26-66.

³ A bordar in Beckham had 1 acre, Dom. Bk. f. 128.

⁴ *V. C. H. Essex*, i, 360 sq.

⁵ * signifies King Edward's Lands.

⁶ The Bishop.

⁷ Ely.

⁸ *Inq. Elien.* 5.

⁹ St. Edmunds.

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LAY TENANTS

CASTLE ACRE ¹						FORNCETT ²					
	V.	B.	S.	Demesne Teams	Men's Teams		V.	B.	S.	Demesne Teams	Men's Teams
1066 . . .	2	42	8	3	8	1066 . . .	1	8	0	2	2
1086 . . .	2	48	3	0	0	1086 . . .	2	14	0	2	2

WHINBURGH ³						MARKSHALL ⁴					
	V.	B.	S.	D.T.	M.T.		V.	B.	S.	D.T.	M.T.
1066 . . .	9	8	8	4	3	1066 . . .	12	8	2	2	5
1086 . . .	13	12	8	4	4	1086 . . .	11	7	1	2	5

A table of twenty entries taken at random gives the following results for about sixty-five recorded plough-lands.

	V.	B.	S.	Total Plough Teams
1066	136	311	53	105
1086	119	302	45	83½

It will be noticed that the serfs are few, only about 1 in 27 of the recorded population according to Ellis's figures,⁵ and that they seem to be decreasing more rapidly than the other two classes. The proportion is 1:22½ in Suffolk, while in Essex, the only other county where the figures are fairly comparable, it is 1:9. Comparing the counties in Greater Domesday we find 1:9 in Hertfordshire as against *none* in Lincoln and Huntingdon and 1 in 3 and 1 in 4 in Berkshire and Gloucestershire. We may safely conclude that East Anglia was on the whole a free country. The figures quoted above, which have not been selected for the purpose, afford a fair number of instances of the proportion of two serfs per demesne-team which Mr. Round has pointed out in the case of Essex;⁶ but it will be noticed that some manors had no serfs, and some no villeins.

Leaving the demesne lands of the tenants-in-chief we have to consider the numerous under-tenants. The distracting wealth of detail of Little Domesday is nowhere more apparent than in the descriptions of these dependent holders. Highest in the scale come the Norman under-tenants such as Geoffrey Bainard, William de Noyers, or Roger Longsword. We are not told how they held of their lords, but we are probably not anticipating the course of events if we suppose them to have been for the most part the 'knights' of the tenants-in-chief, holding of them by some kind of military service and by suit to their lord's court. Some of the tenants-in-chief were themselves under-tenants of other lords. Such a holder would have a manor or manors and was emphatically *liber homo*. But we find other tenants of various degrees of freedom, some described as *liberi homines*, some as *sochemanni* holding tenements of all sorts of sizes down to a few acres. How and to what extent were they dependents on their lords?

We shall probably be wise not to attach much importance to the apparent distinction of freemen and sokemen. Thus the four freemen whom Domesday attributes to the manor of Methwold⁷ are described by the *Inquisitio Eliensis* as sokemen.⁸ Again, of six freemen at Deopham, who had been added since the Conquest to Ralf de Beaufeu's manor of Deopham,⁹ three were

¹ W. de Warenne.

² Roger Bigod.

³ Hermer de Ferrières.

⁴ Ralf de Bella Fago.

⁵ *Int. to Domesday*, ii, 470.

⁷ Dom. Bk. f. 136b.

⁶ *V. C. H. Essex*, i, 361, sq.

⁸ *Inq. Com. Cantab.* p. 137.

⁹ Dom. Bk. f. 227.

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sokemen of Stigand, and all seem to have been transferred to Eudo son of Clam-ahoc, Ralf's predecessor in title, from the crown manor of Hingham.¹ Yet these 'freemen' are distinguished as *liberi* from the twenty-five sokemen of Deopham just as the three freemen are distinguished from the thirteen sokemen in Fersfield.² Apparently the same man might be a freeman or a sokeman, according to the relation in which he was regarded.³ Freedom, however, was itself relative: freemen might constitute a valuable property. Thus Earl Ralf's freemen in Blofield and Walsham hundreds were worth £13,⁴ and Stigand's freemen in Earsham hundred had rendered £2 a year under penalty of double if they failed to pay.⁵ At the date of the survey they rendered £16 as part of the farm of Earsham.⁶ No doubt in many cases these freeholders paid an actual fixed rent or *census* to their lords. Thus Godric was accountable for the rent of land held by a poor widow in Mileham which she was too poor to pay;⁷ and we hear of a freeman of Thirning who 'fuit in censu de Salla regis' in Earl Ralf's time. We also hear of a sub-reeve of Earsham who held certain lands and 'abstulit censum.'⁸

But we are not entitled to assume that all freeholders not holding by military service paid rent, we may perhaps even guess that the juries regarded such payment as a derogation of freedom. There were two other bonds possible between the freeman and his lord—'Commendation' and 'Soke'—and Domesday for Norfolk is full of references to both of them. They are clearly regarded as differing in kind, and might bind the same man to two different lords.

'Commendation' is constantly presented to us as the slightest bond possible. 'Nil habuit nisi commendationem' recurs at every point of the survey. In one precious instance we have the word 'homage,' apparently implying the same connexion.⁹ We gather that a man might 'commend' himself to whom he would,¹⁰ as Edric of Laxfield's sokeman in Haddiscoe 'commended himself' to Aluin, and as a freeman in Gateley 'became Bishop Arfast's man.'¹¹ As in later times we find 'homage' coupled with and distinguished from 'service,' so in Domesday we have *consuetudo* set over against *commendatio*, and both distinguished from 'soke.' Thus Hermer de Ferrières had nineteen freemen in Garveston. The hundred asserts and offers to prove by ordeal that Turchetel, Hermer's predecessor, had the 'commendation' only and no *consuetudo*, while one of Hermer's men maintains on the same terms that he had all *consuetudo* except the soke, which belonged to Ely.¹² We find further that a man might be commended to more than one lord even for the same piece of land.¹³ Thus we find a man whose commendation was divided between Ralf Baynard's predecessor and the abbot of St. Edmund's.¹⁴

¹ Dom. Bk. f. 110b.

² Ibid. f. 130b.

³ Ibid. f. 121 (Kimberley).

⁴ Ibid. ff. 123, 123b, 129b.

⁵ This is clearly what Cowell, quoting a Peterb. MS., calls *Libera wara*. 'Libera wara est unus redditus et est talis conditionis, quod si non solvatur suo tempore, duplicatur in crastino, et sic deinceps indies.' (Cowell, *Law Dict.* s. v. *Wara*.)

⁶ Dom. Bk. f. 139b.

⁷ Ibid. f. 121.

⁸ Ibid. f. 199.

⁹ Ibid. f. 172, Plumstead.

¹⁰ Ibid. f. 182.

¹¹ Ibid. f. 197b.

¹² Ibid. f. 207.

¹³ A remarkable case of the commendation of one Englishman to another in King William's time is that of Ælfstan, a thegn of Harold, who commended himself to 'Alwin' of Thetford, Roger Bigod's predecessor. His land passed, with Alwin's, to Roger, but the hundred challenged Alwin's right on the ground that he had obtained Ælfstan's land without the king's writ or livery of seisin. This illustrates the importance of the king's writ in all transactions affecting land (J. H. R.).

¹⁴ Dom. Bk. f. 249b.

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Perhaps the most striking change to which Domesday bears witness in Norfolk is the conversion of these *commendati*, or 'homagers,' into *consuetudinarii*, or customary tenants. The process (known to Domesday as *invasio*) has been referred to above.

King's officer, bishop, and baron all took a hand in the game.¹ On one ground or another, or perhaps none at all, the small free landowner, the yeoman as we should call him, was annexed to a neighbouring manor and his free status lost. Ralf 'Talisbosc,' notorious in Bedfordshire and elsewhere for acting in this way as a royal bailiff,² is found adding two freemen here also to the king's manor of Foulsham.³ As in Bedfordshire, Ivo 'Tallebosc' seems to have been also associated with the royal manors.⁴ The term 'ad censavit' in the passage cited in the note is explained by the action of a king's reeve—an Englishman like others of his class—Æthelwine of Thetford, who annexed a freeman at Scratby to the royal manor of Ormesby.⁵ A whole section is devoted to the land-grabbing (*invasionibus*) by the local bishop.⁶ In the bulk of these cases the holders of the land had been 'merely commended' to Bishop Æthelmær; in others the land had been simply seized by his successor, Bishop Erfast; in all, the gain had accrued to the new bishop, William. Rainald, son of Ivo, was similarly the gainer by the greed of Wihenoc his predecessor. Nine entries under Rainald's fief and four more under his 'invasiones' at the end of the county's survey⁷ reveal this insatiable Breton wrongfully adding to his lands,⁸ while others show that his robberies extended into Norwich itself.⁹ The lawless aggression in the county revealed by the Domesday Survey enables us to understand the rapid submersion of the smaller landowners in those stormy times.

Domesday for Norfolk is not very precise as to the nature of *consuetudo*. It distinguishes it from *census*,¹⁰ from which we may guess that it is not thought of as a fixed money payment; and yet we read that Halvergate at the time of the survey was worth £10 blanch, 40s. *de consuetudine* by tale, and 20s. *de gersuma*. We may probably conclude that the services of the thirteen sokemen were estimated to be worth £2 a year. In the boroughs we find a fixed money payment called *consuetudo*, but we are not entitled to transfer this conception to the country. In the case of the sokemen of Ely at

¹ This paragraph is by Mr. Round.

² See *V. C. H. Beds.* i. 194.

³ Dom. Bk. f. 114b.

⁴ At Redenhall Earl Ralf 'ad censavit' twenty freemen who were commended to Rada, and Ivo Tallebosc after him.

⁵ 'Hoc addidit Ailwin' de Tedfort ad censum de Ormesbey T. R. Will' (Ibid. f. 273).

⁶ 'De invasionibus ejusdem feudi' (Ibid. ff. 197b-201b).

⁷ Ibid. ff. 275b-279.

⁸ Some of these may be quoted as illustrating the process: 'Hanc terram invasit Wihenoc . . . Hos [x liberos homines] invasit Wihenoc. Wihenoc occupavit eam; ideo tenet R[ainaldus]. . . Huic manerio addidit Wihenoc ii socemannos Sancti Benedicti. . . In Banincham . . . i villanus de Caustuna xvi ac. ii sol. val. Hoc invasit Wihenoc; et reddebat v sol. in Caustuna idem villanus' [this is a very interesting passage. Domesday shows that the villeins on the royal manor of Cawston had diminished from thirty-six to thirty-five, and here we seem to have the missing one with his holding not in Cawston but in Banningham, seven miles away, and paying a money rent. All the ten sokemen appurtenant to Cawston had been secured by subjects, two of them being in Rainald's hands at the time of the Survey]. . . In Dereham tenet Rainald filius Ivonis vi liberos homines . . . quos invasit Wihenoc, commendatos tantum suo antecessori . . . Hos omnes occupavit Wihenoc . . . Addidit Wihenoc i liberum hominem.'

⁹ 'Adhuc [burgenses] xii ac. et dim. prati quas tulit eis Wihenoc; modo habet Rainaldus filius Ivonis. Et adhuc ii ac. prati quae jacebant ad ecclesiam Omnium Sanctorum; illas etiam tulit Wihenoc, et modo habet Rainaldus' (Ibid. f. 116).

¹⁰ Ibid. f. 130b (Fersfield).

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Feltwell and Northwold,¹ where Domesday tells us that St. Audrey had 'soke and all custom,' we know from the Ely *placitum*² that the sokemen held by uncertain services. They were to plough, reap, and thresh, carry the corn of the abbey, and put away in barns whenever required. They were also to find horses as they might be required, and to carry food to the monastery. We hear that some of them were free, and could sell their land. It does not seem that the 'freemen' held by these services, though Domesday is not quite explicit.³ On the other hand, we find *consuetudo* used in at least one case⁴ to imply profits of jurisdiction.

The term 'freeman' does not, as we shall see, always connote complete independence. Besides the tie of commendation the freeman might be bound to do suit to his lord's fold⁵ or his lord's mill. The former tenure, 'fold-soke,' is frequently mentioned in the Domesday account of East Anglia. The manure of the sheep was doubtless valuable, and the obligation on the tenant of driving his sheep to his lord's fold must have been a source of considerable profit to the lord. The Domesday jurors seem not to have been unanimous as to the compatibility of this service with 'freedom.' In Loddon hundred the distinction is sharply drawn between six tenants in Hillington who were *in soca falde* and six who were *liberi*;⁶ while in the neighbouring hundreds of Humbleyard and Clavering those who hold by fold-soke and commendation only are distinctly classed as freemen.⁷ 'Freedom' is doubtless relative, and in Clackclose hundred the possibility of degrees of freedom is clearly recognized.⁸ The possession of 'fold-soke' did not of itself confer any jurisdiction. Thus the tenants who owed fold-soke to Ely in Hoe were sokemen of the king's manor of Mileham and presumably freemen of the hundred of Launditch.⁹ Fold-soke and commendation do however seem to go together, and in Deepwade hundred we find both bound up with the lord's right of pre-emption of his tenant's land. Thus tenants in Tibenham and Fritton holding both before and after the Conquest of different lords were alike under this obligation.¹⁰ In Walsham hundred we find an exceptional state of things. Here jurisdiction followed fold-soke. Earl Algar had had soke over his bordars and over the tenants who held by fold-soke; the others were freemen. Their soke belonged to the king and the earl, i.e. they owed suit to the hundred-court.¹¹

It will be noticed that the hundreds in which fold-soke is mentioned, i.e. Clavering, Loddon, Humbleyard, Henstead, Deepwade, Walsham, Clackclose, and Smethden, are not precisely the hundreds where Domesday places the largest numbers of sheep, and it is possible that the coveted privilege of a free-fold¹² may have played some considerable part in the greater development of sheep-farming in other parts of the county; but the actual distribution of both items is so uncertain that we are not warranted in drawing any definite conclusion.

Besides praedial services and fold-soke, we read of another incident of tenure which seems to be regarded as a *diminutio capitis*: it is a restriction of

¹ Dom. Bk. f. 162.

² Dom. Bk. ff. 162, 213b.

³ Maitland, *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, pp. 76 sq.

⁴ Ibid. ff. 204, 204b, 208b, 230, 249b, 250.

⁵ Ibid. f. 214.

⁶ Ibid. ff. 246b, 260.

⁷ Ellis, *Int. to Domesday*, i, 275, quotes several instances from *Monasticon*.

⁸ Hamilton, *Inq. Com. Cantab.* 192.

⁹ Ibid. f. 252, *Cum omni consuetudine preter vi*.

¹⁰ Dom. Bk. f. 203b.

¹¹ Ibid. 206b, 230b, and cf. 273b.

¹² Ibid. 129b, 194b, 216.

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the right of a freeman to sell his land. Here, again, we find a kind of scale of freedom. A man might be absolutely free to sell his land, in which case he might presumably take it to another lord. Thus Stigand had a freeman at Somerton who could sell his land without Stigand's leave. His soke was in the hundred.¹ In a similar case at Garveston and at Whinburgh in Midford hundred, where the right was in dispute, Ely seems to have had the soke.² Again, a freeman might have to pay a fine of two shillings on alienation. Stigand had tenants of this kind in Clackclose hundred,³ and Roger Bigod's men at Palling held on the same terms.⁴ In some cases the lord had a right of pre-emption, as already mentioned in the discussion of fold-soke. Again, the free tenants of Ely in Feltwell and Northwold could sell their land, 'but the soke and commendation remained to Saint Audrey.' A more stringent restriction binds the holders by fold-soke at Bunwell (*Hadestuna*). They are not described as 'free,' yet they could sell their land subject to the *consuetudo*, so that the next tenant would be equally liable to fold-soke. The closest restrictions seem to be found on the church lands. Thus in Earsham hundred, the soke of which belonged to Stigand, there were many tenants who seem to have been *in aula Sancti Edmundi*,⁵ and unable to sell their land without the leave of the abbot of St. Edmund's and of Stigand. Their land is described as *omnino inter ecclesiam*.⁶ They could not give it or sell it out of the church.⁷ Ely had some tenants in the same hundred holding on the same terms,⁸ and there was one man who held of Stigand only, and thus only required his leave.⁹ We find instances of the same restriction in other hundreds. The bishop's sokemen in Blofield,¹⁰ and St. Benet's at Barton Turf,¹¹ held on the same terms. In the former case the bishop had the 'six forfeitures' as well, as Ely had at Feltwell, Northwold, and Mattishall, and St. Benet at Winterton.¹² In these cases even the forfeiture of the land could not prejudice the abbot's rights, or break the connexion between it, the abbey, and the land. We get a hint of the origin of this stringent bond in another entry relating to land at Billockby, where the holder was commended to Bishop Aylmer, but '*tota terra fuit ita in monasterio Sancti Benedicti de Hulmo ad victum quod nec dare nec vendere potuit.*' Comparing this with the Ely lands at Feltwell and Northwold, we may guess that these lands were originally part of the demesne, the 'mensal' or 'board' land of a religious house, and that the tenants were what we should call at a later date 'freemen holding by villein services.' It must not be supposed, however, that only church lands were so held, since we find lay lords also whose tenants 'non possent recedere sine licencia.'¹³

The discussion of the various degrees of freedom with regard to the disposal of land has brought us very near to the consideration of the other bond between lord and man, namely 'soke.' We have been led to suspect that the loss of the power to transfer a man's own land to any lord he pleases is rather an incident of 'soke' than of 'commendation.' But Domesday, not having been compiled expressly for our edification, is somewhat reticent on

¹ Dom. Bk. f. 138.

² Ibid. f. 208.

³ Ibid. f. 207.

⁴ Ibid. f. 187.

⁵ Ibid. f. 263*b*.

⁶ Ibid. ff. 139, 263*b*.

⁷ Ibid. ff. 138*b*, 139, 263*b*.

⁸ Ibid. ff. 246, 259.

⁹ Ibid. f. 259.

¹⁰ Ibid. f. 195.

¹¹ Ibid. f. 248.

¹² Hamilton, *Inq. Com. Cantab.* 195; cf. Dom. Bk. ff. 228, 216*b*.

¹³ Dom. Bk. ff. 172*b*, 184*b*, 261.

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the subject. We do seem to recognize a broad distinction between the holders whose 'soke was in the hundred' and those whose soke was in some particular manor, and if we are to draw any kind of line between freemen and sokemen we must draw it there. But the hundred itself, in King Edward's time, as in later centuries, might be in private hands. We have a full account of the state of jurisdiction in Earsham half-hundred.¹ Here Stigand had 'sac and soc' of the half-hundred in Earsham, but the abbots of St. Edmunds and Ely had soke in their respective manors of Thorpe Abbots and Pulham, while Earl Ralf had the same in Redenhall, and also over those who were commended to him, and there seem to have been two smaller jurisdictions. In the same way the hundred and a half of Clackclose was the soke of St. Benet of Ramsey and appendant to the saint's manor of Wimbotsham, being worth £3 10s.² Saint Audrey of Ely had the soke of the hundred and a half of Midford³ in East Dereham which was worth £3. Stigand's manor of Mileham seems to have included the soke of Launditch hundred. Other hundreds, like Holt⁴ which rendered £66 by tale (? *sic* for £3 6s.), were in the king's hands. Guiltcross, whose soke was in Kenninghall, had been King Edward's, but had passed to Earl Ralf; it rendered 20s.⁵ Shropham hundred belonged to Earl Ralf, and its soke was in his manor of Old Buckenham; it rendered £2.⁶ The soke of North Greenhoe hundred was in Wighton, the king's manor, but the profits were divided between the king and the earl, no doubt in the usual proportion of 2 : 1.⁷

The half-hundred of Diss was the king's, but St. Edmund had half the soke over the lands which he held in the hundred.⁸ The king seems to have held Eynesford hundred with its soke in Foulsham.⁹ It is not quite so easy to specify where the soke of the other hundreds lay. The common formula in many cases is the 'soke is in the hundred' or 'the king and the earl have the soke': but we can say without any hesitation that the soke of a freeman is normally in the chief manor of the hundred, though there have been grants and usurpations of private jurisdiction which have gravely disturbed the normal arrangement. Thus the soke of Forehoe hundred and a half ought no doubt to be in Hingham, and we find instances throughout the book which confirm this; but alongside of Hingham we find Stigand's soke of Wymondham,¹⁰ and Gurth's soke of Costessy,¹¹ where the sokemen had a special territory of their own, which is separately measured and assessed.¹² We read that Gurth usurped the soke over all his freemen in Henstead hundred,¹³ and Earl Ralf seems to have acquired a similar right.¹⁴ We are expressly told that the king had soke over all the 'freemen' of North Erpingham hundred.¹⁵ In the half-hundred of Diss we find the freeholders divided into two classes: those who hold 30 acres or more are sokemen of the hundred; those who hold less are sokemen of the manor of Fersfield, which had been in private hands. Similarly in Walsham hundred the earl

¹ Dom. Bk. f. 139b.

² Ibid. f. 215b.

³ Ibid. f. 214.

⁴ Ibid. f. 112b.

⁵ Ibid. f. 128.

⁶ Ibid. f. 127.

⁷ Ibid. f. 113b. On the earl's 'third penny,' see *Dial. de Scacc.* i, xvii, and note. The right is most likely as old as Athelstan, and may be earlier.

⁸ Ibid. f. 114.

⁹ Ibid. f. 114.

¹⁰ Ibid. f. 137b.

¹¹ Ibid. f. 144b.

¹² Ibid. f. 145.

¹³ Ibid. f. 210.

¹⁴ See above and Dom. Bk. f. 147.

¹⁵ Ibid. f. 185.

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had the soke of the fold-soke tenants,¹ while that of the free-tenants was divided between the king and the earl. In Happing hundred Edric of Laxfield had half the soke over some twenty of his men,² just as St. Edmund had in Diss half-hundred.

We shall get a clearer idea of the nature of 'soke' if we can find out what were its limitations. So far it seems to shape itself as a jurisdiction exercised by the hundred court, or the equivalent court of a 'liberty,' the profits of which were in private hands. But these profits did not normally include what we may call the 'pleas of the crown.' Thus at Horsford in Taverham hundred Edric [of Laxfield] had 22 sokemen. Two of these were sokemen of the hundred; the king and the earl had their soke, and over the others they had 'the six forfeitures.'³ We find the same thing in North Erpingham⁴ and Wayland hundreds.⁵ In Guiltcross hundred we learn that the 'soca de sex forisfacturis' was at Kenninghall, and that the sokemen paid 4*d.* each per year for 'summagium,' a composition for the duty of finding beasts for the king's service exactly parallel to the 'averae'⁶ of which we read elsewhere.⁷ Two exceptions to this rule are noted; thus the bishop had the 'six forfeitures' of his sokemen in Blofield,⁸ and St. Benet of Holme the 'three forfeitures' of his sokemen in Tunstead.⁹ These were exceptional cases, since we are told that the 'three forfeitures' were in the king's demesne throughout England.¹⁰

The numerous instances of disputed claims in the Norfolk Survey throw a little light on current judicial procedure. Besides the inquiry of the bishop of Coutances mentioned above, we have two references to a commission for settling boundaries to Ivo Talboys and his fellows;¹¹ they seem to have made the 'divisio terrarum inter Regem et Comitem.' The litigants, who appeared before the Domesday commissioners, seem to have had to give security for the prosecution of their claims¹² or for the restitution of what they wrongfully held.¹³ Trial was either by battle or by ordeal. In all the cases where the former is named the champion is equally willing to submit to the ordeal.¹⁴ The only ordeal of which we hear is that of the hot iron, the phrase used being *portare*¹⁵ or *ferre judicium*.¹⁶ We may therefore probably assume that the participants in the ordeal were freemen, though one is described as *famulus*.¹⁷ We also hear of two women offering the ordeal.¹⁸ In another case the person offering the ordeal is specified as an Englishman,¹⁹ and we shall probably conclude that a Frenchman would settle his differences with another

¹ Dom. Bk. ff. 129*b*, 216, and cf. f. 123*b*.

² Ibid. f. 180.

³ Ibid. f. 155*b*. Prof. Maitland (*Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, 88) reckons these as 'gridbrice, hamsóc, fiftwite and fyrdwite, with outlaw's work and the receipt of outlaws.'

⁴ At Hanworth, Ibid. f. 179*b*.

⁵ Merton, Ibid. f. 252.

⁶ Cf. *V. C. H. Herts.* i, 269; Maitland, *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, 138, quoting Dom. Bk. vol. i, f. 141*b*. ⁷ *averae* are worth 9*d.*

⁸ Dom. Bk. ff. 178, 223.

⁹ Ibid. f. 195.

¹⁰ Ibid. f. 244.

¹¹ Ibid. vol. i, f. 252*a*, 1. These 'three forfeitures' were peace-breach, heinfare, and forestel. I have followed Mr. Ballard's interpretation of the Shrewsbury custom (*Domesday Boroughs*, 85), though I am inclined to think that 'throughout England' is more than can be inferred from the passage.

¹² Dom. Bk. ff. 149, 150.

¹³ e.g. Dom. Bk. f. 273*b*.

¹⁴ Ibid. f. 133.

¹⁵ Ibid. ff. 146*b*, 176, 177, 190, 213, 277*b*.

¹⁶ Ibid. ff. 110*b*, 162.

¹⁷ Ibid. ff. 137, 166.

¹⁸ Ibid. f. 110*b*. He is 'famulus regis.' On f. 258 a 'serviens regis' similarly offers proofs 'quocumque iudicio iudicatur' (J. H. R.).

¹⁹ Ibid. ff. 137, 277.

²⁰ Ibid. f. 190.

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Frenchman by battle, but would have to submit to ordeal against an Englishman.¹

In one case at least a Norman was compelled to disgorge the fruit of his greed. Over the holding of that priest at Hevingham who was singing his three masses a week for his tenure in frankalmoin, there had been much dispute. Leofstan 'held him' in Edward's days, but he is afterwards found in the grasping hands of Earl Ralf. Tarald, a man of William de Warenne, seized him after Ralf's fall, and did so to the king's wrong (*saisiuit super regem*); and he 'held' him for three years. But the crown proved its right against him (*derationatus est super eum*), and Tarald was called upon to give security for damages. And so Godric, at the time of the survey, was 'holding' the chanting priest for the crown.²

The currency of the Norfolk Domesday calls for no special remark. Examples of Blanch Farm are common, and are as usual all on the king's lands. An isolated case of payment by weight occurs at Necton,³ which, being on Harold's lands is substantially in the same position. A certain number of valuations are made in *Ore*, the ounce presumably of 16 pence, and this may be another relic of Danish influence.⁴ It will be noticed that the complimentary payments, *Gersuma* and the like, were usually made by tale.

With regard to Domesday rents and 'valets' we are not to suppose that all the payments mentioned were made in actual money. There is, at all events, good traditional evidence for the existence of a vast system of rents payable in kind, each class of stock being rated at a fixed figure. Even in Domesday itself we find traces of a commutation of food rents for money rents, especially in the towns, e.g. Norwich; and we may well believe that the older system lasted longer in the country.⁵

Our information as to the boroughs of Norfolk is somewhat full, particularly in the case of Norwich, the one borough wholly within the county.⁶ The survey of the boroughs is placed between that of the king's lands proper and those of the two great escheats. Of the three boroughs named, Norwich presents a somewhat exceptional state of affairs since it is divided into two distinct boroughs—the ancient English borough of Norwich, and the new French borough founded by the king on the west side of his new castle.⁷ We begin with a concise account of the old borough of Norwich as it was in King Edward's time.⁸ The town then contained 1,320 burgesses in all, and included two liberties belonging to Stigand and to Harold, with 50 and 32 burgesses respectively. The jurisdiction and the

¹ This passage is somewhat obscure. The Englishman 'offert iudicium' on behalf of his lord, and the whole hundred contradicts him. Domesday then adds 'vel bello vel iudic[i]o; ex hoc dedit ille Anglicus vadem.' This certainly looks as if the Englishman was ready to wage battle; the gage (*vades*) is also mentioned on f. 208, where the hundred contradicts Hermer's man and each side 'offert iudicium.' The ordeal is also mentioned on ff. 172b, 193, 275b (J. H. R.).

² f. 133. This paragraph is by Mr. Round.

³ Ibid. f. 235.

⁴ Ibid. ff. 112, 112b, 128, 185b, 243, 253b, 258, 277b. In all these cases the payments is of two *Ore*, which, as Mr. Round has pointed out, are equated in a Cambridgeshire case in *I.C.C.* with 32 pence. He has also found a similar equation in the Burton Abbey records. In all probability these were old customary payments, and Mr. Round suggests that they were reckoned by *tale*.

⁵ On this point see *Dial. de Scacc.* (Clar. Press ed.), i, vii, and introd. pp. 31 seqq.; and also Round, *Commune of London*, 66.

⁶ Unless possibly Lynn, the description of which was omitted, was a borough. See p. 37.

⁷ Hudson, *Rec. of City of Norw.* i, p. ix.

⁸ Dom. Bk. f. 116.

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profits of the town were divided between the king and the earl in the usual proportion of 2 : 1.¹ The burgesses were for the most part free to be whose men they would, since we read that the king and Harold had each one man who could not withdraw himself.² The total render was £30, divided between the king and earl; £1 1s. 4d. in corrodies, or perhaps in lieu of food,³ six 'sestiers' of honey, a bear and six bear hounds.

At the date of the survey the town had suffered severely through Earl Ralf's rebellion and by a fire.⁴ Many of the burgesses had fled and others were too poor to pay their geld. The building of the castle had also taken the sites of 98 houses, 81 in the borough and 17 in Harold's soke. Notwithstanding this, the render was rather more than doubled.

Side by side with the old borough was the new borough of Norwich, which was rapidly growing. Earl Ralf had granted a portion of his demesne to the king to make a new borough, the profits of which were to be shared in the same proportion as those of the old. The new town must have offered easier conditions than the old, since the burgesses only paid a penny per head by way of 'custom' and were presumably free of geld.⁵ The original 42 burgesses, 36 French and 6 English, had been replaced by 41 Frenchmen, but there were besides 83 belonging to other lords, and one waste house-place.⁶ The new borough had its own church, founded by the earl. The churches in the old borough belonged mainly to the burgesses collectively, those in private hands being expressly mentioned. The bishop's see was not yet transferred from Thetford, but the arrangements for the transfer had been made.⁷ There seems to have been no mint actually in operation at this date in Norwich, though the bishop had leave to have one moneyer there. The county mint was presumably that of Thetford, and Thetford coins seem much commoner than Norwich coins for the reigns both of King Edward and King William.

The account of Thetford is especially interesting as illustrating the rigid division of the borough and all the land belonging to it between the king and the earl. Thetford seems to have had more land within its limits than Norwich, and on the Norfolk side of the river this land was half arable and half pasture; on the Suffolk side all was arable. The proportion of arable land to pasture was thus also 2 : 1. The render of Thetford had been increased in almost the same proportion as that of Norwich. Here also we find a honey-rent, and a render of goat-skins and ox-hides as well.⁸ Besides the king's holding in Thetford we find that Roger Bigod had two ploughlands there, including twenty bordars, who paid poll-tax only to the king.⁹ The large number of burgesses at Thetford on the eve of the Conquest should be observed, as testifying to its importance at that time.

While Norwich and Thetford ranked as separate hundreds, Yarmouth was the chief town of three hundreds.¹⁰ Here also we find the customary division of the profits between the king and the earl; the portion of Yarmouth in East Flegg gelded at 12d., going with Caister, Ormesby, and Scratby to

¹ Ballard, *The Domesday Boroughs*, 41-43.

² Ibid. 49; Dom. Bk. f. 116. Mr. Hudson suggests that these were the king's and Harold's bailiffs respectively (*Rec. of Norw.* pp. 1 sq.).

³ Cf. *V. C. H. Essex*, i, 420.

⁴ Dom. Bk. f. 117b.

⁵ Ballard, *Domesday Boroughs*, 68, 69.

⁶ Ibid. f. 119.

⁷ Dom. Bk. f. 118.

⁸ Ibid. f. 173.

⁹ Ibid. f. 117.

¹⁰ Ibid. f. 118.

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make up half the hundred of East Flegg. It was thus on a very different footing from the two boroughs just described.

Of Lynn we have only one or two casual mentions. It should no doubt have been described with Stigand's escheat, but has somehow come to be left out, a fact which will help us to estimate the carelessness with which Little Domesday was compiled. It was probably a 'simple borough,' and dependent only upon its lord.¹ It must also have been the chief town of Freebridge hundred and a half.

We may gather up a few incidental scraps of knowledge before quitting the Domesday Survey. Thus the word *aula*, generally used for the principal farmstead,² is once used to imply a manor court. Roger de Ramis had 24 acres in 'Plestuna,' 'sed fuerunt in aula Sancti Eadmundi.'³ We seem to hear of livery of seisin being made by the handing over of a bit, since the reeve of Saham sold a piece of land 'per unum frenum.'⁴ There are a few indications of the employment of some of the under-tenants. Roger Bigod had a chamberlain, Herbert,⁵ and a cook, Warin.⁶ The abbot of St. Edmund's had a steward (*dapifer*).⁷ We find Geoffrey the archdeacon at Norton on the Hill,⁸ and Walter the deacon at Stratton.⁹ Two goldsmiths are mentioned. Nicholas, Earl Hugh's goldsmith, had land at Raveningham,¹⁰ and Rainbald, a goldsmith, at Herringby.¹¹ Robert Blund's office is described as *misterium*; he was the steward or farmer of the king's lands.¹² Tohli¹³ and Waleran¹⁴ and R. (possibly Robert Blund)¹⁵ are named as sheriffs, and a considerable number of reeves are mentioned.¹⁶ There was a sub-reeve at Earsham¹⁷ and a 'serviens regis' at Barney.¹⁸ The earl's oven (*pistrinum*)¹⁹ in the French borough at Norwich should not be overlooked. The 'herigete' mentioned as a royal due at Yarmouth appears to be mentioned nowhere else. We may add to the historical facts already alluded to, the battle of Hastings²⁰ and the exile of Tosti,²¹ and then turn away from the rich field of the Norfolk Survey with the feeling that its riches are still but half explored.

¹ Ballard, *Domesday Boroughs*, 94-103.

² Dom. Bk. ff. 246, 257b, 269. At Barsham there were two *Halle* (f. 168b).

³ Ibid. f. 263.

⁴ Ibid. f. 110b.

⁵ Ibid. f. 278.

⁶ Ibid. f. 156.

⁷ Ibid. f. 275b.

⁸ Ibid. f. 192b.

⁹ Ibid. f. 193.

¹⁰ Ibid. f. 279.

¹¹ Ibid. f. 273.

¹² Ibid. f. 110b. Robert, who is surnamed 'Blundus' as a tenant-in-chief in Suffolk, 'Albus' in Northants, and 'Flavus' in Wilts, was probably also the Robert 'Blancard' or 'Blancar' of the Norfolk Survey (ff. 140b, 243b) (J. H. R.).

¹³ Ibid. ff. 140, 211b, 264.

¹⁴ Ibid. 117b.

¹⁵ Ibid. f. 179. Mr. Round points out that Robert Blund is distinctly spoken of as sheriff—but a past sheriff—of the county: 'quamdiu Rodbertus Blundus comitatum tenuit, habuit inde unoquoque anno i unciam auri' (f. 118). He is disposed to think that the 'R. vicecomes' who occurs on f. 179 as sheriff at the time of Domesday was Roger Bigot himself. See p. 19 above.

¹⁶ Ibid. ff. 110, 146, 186, 198, 198b, 199, 217b, 229b, 269b, 272, 275b, 277b.

¹⁷ Ibid. f. 186.

¹⁸ Ibid. f. 258.

¹⁹ This was a feature of foreign feudalism (J. H. R.).

²⁰ Ibid. f. 275b: 'bellum Hastings.' It is amusing to note that in one entry the Domesday scribe thus blurts out the truth—'Postquam W. rex conquisivit Angliam' (f. 124b), though a few lines further down he remembers to use the guarded phrase, 'Postquam rex W. venit in Anglicam terram,' a formula which thenceforth recurs with trifling variations, 'venit in hanc patriam,' and so forth (ff. 140, 173, 199, 212b, 232, 269), though on f. 190 it is cut down curtly to 'Postquam Willelmus venit' (J. H. R.).

²¹ Ibid. f. 200b.

NOTE

The reader should bear in mind throughout that the date of the Domesday Survey is 1086; that 'the time of King Edward,' to which it refers, normally means the date of his death (5 Jan. 1066): and that the intermediate date, which is sometimes spoken of as 'afterwards' and sometimes as 'when received,' is that at which the estate passed into the hands of the new holder. When the word 'semper' is used it means that the figures were the same in 1086 as 1066. The Domesday 'ploughland' or 'carucate' is not divided in Norfolk, as in other counties, into eight 'bovates,' but smaller holdings are expressed either in acres or as fractions of the 'ploughland,' which may probably be regarded as a fiscal, not an areal, unit. In Norfolk the word 'virgate' is of somewhat rare occurrence, '30 acres' being used instead. 'Demesne,' in the Norfolk survey, is used in two senses: manors held 'in demesne' were those which the tenant-in-chief (who held directly of the crown) retained in his own hands, instead of enfeoffing under-tenants therein; but when 'the demesne' of a manor is spoken of, the term denotes that portion which the holder (whether a tenant-in-chief or only an under-tenant) worked as a home farm with the help of labour due from the peasants who held the rest from him. Of the peasantry the three classes are styled, in descending order, villeins, bordars, and serfs; above them were the 'free men' and sokemen, survivals from before the Conquest, who are discussed in the introduction. The essential element of the plough ('caruca') was its team of oxen, always reckoned in Domesday as eight in number. Apart from the plough-oxen the live stock on the lord's demesne is generally, though not regularly, entered in the Norfolk survey, a feature which adds greatly to its length, and is peculiar to the three eastern counties. It comprises horses (usually 'rounceys,' a term familiar to readers of Chaucer), asses and mules, 'beasts,' i.e. cows, sheep, swine, goats, and hives of bees. Thus the 'astonishing attention to details' spoken of as characterizing the agricultural division of the latest census of the United States, where all these are similarly enumerated even to the swarms of bees, was actually anticipated in Domesday, when the native chronicler bitterly complained that the king's questions were so searching that not 'an ox nor a cow nor a swine was left that was not set down in his writ.'

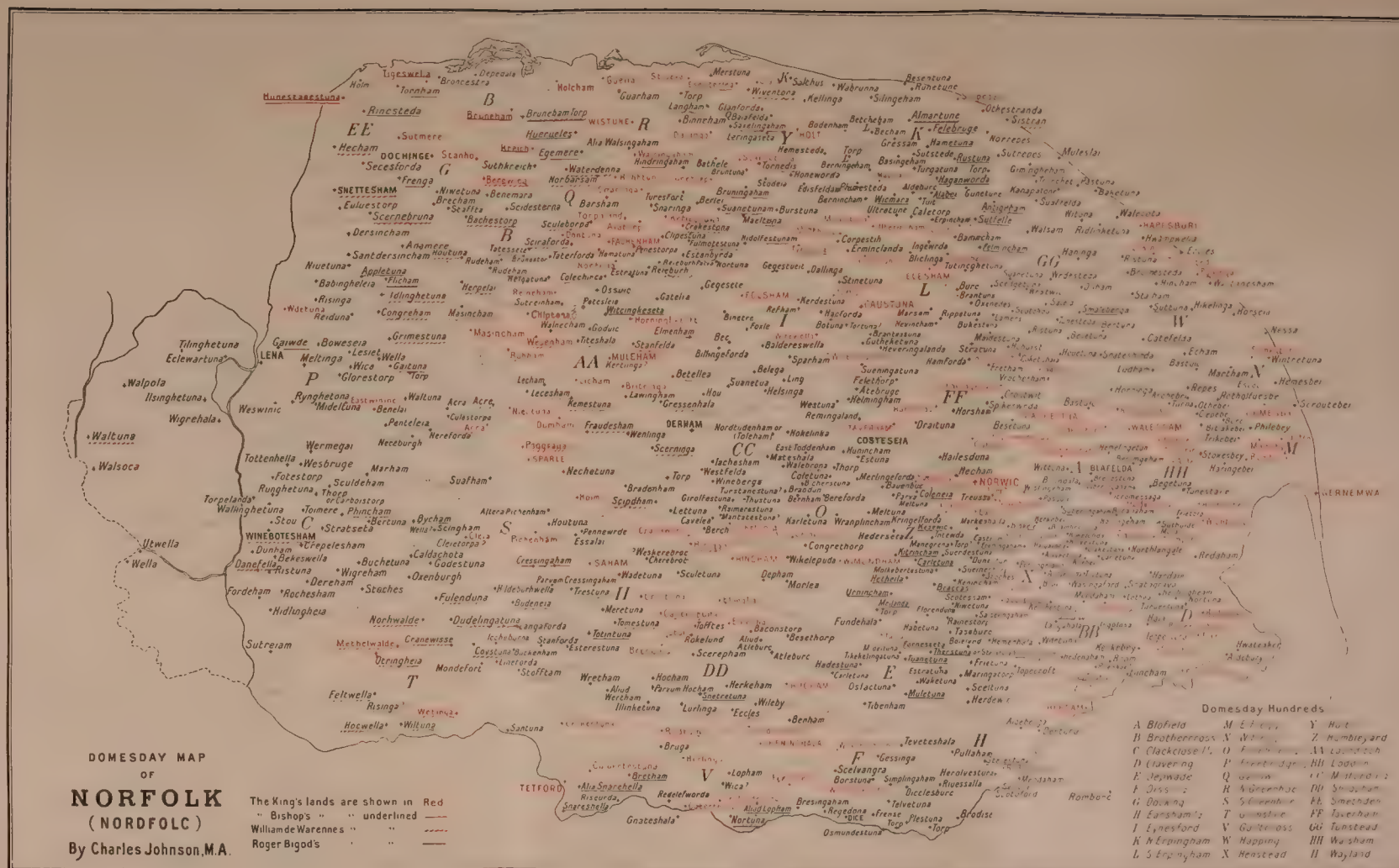
It must be remembered that when Domesday speaks of a place as held by a certain tenant, it does not follow that the whole of it is meant. It may have comprised other manors, which form the subject of separate entries.

The assessment of geld in East Anglia is expressed in terms of pence per pound. For every pound of geld assessed on the hundred each 'vill' pays a definite number of pence, as is explained in the introduction. It should be remembered that the measurements given are very rough, and indicate rather the shape than the size of the areas to which they relate, so that no calculation of acreage can safely be based upon them.



Domesday Hundreds.

A. Blofield	M. E. Flagg	Y. Holt
B. Brothecross	N. Wifling	Z. Humber, and
C. Clackose 1/2	O. Foreham	AA. Landdon
D. Clavering	P. Freebridg	BB. Lodon
E. Depwade	Q. Galsw	CC. Maford
F. Diss	R. V. Greenhoe	DD. Shropham
G. Docking	S. S. Greenhoe	EE. Smecher
H. Earsham 1/2	T. Gimesue	FF. Taverham
I. Eynesford	V. Galsw	GG. Tunstead
K. N. Erpingham	W. Hapong	HH. Walsam
L. S. Erpingham	X. Hensstead	II. Walsam



NOTE TO DOMESDAY MAP

IN the accompanying map the manors held wholly or in part by the king, the bishop of Thetford, William de Warenne, and Roger Bigod are distinguished from those of other tenants in chief except in the cases where the holding is less than a plough-land. The hundreds are indicated by letters corresponding with the key printed with the map; and the chief manors or villis in each hundred, those to which soke was appurtenant, are printed in capitals.

In many cases the names of villis appear in Domesday in several different forms, but only one variant can be given on the map. The positions assigned to the villis are based, when possible, upon the situations of the churches. In other cases they correspond with the sites of manor- or farm-houses which retain the names of the Domesday villis.

NORFULC

f. 109.

[HOLDERS OF LANDS]

I KING WILLIAM	xxxiiii Peter de Valognes
II The bishop of Bayeux	xxxv Robert son of Corbutio
III The count of Mortain	xxxvi Ranulf brother of Ilger
IIII Count Alan	xxxvii Tehel the Breton
v Count Eustace	xxxviii Robert de Verli
vi Count Hugh	xxxviiii Humfry son of Alberic
vii Robert Malet	xl Humfry de Bohun
viii William de War[enne]	xli Ralf de Felgeres
viiii Roger Bigot	xlII Gilbert son of Richer
x Bishop William	xlIII Roger de Ramis
xi Bishop Osbert	xlIIII Iuikel the priest
xii Godric dapifer	xlV Colebert the priest
xiii Hermer de Ferreriis	xlvi Edmund son of Pain
xiiii The abbot of St. Edmund	xlVII Isaac
xv The abbey of Ely	xlVIII Tovi
xvi The abbey of St. Benet of Ramsey	xlVIII John nephew of Waleran
xvii The abbey of Hulme	l Roger son of Renard
xviii [The abbey of] St. Stephen of Caen	li Berner the crossbowman
xviiii William de Escois	lii Gilbert the crossbowman
xx Ralf de Bellofago	liii Ralf the crossbowman
xxi Rainald son of Ivo	liiii Robert the crossbowman
xxii Ralf de Toeni	lv Radbell the artificer
xxiii Hugh de Montfort	lvi Hago
xxiiii Eudo dapifer	lvii Ralf son of Hago
xxv Walter Giffart	lviii Ulchetel
xxvi Roger of Poitou	lviii Alvred
xxvii Ivo Taillebois	lx Aldith
xxviii Ralf de Limesy	lxi Godwin Halden
xxviii Eudo son of Spiruwic	lxii Starcolf
xxx Drogo de Beuraria	lxiii Eldric the falconer
xxxi Ralf Bainard	lxiiii Of the freemen of the king belonging to no farm
xxxii Ranulf Peverel	lxv Of the demesne men of the king
xxxiii Robert Grenon [Gernon]	lxvi Of Invasions

f. 109b.

I. NORFOLC

[THE KING'S LANDS]

HUNDRET AND HALF OF FREDEBRUGE [FREE-BRIDGE]

Harold held MASINCHAM [Massingham, (Great)] T.R.E. as 3 ploughlands. Then 4 villeins; when Roger received it 3, and now likewise. Then as now 1 bordar. Then 4 serfs, afterwards and now 1,

and 7 acres of meadow. Then there were 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1; wood for 10 swine. Here belong (*jaçant*) 25 sokemen (with) 3 ploughlands and 20 acres. Then and after $6\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, now $3\frac{1}{2}$: then as now 7 swine and 64 sheep. Then and after it was worth 40 shillings, now 10 pounds. From this manor are wanting 25 sokemen who were

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on it (*aderant*) T.R.E. paying every customary due (*cum omni consuetudine*): of these Wido the Angevin holds 20, and they have 2 ploughlands and 58 acres and a fourth part of an acre; and W[illiam] de Warenne (holds) 3 who have 120½ acres; and Roger Bigot 1, who has 15 acres; and W[illiam] de S[c]oies 1, who has (*de*) 10 acres. There were also taken away from this manor 14 freemen and 12 villeins whom Ralf Baign[ard] holds. This whole (manor) is (*habet*) 1 mile in length and half (a mile) in breadth, and for 20 shillings (paid by the hundred) renders 16 pence geld.

HUNDRET OF DOCHINGE [DOCKING]

SUTMERE [Southmere] was held by Harold T.R.E. (There were) then 3 ploughs on the demesne; afterwards and now 2. Then 21 villeins, afterwards and now 19; then as now 2 bordars and 6 serfs, and 1 plough belonging to the men; then as now 3 rounceys and 1 beast and 3 swine and 87 sheep. Here belong (*iacent*) 31 sokemen (with) 16 acres (with) 1 plough; and 15 sokemen each one (with) 60 acres, (with) 8 ploughs; and 1½ ploughs (more) could be employed (*restaurari*). And 1 sokeman (with) 14 acres; and 1 sokeman (with) 60 acres, (and) then 1 plough. And TIGESWELLA [Titchwell] is 1 outlying estate (*berenuita*) (having) then as now 1½ ploughs on the demesne and 14 villeins and 6 bordars and 4 serfs and 16 acres of meadow: (there is) wood(land) for 60 swine. Now (there is) 1 mill: then as now 1 plough belonging to the men. And (there are) 4 sokemen (with) 2 ploughlands (and) 2 ploughs: and 2 sokemen (with) 5 acres, and 1 sokeman (with) 60 acres (and) 2 oxen; and 1 sokeman with (*de*) the fourth part of an acre. On the outlying estate (are) 260 sheep and 11 swine and 2 beasts and 5 rounceys; and 1 ploughland which was held

f. 110.
by 1 freeman T.R.E. All this was then worth 7 pounds, afterwards 20 (pounds), now 30 (pounds). And (there were) 4 sokemen (with) 4 acres of land T.R.E. which after the king came and after Roger received this manor Briun the reeve (*prepositus*) of R[oger] Bigot took (*tulit*) from this manor and Roger now holds. And (there is) 1 sokeman with 60 acres (and) half a plough. STANHO [Stanhoe] was held by Alvrice a freeman under Stigand T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland. Then (there was) 1 plough; afterwards and now 2 oxen and 1 bordar and it is worth 16 shillings and belongs to (*iacet*) PHACHAM [Fakenham].

HUNDRET OF WANELUNT [WAYLAND]

SAHAM [Saham (Toney)] was held by King Edward as 3 ploughlands and 45 acres. Then (there were) 43 villeins. Afterwards 9; now 4. Now (there are) 11 bordars: then as now 1 serf.

Then and afterwards (there was) 1 plough on the demesne; now 2. Then (there were) 12 ploughs belonging to the men; afterwards and now 3: 40 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 730 swine. Then as now 1 mill; then 3 rounceys, now 2. Then (there were) 3 beasts, now 8; then 28 swine, now 20, and now (there are) 60 sheep and 40 goats. To this manor there belonged T.R.E. 46 sokemen with all customary dues, afterwards and now 31 (with) 3 ploughlands, 27 acres, 40 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards (there were) 12 ploughs, now 8; wood(land) for 100 swine.

Of those men Rainald, son of Ivo, has 15, and Berner the crossbowman 2. And in GRISTUNA [Griston] (there were) 19 sokemen (with) 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then (there were) 4 ploughs; afterwards and now 3 and 2 acres of meadow. And in CASTETUNA [Caston] (there are) 4 of Harold's freemen (with) 204 acres of land, and they were added to this manor after that the king came, by his command. Then (there were) 3½ ploughlands and now the same (*similiter*) (and) 6 acres of meadow. And in BRECCLES [Breckles] (there are) 8 of Harold's freemen in soke (with) 2 ploughlands: then (there were) 5 ploughs; afterwards and now 3. These were added in King William's time. (There are also) 2 bordars (and) 20 acres of meadow; and in GRESTUNA [Griston] 2 of Harold's freemen (and) 7 acres. The whole was worth T.R.E. 12 pounds, and used to pay half a day's (provision) of honey (*mellis*) and the customary dues of honey (*consuetudines mellis*), and now pays 20 pounds (in money) by weight (*ad pensum*). And Harold's freemen were worth T.R.E. 53 shillings; they are now in the farm of 20 pounds. The whole is (*habet*) 1½ leagues in length and 1 league in breadth, and pays for a

f. 110b
geld of 20 shillings 2 shillings and 6 pence.

In BRECCLES [Breckles] (there are) 25 acres; then as now half a plough; (and) 5 sokemen in SAHAM and the reeve (*prepositus*) of Saham sold (them) in King William's time for 1 bit (*per unum frenum*) to Eudo a man of Earl Ralf's and they belonged (*jacuerunt*) to Elingham [Ellingham] to the farm of Ralf and he was holding them on the day that he made forfeiture (*forisfecit*); and Robert Blund as long as he held office (*misterium*) used to have of them 10 shillings and 8 pence. Now again (they belong) to Saham and do not pay rent (*censum*) to Godric. And in CASTETUNA [Caston] (there is) 1 sokeman (with) 10 acres of land (and) half a plough, and in like manner¹ he used to pay 5 shillings and 4 pence. All Breccles [Breckles] is (*habet*) 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth, and (pays) 11 pence for geld. There also (*in eadem*) is 1 freeman in SAHAM (with) 26 acres

¹ Note the repeated unit 5s. 4d.

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and 2 acres of meadow and half a plough, and it is worth 2 shillings. The king and the earl (have) the soke. In BRECLIS [Breckles] (is also) the fourth part of 1 acre and a certain customary due in pasture; this belonged to (*jacuit in*) Saham T.R.E. and now does so still (*similiter*); but Godric reclaims (*revocat*) it for the fee of Earl Ralf in Stou [Stow (Bedon)], asserting that he (Earl Ralf) held it for 2 years before he made forfeiture and (it remained so) 2 years afterwards. Of this a certain servant of the king from Stou [Stow (Bedon)] offers to undertake the proof (*portare iudicium*).¹

HUNDRET OF FEORHOU [FOREHOE] AND A HALF

HINICHAM [Hingham] was held by King E[dward] as 2 ploughlands and 25 acres. Then as now there were 60 villeins, then 8 bordars and a half, now 29. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne; then 15 ploughs belonging to the men; now 20. (There were) 43 sokemen, now 20; of the rest William de Warenne has 12, and Count Alan 3, and Eudo son of Clama Hoc took thereof 8, whom now

f. 111r. Ralf de Bellafago has. And those 20 have 1 ploughland, and 1 of them has 3 bordars. Then as now there were 2 ploughs and 8 acres of meadow. The whole was worth then 7 pounds and a half blanch, with a customary due (*cum consuetudine*) of 30 shillings, and 3 quarts (*sextarios*) of honey; now (it is worth) 12 pounds by weight and 30 shillings for fine (*de gersuma*), and 3 quarts of honey with the same customary due; and it is (*habet*) half (a league) in length and half (a league) in breadth; and (pays) 13 pence and 1 halfpenny for geld.

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF MITTEFORT [MIDFORD]

In FLOCTHORE [Flockthorp²] (there are) 40 acres of land and 3 bordars and 1 acre of meadow, and it is in the valuation of HINHAM [Hingham]. In Flocthore (are) 30 acres of land, 1 freeman, and 1½ acres of meadow. Then (there were) half a plough and 2 bordars.

In RISINGA [Rising, (Wood)] and in OCSELEA [] (there are) 3 bordars (and) 12 acres of land and it is in the valuation of Haincham [Hingham].

HUNDRET OF GALGOU [GALLOW]

In FACHENHAM [Fakenham] Harold held T.R.E. 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 5 villeins and 20 bordars and 4 serfs. Then as now (there were) on the demesne

2 ploughs, and 4 ploughs belonging to the men. (There is) wood(land) for 12 swine, 5 acres of meadow, 3 mills (and) half a salt pan. Then as now (there were) 3 rounceys and 20 swine and 200 sheep. To this manor belongs 1 outlying estate (called) ALATORP [Alethorpe] consisting of (*de*) 1 ploughland; then as now (there were) 3 bordars and 1 serf and on the demesne 1 plough, and 2 oxen belonging to the men (and) 2 acres of meadow: and another outlying estate (called) TORPALAND [Thorpland] consisting of (*de*) 1 ploughland and 1 plough and 1 serf. There is also (*adhuc*) 1 outlying estate of 2 ploughlands in KREIC [Creake, (South)³]. Then as now (there were) 10 villeins. Then 11 bordars, now 4. Then as now on the demesne 1 plough. Then 3 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1, (and) half an acre of meadow. Then as now 1 rouncey and 30 swine and 80 sheep and 4 sokemen with 6 acres and 1 plough. And (there is) another outlying estate (called) STANHOV [Stanhoe] of 1 ploughland. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins. Then 1 plough on the demesne, now 2 oxen. In ESTANBYRDA [Stibbard] 3 freemen and in BARFHAM [Barsham, (? East)] 1 (freeman) and in SNARINGA [Snoring, (Little)] 3 freemen and among these men 3 acres of land. Then as now 1 plough. All this was worth T.R.E.

f. 111rb. 8 pounds, now 43 (pounds). Fagenham [Fakenham] is (*habet*) 7 furlongs in length and half (a league?) in width and (pays) 12 pence in geld; and Stabyrda [Stibbard] is 3 furlongs in length and 2 in breadth and (pays) 12 pence in geld. There is also (*adhuc*) 1 outlying estate (in) KATESTUNA [Caston] of 1 ploughland. Then as now (there were) 3 bordars and 1 plough (and) 2 acres of meadow and 8 sheep. It has been valued (*appretiata est*) above. In NORTUNA [Norton, (Pudding)] (is) a church (and) 8 acres and (it is worth) 6 pence.

HUNDRET OF BRODERCROS [BROTHERCROSS]

In DONTUNA [Dunton] there is 1 outlying estate of 1 ploughland; then 6 bordars, now 4. Then 2 serfs. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men, now half (a plough) (and) 4 acres of meadow (and) 1 mill. Then as now 1 rouncey and 60 sheep and 16 sokemen with (*de*) 1 ploughland. Then as now 5 bordars. Then 8 ploughs, afterwards 3, now 1. It was valued with Facenham [Fakenham] and is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth and (pays) 13 pence in geld.

In NORTUNA [Norton, (Pudding)] 1 outlying estate belongs to (*jacet ad*) Facenham [Fakenham] (of) half a ploughland. Then as now (there was) 1 bordar and half a plough (and) half an acre

¹ i.e. to submit it to trial by ordeal.

² In Hardingham.

³ The whole of North Creake appears to have been in Roger Bigot's fee; *Feud. Aids*, iii, 405.

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of meadow. Then as now 1 rouncey and 1 swine and 7 sokemen with (*de*) 20 acres and 1 plough ; and it is (*habet*) 3 furlongs in length and 2½ in breadth and (renders) 6 pence and a halfpenny in geld.

HUNDRET OF HOLT

HOLT [Holt] was held by King Edward as 2 ploughlands. Then as now 24 villeins and 24 bordars and 2 serfs (and) then as now on the demesne (was) 1 plough, (and another) could be employed (*posset restaurari*). Then as now (there were) 11 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 60 swine, 6 acres of meadow, 5 mills. Then as now 1 rouncey, and 1 market and 1 port, and 20 swine: now (there are) 90 sheep. There is also 1 outlying estate (called) CLAIA [Cley] of 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 24 villeins and 21 bordars. Then 2 serfs, now 4. Then as now on the demesne 1 plough and another could be employed ; and 12 ploughs belonging to the men (and) 1 acre of meadow. Then as now 7 swine, now 140 sheep. There is also (*adhuc*) 1 outlying estate in ESNUETERLE [Snitterley, (now Blakeney)] of 1 ploughland. Then as now 7 villeins and 1 bordar. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men. Then it was worth 20 pounds and 1 night's provision) of honey (*noctem mellis*) and 100 shillings of customary due ; now 50 pounds by tale (*ad* f. 112. *numerus*), and Holt and Claia [Cley] are (*habent*) 2 leagues in length and 1 in breadth and (pay) 2 shillings 4 (pence) for (*in*) geld. To this manor belonged T.R.E. 8 freemen with 3½ ploughlands : now Walter Gifard holds them by gift (*per liberationem*) of the king, as his men say. And besides (*adhuc*) there belonged to this manor 1 freeman (and) 23 acres : now Count Hugh holds them. To this manor belongs (*jacet*) 1 outlying estate in HENEPSTEDA [Hempstead] of 30 acres. Then as now 5 bordars and 1 plough and half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 6 swine. Then as now 8 swine. Then (it was worth) 5 shillings and 4 pence, now 33 shillings and 4 pence and it is 1 league in length and 1 in breadth and (renders) 7 pence in geld.

In BATHELE [Bale] (is) 1 freeman with 2 ploughlands. Then as now 10 bordars. Then 2 serfs, now none. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 30 swine, 4 acres of meadow and 2 sokemen with (*de*) 20 acres of land and half a plough, (and) 1 acre of meadow. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings and is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth and (renders) 6 pence and a halfpenny in geld.

In BURSTUNA [Burston] 5 sokemen belong to Holt with 20 acres of land and 1 plough. (There

is) wood(land) for 10 swine and it is worth 12 shillings ; and [Burston] is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth and (renders) 13 pence in geld whoever has the holding (*ibi teneat*).

In HUNEWORDA [Hunworth] (there are) 3 sokemen with 16 acres and 1 acre of meadow and 1 plough : (there is) 1 mill. Then it was worth 40 pence, now 11 shillings, and it is 1 league and 2 furlongs (*quarentene*) in length and half (a league) in breadth and (renders) 12 pence in geld whoever has the holding.

In STODEIA [Stody (St. Mary)] (there is) 1 sokeman with 2½ acres and it renders 2 'oras.'

In BAIASFELDA [Bayfield, (Glandford with)] there are 9 sokemen with 20 acres and they had 2 ploughlands (*terre ij car*) (then) and now ; and (there is) the fourth part of 1 mill, and it is worth 10 shillings and 8 pence and is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth and (renders) 8 pence (in) geld.

In GLANFORDA [Glandford] (there are) 3 sokemen with 20 acres and 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow and it is worth 4 shillings and is f. 112b. 8 furlongs in length and 3 in width and (renders) 6 pence and a halfpenny in geld.

In NEUTUNA [Newton] there are 3 sokemen and a half with 12 acres of land and it is worth 16 pence.

In GUNESTORP [Gunthorpe] (is) half a ploughland which Alwin held T.R.E. (and) 4 bordars. Wood(land) for 4 swine (and) 1 acre of meadow. Then as now 1½ ploughs. Then it was worth 20 shillings now 40 (shillings). This was added to this manor from the land of Almer the bishop and it is 1 league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth and (renders) 6 pence and a halfpenny in geld. The whole of Holt pays 66 pounds by tale (*ad numerum*).

In SCARNETUNA [Sharrington] lies 1 outlying estate, and it belongs to Facenham [Fakenham], consisting of (*de*) 1 ploughland and 9 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then 1 plough belonging to the men. Then 30 sheep, now 60 and 3 sokemen with 6 acres and it is in length 7 furlongs and 6 in breadth and (renders) 10 pence for (*in*) geld. To Holt was joined (*additus est*) after the death of King Edward 1 freeman (named) Ketel (belonging) to (*in*) Merstona [Morston] (a manor of) Gurth (*Guert*) with 30 acres and 1 bordar and half a plough, and (this) is worth 2 'oras.'

HUNDRET OF HOLT.

GUNETORP [Gunthorpe] (consisting of) 1 ploughland belongs to Caustune [Cawston]. Then there were 11 bordars, now 6. Then as

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now 1 plough on the demesne; then as now 1 plough belonging to the men; wood(land) for 4 swine, (and) 2 acres of meadow (and) 2 swine (and) 24 sheep. This all belongs to Castune [Cawston].

In SCARTUNE [Sharrington] (there are) 8 soke-men and 6 bordars which belong (*quod pertinet*) to Holt, and these plough 2 plough(lands) (*bi arant 2 car*). Then it was worth 20 shillings T.R.E. now 40 shillings.

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOU [GREENHOE, (NORTH)]

WISTUNE [Wighton] was held by King Edward as 12 ploughlands. (There were) 26 villeins then as (*et*) now: then 24 bordars, now 17; then and now 1 plough on the demesne; then 10 ploughs belonging to the men, and afterwards and now 7: wood(land) for 20 swine, 8 acres of meadow; 1 mill, then as now 1 rouncey, now 20 swine, (there were) none when the manor was received (*qn' recepit nullus*): now 180 sheep. Then (there were) 19 sokemen; then as now 45 acres of land. Then as now 4 ploughs and 1 mill (and) 3 bordars. Then it f. 113.

was worth 10 pounds and 6½ quarts (*sextarios*) of honey and 41 shillings of customary due: now 23 pounds by weight, and it is (*habet*) 1 league in length and 1 in breadth and renders 7 pence for geld.

HOHTTUNE [Houghton (St. Giles)] 1 outlying estate (so called) belongs (*jacet*) to this manor (containing) 4 ploughlands: then as now (there were) 5 villeins and 5 bordars; then as now 1 plough on the demesne; then 3 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 2; pasture for 1,000 sheep, 3 acres of meadow, 2 mills; and it is half a league in length and half in breadth, and renders 4 pence for geld. HOLCHAM [Holkham] an outlying estate belongs to (*jacet*) this manor (and has) 3 ploughlands; but it is waste, and 3 ploughs could be (employed) there.

HUERUELES [Quarles¹] (is) another outlying estate which belongs to this manor, of half a ploughland, but there is nothing there; but 1 plough could be (employed) there (*posset ibi esse*): and it is 4 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth and (renders) 6 pence for geld.

And EGEMERE [Egmere] (is) another outlying estate of half a ploughland and there is nothing else there, but 1 plough could be (employed): and it is half a league in length and half in breadth and renders 6 pence for geld. In GUELLE [Wells] and in GUARHAM [Warham] (is) 1 ploughland, but 1 plough could be (employed).

¹ 'Eggemere cum Quarlis' in North Greenhoe; *Norf. Arch. Soc.* xii, 281; Blomefield, ix, 247.

And in STIVEKAI [Stiffkey] (there is) half a ploughland. And in HINDRINGHAM [Hindringham] half a ploughland, but 1 plough could be (employed). GALSINGHAM [Walsingham] was held by Harold T.R.E. as 3 ploughlands (as) an outlying estate of Faganham [Fakenham]: then and afterwards 13 villeins and now 6; then and afterwards 7 bordars, now 5. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then as now 2 ploughs belonging to the men; wood(land) for 10 swine, 1½ acres of meadow, 2 mills; then as now 2 rounceys; then as now 5 beasts; then 12 swine, now 14; then 24 sheep, now 40, and 9 sokemen with 1 ploughland belong to (*jacet*) this manor (and) 2 bordars, half an acre of meadow and half a mill; then (there were) 3 ploughs, and afterwards and now 2. All this has been valued in Facenham [Fakenham].

In HOLCHAM [Holkham] (is) 1 ploughland which Alwin a freeman held T.R.E. and it f. 113b.

belongs to Guistune [Wighton] (with) 3 bordars and 7 sokemen. Then and always 2 ploughs (divided) between all (the villeins) and the man (*illum*) who has the land. In DALLINGA [Dalling, (Field)] Unspac held 1 ploughland T.R.E. and it is an outlying estate in Holt (with) 11 bordars; then as now 2 serfs, (and) 6 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and then as now 2 ploughs belonging to the men; 8 sokemen with (*de*) 24 acres of land (and) 4 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough; then and after 1 horse; then as now 3 beasts and 8 swine (*hors*), 20 sheep. Then it was worth 10 shillings, now 4 pounds. And it is half a league in length and half in breadth, and (renders) for geld 2 shillings. And in GUARHAM [Warham] is half a ploughland (and) 1 acre of meadow, and it is worth 2½ shillings. This all belongs to Holt.

The soke and sac of the hundret of GRENEHOU [Greenhoe, (North)] belong to WESTUNE [Wighton] the king's manor, whoever may hold there, and the king and earl have it.

HUNDRET OF WALESHAM [WALSHAM]

In MOTHETUNA [Moulton] (there are) 3 freemen (and) 37 acres of land and 4½ acres of meadow and half a plough, and it is worth 2 shillings and 8 pence. In BASTWIC [Bastwick, (Wood)] (there is) 1 freeman (and) 30 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow and half a plough, and it is worth 16 pence. And the hundred of Walesam [Walsham] renders 40 shillings to the king and 20 shillings to the earl.

HUNDRET OF FLECWEST [WEST FLEGG]

In MARCHAM [Martham] 2 freemen, 1 (belonging to) Gert, the other to Harold (*Heroldi*), in commendation with 60 acres of land and

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6 acres of meadow. Then 1 plough, afterwards and now half (a plough). Then and afterwards (they were worth) 4 shillings, now 6 shillings and 8 pence, and they are in the rent (*in censu*) of Ormesbei [Ormesby].

In CLEPESBEI [Clippesby] (was) 1 freeman of Gert's commendation T.R.E. with 20 acres of land and 4 acres of meadow, and 3 freemen under him (with) 17 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now (there was) 1 plough. Then as now it was worth 2 shillings and 6 pence, (and it is) in the rent of Ormesbei [Ormesby].

In CLEPESBEI [Clippesby] (is) 1 freeman of the king's with 20 acres of land. Then as now (there was) half a plough and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 2 shillings.

In WINTRETUNA [Winterton] (there is) 1 freeman with 7 acres of land and 5 bordars. Then as now half a plough. Then as now it was worth 8 pence. And it is in the valuation (*in f. 114. pretio*) of Orbeslei [Ormesby].

HUNDRET OF HEINSTEDE [HENSTEAD]

In FRAMINGHAM [Framingham] and in TREUSSA [Trowse] two burgesses of Norwich hold 12 acres of land. Then as now it was worth 2 shillings.

HUNDRET OF THE HALF HUNDRET ('*Hundret Dim' H.*) OF DICE [DISS]

WATLINGESETA [Watlingsete¹] was held by King Edward for a manor (and as) 5 ploughlands. Then (there were) 20 villeins, afterwards and now 24. Then as now 25 bordars. Then as now 19 ploughs belonging to the men. Then wood(land) for 20 swine, now none, and 9 acres of meadow, and 1 freeman with 20 acres of land and 1 bordar under him. Then as now 1 plough and 3 acres of meadow.

In BORSTUNA [Burston] there are 6 sokemen with 40 acres of land, and then as now 1 bordar. Then 1½ ploughs, afterwards and now 1, and 2 acres of meadow. It is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth, and (renders) for geld 7 pence. This belongs to (*appendet ad*) Dice [Diss] in Sutfulc [Suffolk] and is there valued (*appreciatur*). (As is also) all the soke and sac of this half hundret, except the land of St. Edmund's—and of that the saint (*Sanctus*, i.e. *S. Edmundus*) (holds) half and the king the other moiety—except the land of Ulfiet—and except the land of Stigand, and of all other (lands) the soke was in the hundret T.R.E.

HUNDRET OF ENSFORD [EYNSFORD]

FOLSHAM [Foulsham] was held by King Edward as 12 ploughlands and 3 acres. Then 30 villeins, afterwards and now 33. Then and afterwards 38 bordars, now 44, and 40 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 3. Then and afterwards 18 ploughs belonging to the men, now 20. Wood(land) for 400 swine; then and afterwards 1 mill, now 2; 1 church (with) 16 acres. When (King William) took it over (*quando recepit*) (there was) 1 rouncey and now 2; then 3 beasts, now 12; then 47 swine, now 50, and now 60 sheep; then as now 50 goats. T.R.E. (there were) 30 sokemen, now 24 (and) 1 acre² of land and 10 acres (*sic*); then as now 5 ploughs and 5½ acres of meadow. And 6 of these (sokemen) Walter Gifard now holds. Then *f. 114b.*

it was worth 13 pounds by tale and 13 quarts (*sextarios*) of honey with the custom: and (it is worth) 23 pounds by weight now and 11 pounds and 10 shillings blanch for the honey, and is 1 league in length and 1 in breadth, and pays 8 pence and a halfpenny to the king's geld (*in gelito regis*). (There is) 1 church (and) 22 acres. To this manor were annexed (*adjuncti sunt*) 2 freemen by Ralf Talibosc [Taillebois] in King William's time; this the hundret witnesses; 14 acres of land; then as now half a plough, and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now it was worth 4 shillings.

In WITWELLA [Whitwell] 1 outlying estate which belongs to Caustona [Cawston] was held by Harold T.R.E. 1 ploughland, then 10 bordars, now 7; then as now 1 plough on the demesne; then 1 plough belonging to the men, now none. Wood(land) for 20 swine and 5 acres of meadow. And it is in the valuation (*pretio*) of Castona [Cawston].

In BRANTESTUNA [Brandiston] (there are) 4 freemen, 52 acres of land, and 1½ ploughs and 7 acres of meadow (and) wood(land) for 6 swine, and they are in the valuation of Caustona [Cawston].

HUNDRET OF TAVERHAM [TAVERHAM]

In TAVERHAM [Taverham] T.R.E. Harold held 1 ploughland and 2½ acres. (This is) an outlying estate of Caustuna [Cawston]. Then as now 2 villeins and 4 bordars; then as now 1 plough on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men (and) 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 10 swine; then as now 1½ mills; then as now 2 rounceys. This is in the valuation of Caustuna [Cawston]. To this manor used to belong (*jacebant*) T.R.E. 13 sokemen (with) 2 ploughlands and 21 acres; these Walter Gifart holds.

¹ In Diss; *Blomefield*, i, 2.

² Probably for '1 ploughland.'

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In FELETHORP [Felthorpe] (are) 4 freemen, 100 acres of land; then as now 7 bordars and 2 ploughs and 5 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 4 swine, and it is worth 10 shillings. The king and earl have the soke.

HUNDRET OF ERPINCHAM SUD [SOUTH ERPINGHAM]

CAUSTITUNA [Cawston] was held by Harold T.R.E. (as) 11 ploughlands and 40 acres. Then and afterwards (there were) 36 villeins, now 35. Then and afterwards 26 bordars, now 34; then f. 115.

and afterwards 6 serfs, now 4. Then and afterwards 4 ploughs on the demesne, now 3, and two could be added (*restaurari*). Then and afterwards 26 ploughs belonging to the men, now 16, and the others could be added; (and) 20 acres of meadow. Then (there was) wood(land) for 1,500 swine, now 1,000; then as now 2 mills. Then 4 rounceys, now the same (*similiter*). Then 20 beasts, and now; then as now 40 swine, and 60 sheep, and 50 goats, and 5 hives of bees. And (there were) 10 sokemen T.R.E., whereof (*ex hoc*) Rainald, son of Ivo, has 2, and W[illiam] the bishop 2, and Count Alan 1, and Godric 2 as part of (*ad*) the king's fee which Count Ralf held when he made forfeiture (*con(sic) forisfecit*); and W[illiam] de War[enne] 2 and Roger Bigot 1. And besides this (*adbuc*) Harold held (as appurtenant) to (*in*) Caustuna [Cawston] T.R.E. MARSAM [Marsham] and BLIKELINGA [Blickling] and 23 sokemen, and these two manors William the bishop holds and Erfast held; and Walter Gifart holds 26 sokemen whom Bodin his predecessor held. Harold also used to hold (as belonging) to this manor 5 sokemen whom Earl Ralf held; now Godric (holds them) as part of (*ad*) the king's fee. Then it was worth 30 pounds, now 40 by tale; and it is 2 leagues in length and 2 in breadth whoever may be holding it (*ibi teneat*); and (it renders) 7 pence for geld. To this manor also then as now belonged 1 outlying estate (called) OULSTUNA [Oulton] (of) 1 ploughland. Then as now 9 bordars; then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 3 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 60 swine; now 1 rouncey and 8 swine, and 4 sokemen and a half—and a moiety of this half R[alf] held when he made forfeiture, (with) 110 acres and it is worth 15 pence;—(with) 1 ploughland and 40 acres. Now and always 1 villein and 2 ploughs and 1 acre of meadow, and it is in the survey of Caustuna [Cawston]. One of those 4 sokemen the reeve of Gaustuna [Cawston] sold (for) 10 shillings, and Ralf was holding him when he made forfeiture, and he has 13 acres and is worth 16 pence. And of the same sokemen R[alf] when he made forfeiture was seised

of one, and he has 5 acres and is worth 8 pence. f. 115b.

To this manor was added 1 freeman of Saint Benet (with) 84 acres of land in the time of King William. Then and now 3 villeins; then and afterwards 1 plough (team), now two oxen, and it is worth 5 shillings. In MATELASC [Matlask] 30 acres of land were held by Harold and they are worth 5 shillings. In STRATUNA [Stratton (Strawless)] 60 acres of land (form) an outlying estate in Caustuna [Cawston]; then as now 6 bordars and 1 plough on the demesne. Then and afterwards 1 plough (belonging to the men); now half a plough. This is in the valuation of Caustuna [Cawston]. In COLEBEI [Colby] (are) 2 freemen, 2 ploughlands; now as then 8 bordars. Then 6 ploughs, now 2, and 8 acres of meadow. Then wood(land) for 12 (swine), now for 8; now 1 mill and 1 sokeman (with) 1 acre. In WICMARA [Wickmere] 1 freeman of Harold's, 30 acres. Then (there was) 1 plough, now half (a plough) and half an acre of meadow. Then it was worth 25 shillings, now 20. This land Drodo [Drogo] de Beureria claims for his fee because Hanfrid held it, and it is (*habet*) 7 furlongs in length and 5½ in breadth, and (it renders) 2 pence and 1 farthing for a geld.

HUNDRET OF TONSTEDA [TUNSTEAD]

In FELMINCHAM [Felmingham] (there is) 1 freeman Offort (and) 6 acres of land, and it is worth 6 pence.

EAST HUNDRET OF FLEC [EAST FLEGG]

ORMESBY [Ormesby] was held by Guert T.R.E. as 3 ploughlands and 30 acres, which acres he used to hold (*tenebat*) of St. Benet; now as then 4 villeins and 3 bordars and 2 ploughs on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men; 16 acres of meadow and 3 rounceys and 4 beasts and 6 swine; and then (and) now 381¹ sheep; and 80 sokemen (with) 4 ploughlands and 46 acres and 3 bordars. Then 33 ploughs; afterwards and now 23 (and) 16 acres of meadow. Of these sokemen Richard (son of Alan²) holds 3 by the gift of Arfast the bishop and has half a ploughland. Then the whole was worth 10 pounds, now 21 by tale; and (it is) 1½ leagues in length and 1 league in breadth, and (renders) 3 shillings and 8 pence for f. 116.

geld whoever may hold there. In RONHAM [Runham] (there are) 4 freemen of Guert's, 28 acres, and half a plough, (and) 2 acres of meadow, and (it is worth) 3 shillings and pays always 3 shillings in Ormesbei [Ormesby]. The king and earl (have) the soke.

¹ Possibly 1,381 (*modo for mille*).

² See f. 197.

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HUNDRET OF CLAVELINGA [CLAVERING]

KILDINCHAM [Gillingham] (was held by) 2 freemen of Guerth, 35 acres and half a plough and 1 acre of meadow. This is in the valuation (*in precio*) of Gorlestuna [Gorleston]. Stigand (has) the soke. All the churches (are included) in the valuation with the manors.

HUNDRET OF NORWIC [NORWICH]

In NORWIC [Norwich] there were T.R.E. 1,320 burgesses. Of whom 1 was so (much) King Edward's own (*ita dominicus regis E.*) that he could not withdraw nor do homage without his leave (*licentia*); whose name was Edstan. He had (*hic habebat*) 18 acres of land and 12 (acres) of meadow and 2 churches in the borough, and a sixth part of a third; and to 1 church belonged a message (*mansura*) in the borough and 6 acres of meadow. This Roger Bigot holds of the king's gift. And of 1,238 (burgesses) the king and earl had soke and sac and custom; and over 50 Stigand had soke and sac and commendation; and over 32 had Harold soke and sac and commendation; of whom 1 was so much his own (*ita ei dominicus*) that he could not withdraw or do homage without his leave. Altogether (*inter totum*) they had between them (*omnes*) 80 acres of land and 20½ acres of meadow. And of these 1 was a woman, Stigand's sister, (with) 32 acres of land. And between them all they had half a mill and the fourth part of 1 mill, and still have. And in addition (*ad*huc) (they had) 12½ acres of meadow which Wihenoc f. 116b.

took away from them (*tulit eis*); now Rainald son of Ivo has them. And in addition 2 acres of meadow which belonged to (*jacebant ad*) the church of All Saints; those also Wihenoc took away and now Rainald has. There is also in the borough a certain church of St. Martin which Stigand held T.R.E. with 12 acres of land; this William de Noiers now has as part of (*ad*) the fee of Stigand. Stigand also held a church of St. Michael to which belong 112 acres of land and 6 of meadow and 1 plough. This Bishop William holds, but not of his bishopric. And the burgesses held 15 churches to which belonged in almoign 181 acres of land and meadow. And T.R.E. 12 burgesses held the church of Holy Trinity; now the bishop (holds it) by gift of King William. The king and earl had 180 acres of land. The abbot has a moiety of the church of St. Laurence and 1 house belonging to (*de*) St. Edmund. This was all T.R.E. Now there are in the borough 665 English burgesses and they pay the customary dues (*consuetudines*); and 480 bordars who on account of poverty pay no customary due. And in that land which Stigand held T.R.E. now dwell of those above named (*ex illis superioribus*) 39 burgesses, and on the same (land) are 9 messuages

empty. And on the land of which Harold had the soke there are 15 burgesses and 17 empty messuages, which are in the occupation of the castle. And in the borough (are) 190 empty messuages in this (quarter) which was in soke of the king and earl, and 81 in the occupation of the castle. In the borough are in addition (*ad*huc) 50 houses from which the king has not his custom. Of these Rainald, the man of Roger Bigot, has 2 houses and 2 messuages, and f. 117.

Robert Baro 2 houses and Abba 1 house, and Rabel [the engineer] 2 houses and 2 messuages; and 2 messuages which two women hold, and Ascolf the Englishman (*unglicus, sic*) (holds) 1 house, and Teodbald, a man of the abbot of St. E[dmund's], 1 house, and Burghard 1 house, and Wala 1 house, and William, the man of Hervi B[er]¹, 1 house, and Meinard the watchman 1 house, and Mein burgenses 1 house, and Hervi de B[er] 1 house, and Ralf the crossbowman 2 houses and 1 messuage, and Hereber the ditcher (*fossator*) 3 houses, and Roger of Poitou 2 houses, and Meinard, a man of the abbot of St. Benet, 1 house, and Peter, a man of the abbot of St. Edmund's, 1 dwelling-house, and Euerwin a burgess 1 house, and Baldwin 1 house, and William an Englishman 1 house, and Gerard the watchman (*vigil*) 1 house, Robert the lorimer (*lorimarius*) 1 messuage, and Hildebrand the lorimer 1 house, and Godwin the burgess 1 house, and William, the man of Hermer [de Ferrières], 1 house, and Gisbert the watchman 1 house, and Fulbert, a certain priest of Hermer's, 1 house, and Walter 1 house, and Reinold son of Ivo 1 house, and Richard de Sentebor² 1 house, and Hugh, the man of William de Scoies, 1 house.

And the bishop's men 10 houses, and in the bishop's own court 14 dwelling-houses which King William gave to Erfast (*Æ*) for the principal seat of the bishopric, and Gilbert the crossbowman 1 house and 2 messuages, and William de Scoies 1 house, and Meinard 1 house, the abbot of Ely 1 messuage. And in the borough the burgesses hold 43 chapels. And the whole of this town (*willa*) used to pay T.R.E. 20 pounds to the king and 10 pounds to the earl, and besides this 21 shillings and 4 pence (to certain) pensioners (*prebendarios*) and 6 quarts of honey and 1 bear and 6 dogs for bear (baiting). And now 70 pounds f. 117b.

king's weight and 100 shillings by tale as a fine (*de gersuma*³) to the queen and 1 goshawk (*asturconem*⁴) and 20 pounds blanch to the earl and 20 shillings by tale as a fine to G[odric].

¹ i.e. Vere.

² *Sic* for Sentcler.

³ *Gersuma*, a free gift according to Sir H. Ellis (i, 174).

⁴ *Asturco* can also bear the meaning of 'an ambling nag.'

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And the church of Saints Simon and Jude Almar the bishop held T.R.E. afterwards Erfast, now William. To this belong (*adjacent*) three parts of a mill and half an acre of meadow and 1 messuage, and it is not of the bishopric, but of the patrimony of Almar the bishop. In the borough he (William) has 2 acres of meadow belonging to the bishopric, and they are worth 20 shillings. Ewicman held T.R.E. 1½ ploughlands and 16 acres of pasture and 7 acres of meadow under Stigand; now Rainald son of Ivo (holds it). Then and afterwards 1 plough; now 2. Then as now it was worth 30 shillings. Of the burgesses who dwelt in the borough of Norwich 22 have gone away and dwell in Beccles, a vill of the abbot of St. Edmund's, and 6 in Humilgar hundret [Humbleyard], and have quitted (*dimiserunt*) the borough, and in the king's (manor of) Torp [Thorpe] 1, and on the land of Roger Bigot 1, and under W. de Noie[r]s 1, and Richard de Sentcler 1. Those fleeing and the others remaining have been entirely ruined (*vastati*) partly by reason of the forfeitures of Earl Ralf, partly by reason of a fire, partly by reason of the king's geld, partly by Waleram.

In this borough the bishop can have 1 moneyer if he wishes. In the borough was a certain ruined house (*vasta domus*); this Ranulf son of Walter received of the king's gift. And Walter the deacon has 1 house in the borough, but it was not (there) T.R.E., and 2 men of Ralf the earl took away 2 acres of meadow from St. Sepulchre; afterwards the priest had it again by grant of the sheriff. Ralf the earl held 14 acres of land and 1½ acres of meadow; afterwards Alward of Niwetuna [Newton] held (them).

f. 118.

LAND OF THE BURGESSES

In the HUNDRET OF HUMILIAT [Humbleyard] then as now (there were) 80 acres and 14 bordars and 1 plough and 3 acres of meadow: and they are worth 13 shillings and 4 pence.

FRENCHMEN (*FRANCI*) OF NORWIC [NORWICH]

In the new borough (are) 36 burgesses and 6 Englishmen (*anglici*), and each one used to pay of annual custom 1 penny besides forfeitures. Of all this the king used to have two parts and the earl the third. Now (there are) 41 French (*Franci*) burgesses on the demesne of the king and the earl, and Roger Bigot has 50 and Ralf de Bellafago 14, and Hermer 8 and Robert the crossbowman 5, and Fulcher the abbot's man 1, and Isac 1 and Ralf Visus Lupi¹ 1: and in the earl's bakehouse (*pistrino*) Robert Blund has 3, and Wimer 1 messuage (which is) waste. All this land of the burgesses was in the demesne of Earl Ralf, and

he granted it to the king in common to make the borough between himself and the king, as the sheriff testifies. And all those lands as well of the knights as of the burgesses pay the king his custom. There is also in the new borough a certain church which Ralf the earl built (*fecit*) and gave it to his chaplains. Now a certain priest of the sheriff's, Wala by name, holds it of the king's gift, and it is worth 60 shillings; and as long as Robert Blund held the county he had therefrom 1 ounce of gold every year.

EST HUNDRET OF FLEC [EAST FLEGG]

GERNEMWA [Yarmouth, (Great)] was held by King Edward. Then as now 70 burgesses. Then it was worth, with 2 parts of the soke of 3 hundrets, 18 pounds by tale, and the earl's part was 9 pounds by tale. Now the king's 2 parts are worth 17 pounds and 16 shillings and 4 pence f. 118b.

blanch, and the earl's part 10 pounds blanch. And the sheriff has 4 pounds and 1 hawk of the land (*acciptrem terre*)² for a fine (*de gersumma*): these 4 pounds the burgesses give freely (*gratis*) and of goodwill (*de amicitia*). In the same (town) T.R.E. Ailmar the bishop had a certain church of St. Benet; now W[illiam] the bishop has the same (church) as of his bishopric, and it is worth 20 shillings. The whole pays 12 pence for geld.

HUNDRET OF TETFORD [THETFORD]

In TETFORD [Thetford] is the church of St. Mary, which Stigand the archbishop held. Now the sons of Arfast the bishop (hold it). To this church belong now as then 4 churches, St. Peter's, St. John's, St. Martin's, St. Margaret's, and 6 ploughlands, less half a bovat. Then (there were) 2 ploughs, now 1. Then as now 5 burgesses and 2 vacant messuages and 12 acres of meadow. And 3 ploughs could be restored, and 2 plough(lands) remain in pasture (*in pasture*). Then as now 35 sheep, and it is worth 40 shillings.

Of the king's land in TETFORD [Thetford], on the Norfolk side of the river (*ultra aquam versus Norfolk*) is 1 league (*leugata*) of land in length and half (a league) in breadth, of which the king has 2 parts, a third part belongs to the earldom (*in consulatu*). Of the above league (*superiori leugata*) R[oger] Bigot (has) the third part. All this land is as to a moiety arable; the other (moiety is) in pasture. On this land the king has 1 plough and 3 bordars and 1 serf and 1 horse. And of 2 mills the king has 2 parts and the earl (*consul*) the third. The king has also 2 parts of the third mill, and of these 2 parts the earl has a third. On the

² i.e., An English as distinguished from a Norway or Irish hawk. See *Dialogus de Scaccario* ii, p. xxv.

¹ Sir H. Ellis read *Viso Lupi*.

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other side (of the river) towards Suthfolc [Suffolk] there is half a league of land in length and half in breadth; of this land a third part belongs to the earldom (*est ad comitatum*) (with) 4 acres of meadow. All this land is arable, and 4 ploughs can till it. In the borough, moreover, there were T.R.E. 943 burgesses: of these the king has all the custom. Of those men 36 were so

f. 119.

much King Edward's own (*dominice*) that they could not be the men of anyone else without the king's leave. All the others could be the men of anyone else, but in all cases (*semper*) nevertheless the custom remained the king's except heriot (*herigete*). Now there are 720 burgesses and 224 empty messuages. Of these burgesses 21 have 6 plough(land)s and 60 acres, which they hold of the king, and it is in the soke of St. Edmund. Besides this, 2 burgesses have 1 mill. All this above T.R.E. was worth 20 pounds by tale, and 10 pounds by tale to the use of the earl (*consulis*). Now it renders to the king 50 pounds by weight and to the earl 20 pounds blanch and 6 pounds by tale. Now also it renders to the king 40 pounds from the mint (*de moneta*), and then as now 16 shillings to (*ad*) 2 pensioners (*prebendarios*). It used to render also T.R.E. 4 quarts of honey and 40 pence and 10 goatskins and 4 ox-hides. In the borough the abbot of St. Edmund has 1 church and 1 house free (*libere*). The abbot of Ely (holds) 3 churches and 1 house freely and 2 messuages by custom (*in consuetudine*),¹ on one (of which) there is a house.¹ And the bishop (holds) 20 houses freely and 1 mill and half a church: R[oger] Bigot 1 house freely and 1 monastery and 2 bordars belonging to (*ad*) the monastery.

f. 119b.

LANDS OF THE KING WHICH GODRIC KEEPS

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOU [GREENHOE, (SOUTH)], OF 14 LEETS

SPARLE [Sporle] was held by King Edward, and this manor was of the royal demesne (*de regno*). But King Edward gave it to Ralf the earl. Then and afterwards (there were) 32 villeins, now 20; now 3 bordars. Then and afterwards 2 serfs, now 6. Then and afterwards 1 plough on the demesne, now 4. Then 10 ploughs amongst the men, and afterwards; now 3. Then 1 mill, now the same (*similiter*). Wood(land) for 60 swine. Then 6 beasts and 2 rounceys and 60 swine and 180 sheep, and 1 freeman (with) half a plough(land); and this land is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth. To this manor belongs 1 outlying estate which is called PAGGRAVA [Palgrave (in Sporle)]. Then and afterwards 13 villeins, now 11. Then and

always (*semper*) 2 bordars. Then as now 2 serfs. Then 1 plough, and 1 when Godric received it, and now. Then 2, and always since (*semper*) 1 plough belonging to the men. Then as now 1 mill. Then 2 beasts and 12 swine and 36 sheep. This land is half a league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth. There is also further (*adhuc*) another outlying estate which is called ACRA [Acre, (South)]. Then as now 6 villeins. Then and afterwards 2 men, now 4; now 1 plough. Then and afterwards the villeins (had) 3 ploughs, now 2. Then as now 2 mills, and this (land) is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth.

Another outlying estate (is called) PICHENHAM [Pickenham, (? South²)]. Then 14 villeins, and when (Godric) received it 1, now 4 bordars. Then 3 serfs, now 2. Then on the demesne 2 ploughs, and afterwards 1; now 2. Then 4 ploughs amongst the men. Wood(land) for 6 swine. Then as now 1 mill, 8 acres of meadow and 8 sokemen on this land, and among them then 5 ploughs and afterwards 3 and 24 (acres) of land: now 5 ploughs. Then as now 1 mill, 4 acres of meadow. Then 2 beasts and 12 swine and 1 rouncey, 20 sheep, 20 goats; and this (land is) half a league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth. In Sparle [Sporle] and in Pagrava [Palgrave] 18 pence was rendered when the hundred was taxed at (*scotabat*) 20 shillings, and in Acra [Acre, (South)] 6 pence and in Pichenham [Pickenham] 12 pence whosoever may be holding there. This whole manor together T.R.E. was worth 10 pounds, and when G[odric] received it 22 (pounds); now

f. 120.

24 pounds and 2 shillings, (and) besides that it renders 60 shillings for a fine (*de gersumma*).

NIEUTUNA [Newton (by Castle Acre)] was held by Osmund T.R.E. and afterwards by R[alf], now it is in the king's hand. Then 8 villeins, and afterwards when G[odric] received it 8, now 2. Then and afterwards 7 bordars, now 11. Then as now 4 serfs. Then as now on the demesne 2 ploughs. Then and afterwards 6 ploughs belonging to the men; now 2½. Then as now 2 mills. Then as now half a salt-pan; and 6 freemen dwelt there;³ and when G[odric] received it he found 9 beasts and 1 rouncey, 30 swine, 30 sheep; and (it is) 5 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth and pays 9 pence in geld. Then it was worth 4 pounds, now 8.

CLEIA [Cley, (Cockley)] was held by 2 freemen (T.R.E.) and afterwards by R[alf]; now it is in the king's hand. Then (there were) 10 villeins, and afterwards; now 8. Then as

² See *Feudal Aids*, iii, 447, 448, where Edmund Fitz Alan holds in S. Pickenham and Palgrave.

³ *Libi* (*sic*) is apparently a mistake for *ibi*.

¹ Omitted by I.E. (I.C.C. p. 136).

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now 7 bordars. Then as now 4 serfs. Then 4 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards 3 oxen, now 2 ploughs. Then 5 ploughs belonging to the men, and afterwards 4; now 3; and then as now 6 freemen dwelt there. They are reckoned above. Then as now 2 mills. Woodland for 20 swine, (and) 8 acres of meadow; and G[odric] found 60 sheep. And it pays 14 pence in geld, and is (*habet*) 1 league in length and another in breadth. Then it was worth 6 pounds and afterwards 4: now 100 shillings.

HOLM [Holme (Hale)] was held by Godric, now by the king. Then (there was) half a ploughland. Then (there were) 5 bordars, now 4. Then 1 plough, now half (a plough). Woodland for 20 swine. Then as now 2 parts of a mill; 2 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 10 shillings; now 15 shillings. And in PICHENHAM [Pickenham] 1 free man held 60 acres T.R.E. and after the king came into that country (*ista patria*)¹ Earl Ralf gave it to the reeve of the hundret (*proposito hundret*). And from (*per*) the king's sheriffs he still holds that land;² and it is worth 16 pence. And in the same vill a certain freeman holds 12 acres and another freeman holds 3 acres of the king's soke. They have been valued above. In ACRA [Acre, (South)] villeins (have) half a ploughland and 1 plough, and it is in the valuation (*in censu*) of the hundret.

HUNDRET OF GILDECROS [GUILTCROSS]

In GNATESHALA [Knettishall (All Saints)]³ 1 freeman with (*de*) 30 acres of land, and it belongs

f. 120b.

(*jacet*) to Kenmohala⁴ [Kenninghall], and 2 villeins, and 1 acre of meadow; then as now half a mill and half a plough and 24 acres of land. The whole is in the valuation of Cheninchala [Kenninghall].

HUNDRET OF LAWENDIC [LAUNDITCH]

HORNINGHETOFT [Horningtoft] was held by Alvrice a freeman T.R.E. for 3 ploughlands. Then (there were) 7 villeins, afterwards and now 5; then as now 3 bordars and 2 serfs and 4 acres of meadow. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1 plough and a half, and a half could be restored. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, afterwards and now half (a plough), and a half could be restored; wood(land) for 300 swine, and half a fishery; then as now 1 beast and 20 swine and 160 sheep and 20 goats. And (there are) 9 sokemen and 2 bordars (with) 1 ploughland and half an acre of meadow;

wood(land) for 40 swine: then 2 ploughs, afterwards and now 1, and another could be restored. Of these 9 sokemen Stigand had the soke T.R.E. but Ralf seized it (*invasit eam*) and therefore Godric has it.

And CHIPTENA [Kipton⁵] was held by Alvrice and Alfer as 3 ploughlands; then as now 2 bordars and 3 acres of meadow. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now none, but 4 could be employed (*restaurari*). And 9 sokemen (with) half a ploughland and 1 acre of meadow (and) then as now 1 plough. The whole was then worth 4 pounds, afterwards 6 pounds, now 7 (pounds) by tale. Of these 9 sokemen Stigand had the soke T.R.E. and Ralf before he made forfeit seized it and held it, therefore Godric holds it. All Horningtoft [Horningtoft] is 8 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth and (pays) 4 pence for geld.

RUHAM [Rougham], 1 ploughland and a half, was held by Aluin a freeman T.R.E.: then (there were) 7 villeins, afterwards and now 3: then as now 3 solidates.⁶ Then 3 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now none, and 4 could be employed (*restaurari*). Then 1 plough belonging to the men; afterwards and now none, but it could be restored: then as now 12 swine and 30 sheep. Here belong now as then (*semper*) 14 sokemen, (with) 1½ ploughlands, and 2 villeins

f. 121.

and 4 bordars. Then 2½ ploughs; afterwards and now 2, and the half could be restored. The whole belonged to Stigand's soke and to his manors (*et de suis mansibus*) T.R.E.; afterwards Ralf had the whole, now Godric has it. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, now 60; and it is (*habet*) 7 furlongs in length and 6 in width, and (pays) 20 pence for geld.

In WESENHAM [Weasenham] (are) 4 freemen, 1 ploughland, and 1 acre of meadow: then as now 2 bordars and 2 ploughs. Stigand (had) the soke T.R.E. now W. de Noiars in Meleham [Mileham]. This is in the valuation of Esparlea [Sporle]. In MULCHAM [Mileham] and in BRITRINGA [Bittering] is 1 ploughland and 12 acres which Aluin a freeman held; now a certain widow holds it: then (there were) 2 ploughs, now none. And 1 sokeman (with) 24 acres of land. Then as now half a plough, and 3 sokemen (with) 15 acres and half a plough T.R.E. All this was then worth 20 shillings. Now (she) pays nothing, because she has nothing (*nichil habet*) and yet (*tunc*)⁷ Godric pays the tax (*censum*) for it.

⁵ In Weasenham St. Peter. See Blomefield, ix, 525.

⁶ 3 *sol* = *solidatas*? Sir H. Ellis seems to make a *solidata* = a *mansura* (Ellis i, 96). The word is probably (as usual) a mistake for 'serfs': the *s* being wrongly extended by the scribe.

⁷ *tūc*, possibly in error for *tū = tamen*, 'and yet.'

¹ Compare f. 210 (Broc.).

² For instances of *reveland* see Ellis i, 188.

³ Knettishall is just across the Little Ouse in Suffolk.

⁴ *Sic*: but probably this is an error in the facsimile for Keninchala [Kenninghall].

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HUNDRET OF FEORHOU [FOREHOE]

CHINEBURLAI [Kimberley] was held by Hakene T.R.E. as 2 ploughlands. Then there were 10 villeins, now 14. Then 8 bordars, now 12 : then as now 4 serfs (*sol*¹, *sic*¹) and then as now 2 ploughs ; but Godric received nothing but 5 oxen. Then as now 8 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 10 swine. Then as now 1 mill and 12 acres of meadow ; then as now 8 swine and 20 sheep. Then 10 sokemen, now 17. Then 30 acres of land, now 40 ; then as now 2 ploughs. Then the whole was worth 60 shillings, now 7 pounds blanch ; and it is 5 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth, and (renders) 13 pence and 1 halfpenny for geld. Besides this there belong to this manor in KASLETUNA [Carleton (Forehoe)] 16 freemen (with) 60 acres of land (and) then as now 2 ploughs, and they are (included) in the valuation above ; and of these 9 were sokemen of Stigand T.R.E. ; but Earl Ralf had them all before he made forfeiture.

BOETHORP [Bowthorpe] was held by Hakene T.R.E. for 2 ploughlands ; then (there were) 10 villeins, now 14 ; then as now 3 serfs, and

f. 121b.
2 ploughs on the demesne and 2 ploughs belonging to the men ; woodland for 16 swine and 10 acres of meadow : then as now 1 mill and 7 swine and 16 sheep. To this manor belong 2 sokemen (with) 4 acres of land. The whole was worth 40 shillings, now 6 pounds blanch (*albas*) ; and it is 3 furlongs in breadth and 3 in length and (renders) 6 pence and 1 halfpenny for geld.

In CONGRETHORPE [Crownthorpe] T.R.E. Bondo a freeman held 20 acres of land : then as now 1 bordar, and it is (included) in the valuation above (*in superiori pretio*).

In RUNHALA [Runhall] 1 ploughland was held by Hakene and 2 bordars and 1 sokeman and 1 mill. This is an outlying estate in SUATINGA [Swathing²] and is in (that) survey. And to this outlying estate belong 7 freemen, 24 acres of land and half a plough, and it is (included) in the (same) valuation (*pretio*).

HUNDRET OF MITTEFORDA [MIDFORD]

CRANAWORDA [Cranworth] was held by Ulf T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now 13 villeins and 3 bordars. Then 2 serfs, now none. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 200 swine, 8 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 mill, 2 beasts, 15 swine, 20 sheep, and 20 goats, and 14 sokemen with (*de*) 40 acres of land. Then as now 2 ploughs. Then it was

worth 100 shillings, now 10 pounds, and 10 shillings for a fine (*de gersoma*) ; and it is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth, and pays 15 pence for geld.

In SUATINGA [Swathing²] T.R.E. Hagan a freeman held 2 ploughlands. Then as now 2 villeins and 11 bordars and 4 serfs. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now half (a plough), and the whole number (*tote*) could be restored. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1, and the other could (*possent*) be restored. Then wood(land) for 60 swine, now for 40 ; 5 acres of meadow, 2 mills. Then and now 30 swine and 30 sheep and 6 goats. To this manor belong 13 sokemen ; 5 dwell in the same vill, and in Thustuna [Thuxton] 4, and in Turstanestuna [Thuxton³] 4. Among them all (*inter totum*) they have 1 ploughland. Then 5 ploughs, now 3. Then it was worth 100 shillings, now 6 pounds and 13 shillings and 4 pence, and it is 7 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth whoever hold there, and (renders) 12 pence for geld.

f. 122.

FLOKETHORP [Flockthorpe⁴] was held by Hakena a freeman T.R.E. as 2 ploughlands. Then as now 12 villeins ; then 6 serfs, now 3, and 12 bordars. Then (there was) wood(land) for 60 swine, now for 40, and 10 acres of meadow, then as now 1 mill. Then 3 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 2, and 1 could be restored. Then 4 ploughs belonging to the men, now 5, and 12 swine and 26 sheep and 80 goats. To this manor belongs (*jacet*) 1 outlying estate (called) MANTATESTONA [] of 30 acres of land, then 1 plough ; and another outlying estate of 30 acres of land, then 1 plough, and 22 sokemen (with) 1 ploughland and 6 acres of meadow. Then 5 ploughs, now 3½. The whole was worth then 100 shillings, now 10 pounds blanch, and is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth, and (renders) 28 pence for geld. In CRANWORDA [Cranworth] and in SCIPDHAM [Shipdham] 30 acres of land were held by 1 sokeman of Stou [Stow (Bedon)], and 8 acres of meadow (and) wood(land) for 3 swine, and it was worth 2 shillings and Robert Blund had them ; but Godric never had (them).

HUNDRET OF BRODERCROSS [BROTHERCROSS]

REINEHAM [Rainham] which Ulviet held T.R.E. (is) 2 ploughlands. Then as now 11 bordars and 2 serfs. Then 2 ploughs, and afterwards half (a plough), now 1. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, and afterwards half (a plough), now the same (*similiter*). Wood(land) for 10 swine, 4 acres of meadow, 1 mill.

¹ See note (°), p. 49.

² In Hardingham.

³ 'Thurston' was one of the old forms of Thuxton.

⁴ In Hardingham.

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Then as now 1 rouncey and 3 beasts and 14 swine and 63 sheep; and 1 outlying estate (called) HELGETUNA [Helhoughton] of half a ploughland. Then as now 2 bordars and half a plough and 1 serf and 1 mill; 1 acre of meadow, 1 fishery and 1 saltpan, and 1 rouncey and 2 beasts and 42 sheep. There belong to (*jacent in*) this manor 16 sokemen with (*de*) 1 ploughland. Then 2½ ploughs, and afterwards 2, now 2: and 6 bordars. Wood(land) for 4 swine, and 2 acres of meadow: and in Hælgatuna [Helhoughton] 6 sokemen with half a ploughland. Then as now 2 bordars. Then 2 ploughs, afterwards half (a plough), now 1; 2 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 40 shillings, now 6 pounds; and Reinham [Rainham] is 1 league in length and 3 furlongs in breadth and (pays) 20 pence in geld: and Helgetuna [Helhoughton] is 4 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth and (pays) 10 pence in geld.

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOGA [GREENHOE, (NORTH)]

STIVECAI [Stiffkey] is held by Toka in Grenehoga [Greenhoe, (North)]. It consists of f. 122b.

(*habet*) 1½ ploughlands: then as now 11 bordars: then 6 serfs, and afterwards and now 3: then as now 1½ ploughs on the demesne. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, afterwards 1 plough belonging to the men, now half (a plough); 5 beasts, 12 swine, 200 sheep, wood(land) for 8 swine, 2 acres of meadow, and half a mill.

And to this vill belongs 1 outlying estate GUELLA [Wells] (which was) T.R.E. 1 ploughland, but Godric found no stock (*nil*): 4 bordars (who had) then half a plough afterwards and now 1 ox, and 4 sokemen, (with) 8 acres of land, then as now half a plough. And to this manor belong 13 sokemen, (with) 40 acres of land T.R.E. and half a plough and (the same) now. Then it was worth 4 pounds. Now it pays 6 pounds. And Stivecai [Stiffkey] (is) 1 outlying estate which belongs to Helesham [Aylsham] (of) 4 bordars, 1 plough T.R.E. and when G[odric] received it and now half a plough; half an acre of meadow. This all belongs to Helesham [Aylsham] and is valued (with it).

SNARINGA [Snoring, (Great)] was held by Ketel T.R.E., now by the king, (as) 3 ploughlands; then and now 1 villein and 22 bordars; then 9 serfs, now 8; then 3 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 2; then and now 3 ploughs belonging to the men; then as now wood(land) for 8 swine, 8 acres of meadow, 2 mills; then as now 30 swine; afterwards and now 180 sheep.

TURESFORT [Thursford]: 1 outlying estate belongs to this vill; (it consists of) 40 acres of

land, and afterwards and now 1 plough, 1 bordar, 2 acres of meadow, 1 mill; 27 sokemen belong (*jacent*) to this manor, (with) 1 ploughland, then as now 4 ploughs. And in Tureforde [Thursford] (are) 5 sokemen with 60 acres of land, then as now half a plough; and 3 freemen (with) 3 ploughlands; then as now 1 plough. Then it was worth 8 pounds, now it pays 11 pounds 10 shillings and 8 pence for fine (*de gersumma*); and it is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth and (pays) 24 pence for geld.

HUNDRET OF BLAFELDA [BLOFIELD]

CANTELAI [Cantley] was held by R[alf] Stalre T.R.E. as 4 ploughlands and 3 acres, and Alsi (held) of him. Then as now 4 villeins; then 33 bordars and afterwards the same, now 42. Then 4 serfs, afterwards 3, and now 2. Then 3 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 2. Then as now 8 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 60 swine, and 40 acres of f. 123.

meadow; now 1 saltpan. Then as now 1 rouncey and 3 beasts. Then as now 6 swine. Then as now 400 sheep; and there are 10 sokemen with 60 acres of land and 4 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs. Then it was worth 7 pounds, afterwards 8, now 10 pounds blanch and 10 shillings for a fine (*de gersumma*). And it is 1 league in length and 1 in breadth, and for geld (pays) 20 pence. And in LIMPEHO [Limpenhoe] T.R.E. were 16 freemen of Alsi under Ralf the earl (with) 1 ploughland and 13 acres of meadow and 1 bordar. Then as now 3½ ploughs; and it is 1 league in length and 10 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 20 pence for geld.

In HASINGEHAM [Hasingham] (were) 6 freemen of R[alf] Stalre, and of one he had the soke T.R.E.; (they have) 70 acres of land, one has 5 bordars; amongst them all 5½ acres of meadow; then 3 ploughs, now 1½ ploughs. It is 1 league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth. And for geld (it pays) 6 pence and 3 shillings. And of those 2 villis T.R.E. the soke was the king's, the hundred witnesses. But R[alf] held it from the time he was earl; now Godric holds it in the king's hand.

In FRIETORP [Freethorpe] (are) 9 freemen; over 5 Ralf had the soke T.R.E., and over 4 the king. But from the time that Ralf was earl he had it; (they have) 60 acres of land. These all are valued in the 13 pounds.¹ Then as now 1½ ploughs.

In STROMESSAGA [Strumpshaw] 2 freemen of R[alf] Stalre with soke and sac with (*de*) 82 acres of land. Woodland for 4 swine, and then as now

¹ Compare f. 129 b (Moulton and Wickhampton).

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4 bordars. Then as now 1 plough between him and the men; and in the same (place) another freeman of R[alf] Stalre at the king's soke (with) 30 acres of land and 8 acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 8 shillings.

In BERLINGEHAM [Burlingham] 1 freeman of R[alf] Stalre with soke with (*de*) 30 acres of land, and 10 acres of freeland belonging to the church, and 5½ acres of meadow. In addition (*adhuc*) in Berlingeham [Burlingham] (there are) 3 freemen and a half; R[alf] [Stalre] (had) the soke over¹ one: over 2½ the king (has the soke); 42 acres of land and 4 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough.

f. 123b.

In PLUMSTEDE [Plumstead, (Little)²] 2 freemen T.R.E., 1 ploughland, and 30½ acres, and 1 bordar then as now, and under them 18 sokemen and 7 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs, now 4. Wood(land) for 6 swine.

In WITONA [Witton] 4 freemen with (*de*) 60 acres of land and 11 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough. Of these the soke is in the hundred to the third penny;³ and it renders 8 shillings (for geld).

In PLUMESTEDA [Plumstead, (Little)] 1 freeman (with) 10 acres of land.

In BUCANAHAM [Buckenham (Ferry)] 1 freeman with 8 acres of land. And all these freemen are valued in the 13 pounds of the out-soke (*de lut soca*)⁴ of Walessam [Walsham]. In PLUMESTEDA [Plumstead, (Great)⁵] (is) 1 outlying estate, and Edric held it T.R.E. (as) half a ploughland, and it lies in Ettuna [Eaton]. Then as now 3 bordars. Then as now 1 plough amongst the whole, and 3 acres of meadow. And it is in the valuation of Ettune [Eaton].⁶

In PLUMESTEDA [Plumstead] 1 freeman with 5 acres of land. The king has the soke.

HUNDRET OF HEINSTEDE [HENSTEAD]

HOU [Howe] was held by Alnoht 1 freeman of Stigand the archbishop T.R.E. for 1 ploughland. Then 12 villeins and afterwards 11, and now the same (*similiter*). Then as now 1 bordar. Then 6 serfs, afterwards and now 3. Then

¹ *Semp(er)*, in error for *sup(er)*.

² Hasingham, Freethorp, and Little Plumstead were held together in 1302; *Feud. Aids*, iii, 418.

³ i.e. the earl gets the third penny of their amercedments.

⁴ For *hutsoca*, cf. f. 135.

⁵ The prior of Norwich held in Great Plumstead and Eaton in 1316; *Feud. Aids*, iii, 472, 475.

⁶ See f. 135.

2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1. Then as now 3 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 40 swine, and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now 4 beasts and 41 swine and 80 sheep. Then it was worth 40 shillings, afterwards and now 60. Hou [Howe] is 6 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth. And for geld (it pays) 12 pence.

SCOTESSAM [Shotesham (All Saints)] was held by the same Alnoht T.R.E. for 1 ploughland; afterwards 2 bordars, now 3. Then 1 plough on the demesne; afterwards and now 2 oxen. And in the same (vill) the same Alnoht held 2 freemen and the moiety of other 4 in commendation; and they hold amongst them 32 acres of land and 1 plough. Of these Earl Ralf held 3 whole (freemen) with their land, 12½ f. 124.

acres, when he made forfeiture. Now Aitard a man of R[oger] Bigot's holds them, and reclaims them from the fee of the bishop of Bayeux. But this Aitard has nothing from his predecessor except in one half commended (freeman), as the hundret witnesses.

In STOCES [Stoke (Holy Cross)] 1 freeman belonged in commendation to Alnoht with 5 acres of land.

In SUTERLINGEHAM [Surlingham] 3 freemen and a half belong to Alnot in commendation with 45 acres of land: then as now 1 plough and 5 acres of meadow, and under them 5 bordars.

In ROKELUNDA [Rockland (St. Mary)] 2 freemen belonged to Alnoth by commendation (with) 24 acres of land, and then as now 2 oxen and 2 acres of meadow.

In the other SCOTESSAM [Shotesham (? St. Mary)] 1 freeman and 2 halves (*duo dim'*) belonged to Alnoth in commendation with 40 acres and 2 bordars and 4 acres of meadow. Among them all 1 plough.

In AILVERTUNA [Yelverton] (were) 2 freemen T.R.E., and half belonged to Alnoth and half to Alvred (*dimidium Aluredi*) by commendation; these Ralf the earl held when he made forfeiture: afterwards Godric in the king's hand; now Aitard [de Vals], a man of R[oger] Bigot, has a moiety of one, and 15 acres, and reclaims it to the fee of the bishop of Bayeux. Amongst the men 33 acres of land, and then as now 2 bordars. Then as now 1 plough and 3 acres of meadow.

In PORRINGELANDA [Poringland, (? Great)] 2 freemen of Alnoth's in commendation with 13 acres of land. Then as now 1 plough, 1 acre of meadow.

In SCOTESSAM [Shotesham] 1 freeman with 10 acres of land: then half a plough, after-

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wards and now nothing. Scotessam [Shotesham] T.R.E. was worth 30 shillings, afterwards and now 20 shillings, and all these freemen are worth 40 shillings, but T.R.E. Scotessam [Shotesham] was not in charge (*non erat ad censum*). R[obert] Blund put it in charge (*ad censavit*).

In AIETUNA [Eaton] 1 outlying estate (called) WISLINGEHAM [Whitlingham] was held by Edric T.R.E. as 80 acres of land. Then as now 2 bordars. Then 1 plough on the demesne, afterwards and now half (a plough), (and) 4 acres of meadow.

In KERKEBEI [Kirby (Bedon)] 12 men following the fold of Edric, 80 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now 1½ ploughs on the demesne.

f. 124b.

In ROKELONDA [Rockland (St. Mary)] (was) T.R.E. 1 freeman of Edric's in commendation with (*de*) 15 acres of land, and under him 5 freemen with 23 acres of land, 3 acres of meadow, and now as then half a plough.

In STOCHEs [Stoke (Holy Cross)] (were) 2 sokemen of Edric's with (*de*) 30 acres of land and 1 acre of meadow: then as now half a plough.

In SAISELINGAHAM [Saxlingham (Nethergate)] (was) 1 sokeman of Edric's in commendation T.R.E. with 30 acres of land, 1 acre of meadow. Then as now half a plough.

In KERKEBEI [Kirby (Bedon)] 1 freeman of Edric's T.R.E., 30 acres of land and 2 bordars and 4 acres of meadow. Then as now half a plough. In Kerkebei [Kirby (Bedon)] 1 freeman of Edric's T.R.E. with 6 acres, and then as now 2 oxen.

In WISINLINGAHAM [Whitlingham] 1 freeman of Edric's in commendation, and in BRAMBRETUNA [Bramerton] 3, and in ROKELONDA [Rockland (St. Mary)] 1; of 4½ Edric had commendation T.R.E., and Ulketel of 1½, and Alvred only (had) commendation of half (one freeman), after King William conquered England, and (*sic*) R[alf] held them all when he made forfeiture; and afterwards Godric as the king's steward (*in ministerium regis*). This the hundred testifies. Now Aitard de Vals (holds them), and reclaims them for the fee (*revocat ad feudum*) of the bishop of Bayeux as of the tenure of Alvred his predecessor; and the hundred does not support him (*deficit ei*), because they did not belong to his predecessor. All these (freemen) hold 40 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 2 ploughs and afterwards 2, now 1½.

In TREUS [Trowse (with Newton)] (was) 1 sokeman of Archbishop Stigand's T.R.E. with

10½ acres of land. When R[alf] made forfeiture he held him; now Aitard de Vals reclaims him to the fee of the bishop of Bayeux from Alvred his predecessor, to whom he belonged in commendation only after that King W[illiam] came into the land of England (*in anglicam terram*). (He) is in the valuation of those.

In HOLVESTUNA [Holverstone] Aitard in like manner holds 1 half of a freeman (with) 8 acres f. 125.

of land and half an acre of meadow, and with (*de*) 6 men entire, and with 6 halves, whom Aitard reclaims for the fee of the bishop of Bayeux; they were worth T.R.E. 10 shillings, when Godric received the stewardship (*misterium*) 36 shillings: now Aitard has 13 shillings and 8 pence.

NEWOTONA [Newton, (Trowse with)] was held by 1 freewoman under Stigand for 1 ploughland. Then as now 8 villeins and 8 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then 4 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards 1½, now 2 ploughs belonging to the men, and 40 acres of meadow: now 10 beasts. Then 2 swine, now 3, and 5 sheep.

In TREUS [Trowse] 6 sokemen belonging to this manor with 56 acres and 2 bordars and 5 acres of meadow and 1 mill. Then as now 1½ ploughs. Then the whole was worth 20 shillings, afterwards and now 30 (shillings). This manor was in charge (*uit ad censum*) under G[odric's] stewardship (*in ministerium G.*) for 30 shillings; but G[odric] did not have them because she¹ vouches the king to warranty. It is 4 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (pays) 8 pence for geld.

In STOKES [Stoke (Holy Cross)] 12 acres of land are held by 1 freeman.

In KERKEBEI [Kirby (Bedon)] 4 acres of land; this belongs to Aietona [Eaton].

In SASILINGAHAM [Saxlingham (Nethergate)] 1 freeman of Harold's in commendation T.R.E. with 30 acres of land. Then as now 3 bordars. Then 1 plough on the demesne, now half, and 1 sokeman, (with) 1 acre of land. This land Godric the steward (*dapifer*) has kept (*servavit*) in the king's hand, but the land does not pay rent (*censum*) to him.

HALF HUNDRET OF HERSAM [EARSHAM]

RADANAHALLA [Redenhall] was held by Rada a freeman of Edric's in commendation T.R.E. as 2 ploughlands. Then 30 villeins, afterwards and now 10. Then as now 6 bordars. Then 4 serfs, afterwards 2, and now 1. Then as now

¹ *Ipsa*, i.e. the freewoman who held Trowse with Newton.

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2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 6 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now $2\frac{1}{2}$. Then wood(land) for 60 swine, now 20, and 8 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 mill. Then f. 125b.

as now 6 beasts and 30 swine, 12 goats. Then it was worth 60 shillings, afterwards and now 8 pounds blanch, and it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length and half (a league) and 3 perches in breadth. And (it pays) for geld 10 pence.

In RADANAHALLA [Redenhall] 2 freemen with 100 acres. Then as now 1 plough: Bishop William claims (*calumpniatur*) 20 acres, of these (as to) 10 the hundred also testifies,¹ and Agneli holds 80 acres.

In ALDEBERGA [Alburgh] (there were) 15 freemen of Rada's and Ulmar's T.R.E. in commendation with (*de*) 60 acres of land. Then as now 3 ploughs and 3 acres of meadow.

In STERESTUNA [Starston] 12 freemen, 9 belonging to Rada (*Rade*) in commendation T.R.E., and 1 to Wastret, and 1 to Ulmar, and 1 common to the abbot[s] of St. Edmund's and of Ely; among them all 60 acres of land. Then as now 3 ploughs and 13 acres of meadow.

In REDANHALLA [Redenhall] 20 freemen of Rada's in commendation with (*de*) 80 acres of land. These men were then worth 4 pounds, now 8; R[alf] the earl put them in charge (*ad censavit*), (and) afterwards Ivo Taillebois. Then as now 5 ploughs and 4 acres of meadow.

There, too (*in eadem*), 1 freeman of Edric's in commendation, (with) 1 ploughland. Then as now 2 villeins and 8 bordars. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1. Then as now 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 20 swine, and 3 acres of meadow. And under him $5\frac{1}{2}$ freemen with 20 acres of land. Then as now 2 ploughs. Then it was worth 20 shillings, in the time of Earl R[alf] his men and Judikell paid 30 shillings, but he was quit of the hall (*de aula*) because he was the earl's falconer (*ancipitarius*): after R[alf] made forfeiture, and (*sic*) he² was in the king's hand under G[odric], but he paid nothing and vouches the king to warranty (*reclamat regem defensorem*).

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF FREAREBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

In EASTWINNC [East Winch] 2 ploughlands, in the time of King E[dward] an outlying estate of Esparlea [Sporle (with Palgrave)], then as now 11 villeins and 24 acres of meadow. Then f. 126.

2 ploughs on the demesne: afterwards and now

¹ The text is a little defective apparently: the meaning seems to be that as to 10 of the 20 claimed the hundred testifies in the bishop's favour.

² *He*, i.e. Edric's freeman.

1: then as now 1 plough belonging to the men. When Godric received this manor he found 24 sheep and 9 swine, and now the same, and 1 fishery. To this land belong now as then 13 sokemen, 54 acres of land, and 8 acres of meadow; then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ salt pans, and 10 acres of meadow. The whole of this is valued in Esparlai [Sporle].³ The whole (land) (*tota*) is half a league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and pays 8 pence for 20 shillings of geld.

WDETUNA [Wootton, (North)] was held by Godwin a freeman T.R.E. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1. Then 24 villeins; afterwards and now 15. Then as now half a plough, and 2 sokemen. 25 acres of meadow. Then 20 salt pans, afterwards and now 14. Here belong 22 sokemen, 12 acres of land, half a plough; when it was received 1 rouncey and 4 cows and 9 swine and 120 sheep: now the same (*similiter*). Then it was worth 4 pounds; afterwards and now 9 pounds, and 20 shillings for a fine (*de gersumma*). The whole is half a league in length and in breadth whoever may hold there, and pays 12 pence for 20 shillings geld.

HUNDRET OF SMETHEDUNA [SMETHDEN]

In HOLM [Holme (next the Sea)] T.R.E. 1 freeman held 40 acres and 3 bordars and 1 plough and it was worth 10 shillings. St. Benet (of Ramsey) (has) the soke.

HUNDRET OF WENELUNT [WAYLAND]

STOU [Stow (Bedon)] was held by Alfere T.R.E.; (there were) 5 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 2. Then and afterwards 17 villeins, now 16. Then as now 2 bordars. Then and afterwards 10 serfs, now 7, 30 acres of meadow; then as now 5 ploughs belonging to the men; wood(land) for 10 swine; then as now 1 mill; then as now 2 beasts and 28 swine, 40 sheep.

In KATESTUNA [Caston] 1 sokeman, 40 acres. The soke is in Saham [Saham (Toney)] and the land lies in Stuo (*sic*) [Stow (Bedon)] and (is) in (its) rental (*census*).

To this manor belong 29 sokemen, 3 ploughlands and 36 acres. Then it was worth 10 pounds; when it was received 12 pounds and 13 shillings and 4 pence, and Godric gave it for 13 pounds and 13 shillings and 4 pence and 20 shillings for a fine (*de gersumma*) as long as he had the soke; now since he lost the soke it pays 7 pounds, and upon the sokemen whom he lost are 7 pounds. ELLINGHAM [Ellingham, (Little)]

³ See f. 119 b.

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was held T.R.E. by Alvrice a freeman (as) 2 plough-
f. 126b.

lands; then as now 4 villeins and 2 bordars. Then 4 serfs, 20 acres of meadow; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men; wood(land) for 100 swine, and 1 plough could be on the demesne; then as now 12 beasts and 24 swine, and 37 sheep, 34 goats, and 5 sokemen with $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Then and afterwards it was worth 4 pounds, now 4 pounds blanch and 4 shillings. To this manor used to belong (*jacebant*) 6 sokemen on the day that Ralf made forfeiture, who used to pay 16 shillings to Robert Blund, and now they are in Saham [Saham (Toney)]; the hundred testifies it.¹ The whole is $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length and in breadth and (pays) for geld 10 pence and 1 halfpenny and 1 farthing.

In BRECHLES [Breckles] 1 freeman T.R.E. held 1 ploughland. Then 3 villeins, afterwards and now 2; then as now 1 serf, 4 acres of meadow. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now half (a plough); then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs could be (used). This is an outlying estate of Sparlea [Sporle] and is in the valuation of Sparlea [Sporle²].

In GRESTUNA [Griston] 80 acres of land were held by 1 freewoman T.R.E.; then as now 1 villein. Then 5 bordars; then as now 1 serf, 6 acres of meadow; then as now 1 plough on the demesne, wood(land) for 24 swine; then as now 12 swine and 11 sheep. And this is an outlying estate and is appraised in Esparle [Sporle].

HUNDRET OF SERPEHAM [SHROPHAM]

BUCHAM [Buckenham] was held by Ralf the earl T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands, and now $4\frac{1}{2}$. Then and afterwards 9 villeins, then 24, now (*sic*) 15 now 28 bordars,³ and then 12 acres of meadow, now 20; then 1 plough on the demesne, afterwards and now 2; then as now 3 ploughs belonging to the men. Then wood(land) for 120 swine, now 60. Here belong (*jacent*) 21 sokemen (with) 2 ploughlands, and 10 acres of meadow and 1 bordar; then as now 3 ploughs; wood(land) for 10 swine; then as now 4 beasts, 12 swine and 68 sheep. And 43 sokemen with 10 ploughlands and 60 acres of meadow, woodland for 40 swine; then as now 12 villeins and 46
f. 127.

bordars. Then 24 ploughs, afterwards and now 16, and 2 mills: and in the aforesaid 43 sokemen other men had commendation, but Ralf added them all to this manor in King William's time. The whole was then worth 6 pounds and 13 shillings and 4 pence and 2 quarts of honey:

¹ See f. 110b.

² See f. 119b.

³ Probably this should read 'then and afterwards 9 villeins, now 15; then 24 bordars, now 28.'

afterwards and now 32 pounds blanch and 13 shillings and 4 pence and 20 shillings for a fine (*de gersumma*) by tale. The whole is 1 league in length and 1 league in breadth, and (pays) 19 pence for geld.

ESSEBEI [] was held by Ralf T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland; then as now 2 villeins and 1 bordar. Then 4 serfs, afterwards and now 2, and 3 acres of meadow: then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men; then as now 6 sheep. It has always been worth (*semper valet*) 20 shillings blanch.

RUDHAM [Roudham] was held T.R.E. by 1 freeman under Harold; 1 ploughland and 4 villeins and 2 acres of meadow: then as now 1 plough on the demesne; then as now half a plough belonging to the men, and 14 sheep: and then it was worth 20 shillings, afterwards and now 10 shillings blanch.

CULVERTESTUNA [Kilverstone] was held T.R.E. by a freeman under Stigand (as) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands; then as now 5 villeins and 1 serf, and 5 acres of meadow; then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1 ox. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, afterwards nothing, now half a plough. Then as now 1 mill and 1 fishery; it has always been worth 40 shillings. The whole is 2 leagues in length and in breadth whoever may hold there, and (pays) 7 pence for geld. The whole hundred pays 40 (shillings) and pertains to the administration (*misterium*) of Godric.

HUNDRET OF GILLECROS [GUILTCROSS]

CHENINKEHALA [Kenninghall] was held by King Edward (for) 5 ploughlands; then as now 24 villeins and 24 bordars and 12 acres of meadow and 1 mill; wood(land) for 300 swine. Then 1 plough on the demesne, afterwards and now 2; then 12 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 11, and 1 could be restored; then as now 1 rouncey; and 12 sokemen, 100 acres of land, and 18 acres of meadow, and 2 mills; then as now 3 ploughs, and 1 freeman
f. 127b.

(with) 1 ploughland and 2 villeins and 3 bordars; wood(land) for 24 swine; then as now 1 plough and half a plough belonging to the men. And HERLINGA [Harling, (West)¹], 1 outlying estate, then as now belonged to this manor; 1 ploughland and 3 villeins and 4 bordars and 5 acres of meadow. Then (there was) 1 plough on the demesne and it could be restored, afterwards half (a plough), and 3 ploughs belonging to the men; now 2, and the third could be restored. The whole was worth T.R.E. 10 pounds and 5 quarts of honey; afterwards 26 pounds, now 24 pounds

¹ See *Feudal Aids*, iii, 441.

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blanch and 6 pounds by tale and a fine (*gersumma*). The whole of Chenikehala [Kenninghall] is $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length and half (a league) in breadth and (pays) 25 pence for geld.

CUIDENHAM [Quidenham] was held by Godinc (*sic*) a freeman, of whom the abbot of St. Edmund had commendation only T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland; then as now 2 villeins and 2 bordars and 3 acres of meadow and 1 mill. Then half a plough on the demesne, afterwards and now 1; then as now 2 oxen belonging to the men; then as now 1 rouncey and 6 swine, 16 sheep. Then it was worth 15 shillings, afterwards and now 30. This land the same Godric held of the abbot for 3 years after King W[illiam] came. This same (land) Godwin, the uncle (*auund'*) of Ralf the earl, took away from him wrongfully. The soke T.R.E. (was) in Keningehala [Kenninghall] (a manor) of the king. The whole is 5 furlongs in length and 4 furlongs in breadth and (pays) 17 pence and 1 farthing for geld.

GERBOLDESHAM [Garboldisham] was held by 1 freeman, Alvrice, T.R.E. for a manor (of) 2 ploughlands; then as now 3 bordars and 1 serf and 4 acres of meadow; then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and a half could be restored. Then half (a plough belonging to the men?), and afterwards and now the like, and 8 swine, and 3 sokemen with 16 acres of land. Then as now half a plough. Then it was worth 30 shillings, afterwards and now 40.

In GATESTHORP [Gasthorpe] 1 freeman T.R.E. (held) 1 ploughland; then 6 villeins, now 8; f. 128.

then as now 5 bordars and 2 serfs and 8 acres of meadow; then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men, and 5 sokemen (with) 20 acres of land; then as now 1 plough; wood(land) for 12 swine. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 40. The whole hundret pays 20 (shillings), and the whole soke (is) in Keningehala [Kenninghall]: the whole of Gatesthor [Gasthorpe] is half a league in length and half in breadth and (pays) 7 pence for geld.

HUNDRET OF GALGOU [GALLOW]

In BRUNEHAM [Burnham¹] T.R.E. Ulf held 3 ploughlands. Then 20 bordars, now 16. Then 12 serfs, now 8. Then 3 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 2. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, afterwards and now nothing. Wood(land) for 4 swine; $2\frac{1}{2}$ mills. Then 7 rounceys and now, and 40 swine and 600 sheep; 1 saltpan. There is 1 outlying estate (belonging) to this manor of 1 ploughland. Then 1 plough, afterwards none, now 1. And

¹ Either Burnham Ulf (Blomefield, vii, 31), or Burnham Westgate (ibid. 36).

another outlying estate of 1 ploughland. Then 1 plough, and afterwards none, now 1. To this manor belong 30 sokemen with 1 ploughland; then 2 ploughs, afterwards none, now 1. All this was worth T.R.E. 8 pounds, and afterwards when Ralf the earl held it 23 pounds and 13 shillings and 4 pence, now 20 pounds by tale; and in the same vill (is) 1 freeman, Ketel, with (*de*) 20 acres, and another (*alia*) freeman, Oia, with 30 acres.

HUNDRET OF HOLT [HOLT]

In MERSTUNA [Morston] 1 freeman with 30 acres of land and 1 bordar and half a plough, and he is worth 2 'oras.' He was Guer's man T.R.E. and belongs (*jacet*) in Stivekeia [Stiffkey].

HUNDRET OF ERPINGHAM NORTH [NORTH ERPINGHAM]

In BECHEAM [Beckham, (East)] T.R.E. Seiard Bar held 1 freeman; Earl R[alf] annexed (him) (*addidit*) to EILESSAM [Aylsham], (with) 30 acres of land. Then as now 1 villein belonging in Eilessam [Aylsham], 1 bordar of 1 acre, and 1 sokeman (with) 1 acre. Then as now 1 plough. They are valued in Eilessam [Aylsham]. The king has soke and sac of the hundret of NORT-ERPINGHAM [North Erpingham] except over the land (*præter terram*) of Seiard Bar.

HUNDRET OF WALESSAM [WALSHAM]

WALESSAM [Walsham, (South)] was held by Elfet, a freewoman, T.R.E. (for) 4 ploughlands. f. 128b.

Then as now 4 villeins, then 18 bordars, afterwards and now 23. Then as now 2 serfs and 2 ploughs on the demesne; then 4 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 2; 40 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 15 swine. Then as now 2 beasts and 18 swine and 20 sheep. And 22 sokemen with (*de*) 80 acres of land and 10 acres of meadow; then 5 ploughs, afterwards and now 4. To this belongs 1 outlying estate (called) MODETUNA [Moulton] (of) 1 ploughland. Then as now 2 bordars and 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow, and 3 sokemen with 18 acres of land and half a plough. The whole of this was then worth 100 shillings and afterwards 11 pounds, and now 12 pounds and 13 shillings and 4 pence blanch, and 20 shillings by tale for a fine (*de gersumma ad compotum*). And it is (*habet*) 1 league in length and 1 in breadth, and (pays) for geld 4 shillings. ACLE [Acle] was held by the old Earl R[alf] T.R.E. (as) 5 ploughlands. Then as now 23 villeins; then 38 bordars, afterwards 30, now 38; then 3 serfs. Then as now 3 ploughs on the demesne; then and after 10 ploughs belonging to the men, now 12; $50\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow. Wood(land) for

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40 swine; afterwards and now 1 mill. Then as now 3 rounceys and 2 beasts and 20 swine, 120 sheep; afterwards 11 hives of bees, now 15; and 4 sokemen with half a ploughland. Then as now 1 plough, 4 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 8 pounds, and afterwards 12, now 14 pounds and 13 shillings and 4 pence; and of this 53 shillings are by tale (*ad compotum*), and it pays the rest blanch. And it is 1 league in length and 1 in breadth, and (pays) 2 shillings for geld.

HALFRIATE [Halvergate] was held by Earl R[alf] T.R.E. (as) 6 ploughlands. Then as now 6 villeins; then and afterwards 46 bordars, now 50; then 3 serfs; then 4 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 3; then 7 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 9; 30 acres of meadow, and 1 saltpan. Then as now 2 rounceys and 7 beasts and 13 swine, 260 sheep; and 13 sokemen with half a ploughland and 15 acres of land. Then as now 2½ ploughs, 6 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 8 pounds, afterwards 9, and now 10 pounds blanch and 40 shillings of custom (*consuetudine*) by tale, and 20 shillings of fine (*gersumma*); and it is 1 league in length and 1 in breadth, and (pays) 2 shillings for geld. And besides the sheep aforesaid there belong to this manor 700 sheep
f. 129.

and they render 100 shillings.

In FISCELE [Fishley] Earl R[alf] the elder held T.R.E. 25 sokemen, 1 ploughland, and 30 acres of meadow. One of them, Ufward by name, is of the king's soke. Then as now 3½ ploughs, and it is 8 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (pays) for geld 10 pence.

In UPTUNE [Upton (with Fishley)] (there are) 27 sokemen, 1½ ploughlands, and 35 acres of meadow. Then as now 3 ploughs. It is 1 league in length and 1 in breadth, and (pays) for geld 2 shillings. Over all these the king and the earl had soke and sac except 7 whom (the earl) had in commendation in the soke. And between these two, Fiscele [Fishley] and Optune [Upton], 25 sokemen, 60 acres of land, and 13 acres of meadow. Then as now half a plough. In Optune [Upton] 1 sokeman (with) 12 acres is worth 2 shillings. Of these the soke is in the hundret.

In WALESSAM [Walsham, (South)] (was) 1 freeman of Gurth's T.R.E. with 1 ploughland. Then as now 3 bordars and half a plough, 20 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 7 swine, half a saltpan; and 17 sokemen, 1 ploughland, and 1½ ploughs, 12 acres of meadow. And in the same 1 freeman with 30 acres of land and 2 bordars; and he and the men have 1½ ploughs now as then, and 8 acres of meadow. And under him are 6 sokemen with 6 acres of land, 3 acres of meadow; then 1 plough, afterwards

and now half (a plough). And in the same (are) 11 sokemen with 16 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow, and then as now 1 plough.

In PANKESFORD [Panxworth] 3 sokemen, 1 ploughland, 19 acres and 12 acres of meadow, and 9 bordars; then 1 plough, afterwards and now 2. In RANDUORDA [Ranworth] 7 sokemen, 50 acres of land and 8 acres of meadow, and then as now 1 plough. Of these the soke is in the hundret; and Pankesforda [Panxworth] and Randuorda [Ranworth] are 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth, and (pay) 16 pence for geld.

In BASTUIC [Bastwick, (Wood)] 1 sokeman with 27 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough.

In HEMELINGETUN [Hemblington] (are) 6 sokemen with 30 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs. In the same (are) 2 sokemen, and 1 of these is in the soke of the hundret (with) half a ploughland and 1 bordar, 6 acres of meadow: and they have under them 7 sokemen with 20 acres of land, 1 acre of meadow. Then as now 1½ ploughs
f. 129b.

among them all. And it is 1 league in length and half in breadth, and (pays) 16 pence for geld.

In MODETUNA [Moulton] 10 sokemen, 2 ploughlands, and 5 bordars, 20 acres of meadow; and then as now 4 ploughs; and it is 8 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and for geld (pays) 15 pence and a halfpenny.

In WICKHAMTUN [Wickhampton] 1 sokeman, 1 ploughland, and 5 bordars and 4 acres of meadow; then as now 1 plough, and it is 6 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (pays) for geld 10 pence and a halfpenny. King Edward had the soke and R[alf] (had it) when he made forfeiture.

In REDAHAM [Reedham] 3 sokemen with 40 acres of land and 7 bordars and 6 acres of meadow; and under them 6 sokemen with 20 acres of land, and among them all 1 plough then as now.

In MODETUNA [Moulton] 7 freemen. In WICKHAMTUNA [Wickhampton] 1 sokeman with 56 acres of land; and they have 2 ploughs, 4 acres of meadow, and are in the soke of the hundret. And all these, with others who are in another hundret,¹ pay 8 pounds blanch and 100 shillings of custom by tale and 20 shillings of free gift (*de gersumma*). Over all those who used to resort to (*requirebant*) the fold of the earl the earl had soke and sac; over all the others the king and earl (had it).

¹ i.e. Blofield. See ff. 123, 123b; East Flegg. f. 135.

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HUNDRET OF FLEC WEST [WEST FLEGG]

In MARTHAM [Martham] (is) 1 outlying estate of 30 acres of land, and it belongs to Castra [Caister]; and 3 sokemen with 15 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow. And in BURC [Burgh (St. Margaret)] 20 acres: the whole is valued in Castra [Caister].¹ In CLEPESBE [Clippesby] 1 freeman with 4½ acres of land. In ROTHOLFUESBEI [Rollesby] 1 freeman (with) 15 acres of land. In WINTRETUNA [Winterton] 1 freeman (with) 10 acres of land: he is valued with the freemen in Walessam [Walsham].

HALF HUNDRET OF DICE [DISS]

WINEFERTHINC [Winfarthing] was held by Algar a freeman of Harold's T.R.E. for a manor, 6 ploughlands. Then as now 8 villeins, and then as now 20 bordars. Then and afterwards 4 serfs, now 2. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and 4 ploughs belonging to the men. Then woodland for 250 swine, afterwards and now 200; 9 acres of meadow. Then as now

f. 130

2 horses at the hall (*in aula*) and 6 beasts. Then as now 14 swine and 14 goats; and in the same (place) 5 freemen of Algar's in commendation only T.R.E. with 40 acres. Then as now 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow.

In BORSTUNA [Burston] 4 freemen of Algar's T.R.E. in commendation only with 40 acres of land and 1 bordar. Then as now 1 plough and 3 acres of meadow.

In GERSINGA [Gissing] T.R.E. 8 freemen of Algar's in commendation only, with 60 acres of land, and then as now 4 bordars. Then 3 ploughs among them all, afterwards and now 1½ and 2 acres of meadow. In SIMPLINGA [Shimpling] 1 whole freeman of Edric's T.R.E. with 12 acres of land. Then as now 1 plough. There too (*in eadem*) 2 sokemen with 16 acres of land; then as now half a plough. This St. E[dmund] claims, and the hundred testifies (in the abbey's favour); but R[alf] the earl was holding it when he made forfeiture. Of these St. E[dmund] claims 14 acres. In TOTESSALLA [Tivetshall (St. Mary)] 2 freemen of Algar's in commendation with their land, 35 acres of land and 1 acre of meadow. Woodland for 4 swine. Then as now 1 plough.

In SCELVANGRA [Shelfanger] 1 villein, 15 acres² of land. Then as now half a plough and 2 bordars. Wood(land) for 5 swine, and 2 acres of meadow. Then Wineferthinc [Winfarthing] was worth 40 shillings, afterwards and now 8 pounds and 3 shillings and 4 pence blanch: and these all (were) free with soke when G[odric]

received them and now they render 7 pounds, but they are not able any longer (*amplius*) to pay so much. Wineferthinc [Winfarthing] is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth, and (pays) 9 pence for geld.

FERSEVELLA [Fersfield] was held by Alsi a thegn of King Edward's for 2 ploughlands. Then as now 5 bordars. Then and afterwards 3 serfs, now 1. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 1½ ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 1. In BORSTUNA [Burston] (is) 1 outlying estate of 1 ploughland belonging to Fersevella [Fersfield]. Then as now 2 villeins and 1 bordar. Then half a

f. 130b.

plough on the demesne, afterwards nothing, now half (a plough).

In FERSEVELLA [Fersfield] 13 sokemen (with) 60 acres of land. Then as now 3 ploughs. There too (*in eadem*) (were) 3 freemen of Alsi T.R.E., 80 acres of land and 3 bordars. Then and afterwards 3 ploughs, now 1½.

In BORSTUNA [Burston] 11 freemen of Alsi T.R.E. with 30 acres of land. Then as now 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow. In BRESINGAHAM [Bressingham] 7 freemen of Alsi in commendation with 30 acres of land. Then 3 ploughs, afterwards and now 2. Wood(land) for 6 swine, and 2 acres of meadow. Fersevella [Fersfield] with the outlying estate and Borstuna [Burston] were then worth 60 shillings, afterwards 7 pounds and 6 shillings and 8 pence between rent (*censum*) and custom; now it is worth 12 pounds and 6 shillings and 8 (pence) blanch; and of these 12 pounds the freemen contribute 100 shillings and 6 (shillings) and 7 pence. Fersevella [Fersfield] is 8 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (pays) 7 pence for geld.

Borstune [Burston] is 8 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (pays) 12 pence for geld.

In SIMPLINGA [Shimpling] (is) 1 half freeman with 4 acres of land. In FERVELLA [Fersfield] lay the soke and sac T.R.E. of all who had less than 30 acres. Of those who have 30 acres the soke and sac lies in the hundred, and in WINEFERTHINC [Winfarthing]; when Ralf made forfeiture he had it.

HUNDRET OF LOTHINGA [LODDON]

BEDINGAHAM [Bedingham] was held by Hagane a thegn of the king and Stigand's (man) by commendation T.R.E. for 2 ploughlands. Then 4 villeins, afterwards and now 2. Then 4 bordars, afterwards and now 5. Then as now 3 serfs. Then 5 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1½. Then 2½ ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 1. Wood(land) for

¹ See f. 134.

² i.e. half a virgate.

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20 swine, and 8 acres of meadow. Then as
f. 131.

now 1 horse at (*in*) the hall and 1 beast, and then as now 14 swine. T.R.E. there belonged (*adjacent*) to this manor 6 sokemen with all their custom, afterwards and now 26. Of whom R[alf] the earl added 20 with soke of the fold. Between (them) all 80.¹ Then 5 ploughs, afterwards and now 4. There too (*in eadem*) (were) 5 freemen; of 3 Hagane had commendation and Algar of 2, and in UIDETUNA [Woodton] 1 freeman of Godwin's in commendation. Among them all 1½ ploughlands and 12 bordars. Then as now among them all 5 ploughs and 4 acres of meadow. Then the whole was worth 4 pounds, afterwards and now 8 (pounds) blanch, and 20 shillings by tale for fine (*de gersumma*). Of this 8 pounds these 6 freemen contribute (*dant*) 27 shillings and 4 pence. It is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth, and (pays) 11 pence for geld whoever may hold there. Over these freemen King Edward used to have the soke, but R[alf] the earl held it wrongfully when he made forfeiture.

SISLANDA [Sisland] was held by Ketel a freeman of Edwin's by commendation only, for a manor (of) 2 ploughlands. Then as now 3 bordars and 1 serf. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now none. Then as now half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 4 swine, and 5 acres of meadow. Then 1 mill, afterwards none. Then 13 sokemen, afterwards and now 9½, and King Edward (had) the soke; 26 acres of land. Then as now 2 ploughs. Then it was worth 20 shillings, afterwards and now 40 (shillings) blanch; and it is 8 furlongs in length and 7 in breadth and 11 perches, and (pays) 8 pence for geld. In MUNDAHAM [Mundham] half a church with 10 acres.

In WODETUNA [Woodton] 2 freemen (with) 12 acres of land, and they belong to Etona [Eaton²] and are valued there. In SCOTESSAM [Shotesham] 10 acres, and it belongs to (*jacet in*) Bedingham [Bedingham].

HUNDRET OF ENSFORDA [EYNESFORD]

SALLA [Sall] was held by Godwin uncle of Ralf the earl T.R.E. (for) 3 ploughlands; then as now 7 villeins, then 6 bordars, afterwards and now 8; then as now 2 serfs; then 3 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 2; then as
f. 131b.

now 3 ploughs belonging to the men, and 6 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 100 swine. Then as now 2 rounceys and 10 beasts and 30 swine and 30 sheep. And 9½ sokemen (with) 46 acres of land and half an acre of meadow; then as now 1½ ploughs. And 6 freemen, 1½ plough-

lands, and 6 bordars, and 6 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 16 swine. Then 6 ploughs, afterwards and now 4; then it was worth 4 pounds, afterwards 100 shillings, now 10 pounds blanch and 20 shillings for a fine (*de gersumma*) by tale; and it is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth, and pays 6 pence and a halfpenny towards the king's geld whoever may hold there. The soke of those sokemen is in the king's manor of Folsam [Foulsham].

TYRNINGA [Thurning] was held by Ulf a freeman T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland; then as now 6 villeins and 9 bordars and 1 serf; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1½ ploughs belonging to the men, and 10 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 60 swine, and half a mill, and 4 rounceys and 20 beasts and 16 swine and 50 sheep. And 6 sokemen, (with) 16 acres of land; then as now 1½ ploughs upon the soke. The soke is in the king's (manor of) Folsam [Foulsham]; then and afterwards it was worth 60 shillings, now 100 shillings blanch and 10 shillings fine (*gersumma*) by tale; and it is 5 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth, and pays 5 pence to the king's geld.

In WITTCINGEHAM [Witchingham] 3 freemen (with) 1½ ploughlands; then as now 2 villeins and 9 bordars; then as now 4 ploughs and 9 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 30 shillings blanch.

HUNDRET OF TAVRESHAM [TAVERHAM]

SPROWESTUNA [Sprowston] was held by Edric T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands. Then 1 villein. Then 6 bordars, now 5. Then 1 plough on the demesne, afterwards and now half (a plough). Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 1, and the others (*sic*) could be restored. Wood(land) for 6 swine. Here belong (*jacet*) 2 freemen in CATETUNA [Catton] (with) 60 acres. Then 2 ploughs, afterwards and now 1. And in BESETUNA [Beeston (St. Andrew)]
f. 132.

6 freemen (with) 30 acres of land. Then 2 ploughs, afterwards and now 1, and 2 acres of meadow: and in VROCESHAM [Wroxham] 2 freemen, 60 acres of land, and 2 bordars. Then 2 ploughs, afterwards and now 1. This is all in the valuation (*in pretio*) of Ettuna [Eaton³]. In RACHEITHA [Rackheath] 3 freemen, 3 ploughlands, and 3 villeins, and 12 bordars; then 4 serfs. Then 5 ploughs, afterwards and now 4, and 7 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 60, and is 1 league in length and 8 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 15 pence for geld. Here belong 9 freemen in BESETUNA [Beeston (St. Andrew)] with 40 acres, then as now 1 plough; and they are in the same valuation. The king and earl (have) the soke. And Bestuna

¹ *sic*: 80 (acres) ?

² See f. 135.

³ See f. 135.

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[Beeston (St. Andrew)] is half a league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth, and pays 10 pence to the king's geld.

HUNDRET OF ERPINCHAM SUD [SOUTH ERPINGHAM]

ELESHAM [Aylsham] was held by Guert T.R.E. as 16 ploughlands. Then 20 villeins, afterwards and now 11. Then and afterwards 88 bordars, now 65. Then and afterwards 2 serfs, now 3. Then 6 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1, and 6 can be used (*feri*); 12 acres of meadow. Then wood(land) for 400 swine, afterwards and now 300. Then as now 2 mills; then as now 7 swine and 6 sheep and 7 goats. Then and afterwards 60 sokemen, now 46, and they have $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands and 14 bordars. Then 30 ploughs, afterwards and now 24, and 9 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 12 swine; then as now 2 mills and 6 ploughs.

To this manor belongs 1 outlying estate, SCIPEDANA [Shipdham], 1 ploughland, and then as now 4 villeins. Then 4 bordars, afterwards and now 2; then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, and half an acre of meadow; wood(land) for 8 swine.

And BRUNDALA [Brundall] belongs (*jacet*) to this manor, 30 acres of land. Then 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow. Then it (i.e. Aylsham) was worth 12 pounds, afterwards 25 pounds blanch, now 29 pounds blanch and 20 shillings for a fine (*de gersumma*); and it is 2 leagues in length and 2 in breadth, and (pays) 20 pence for geld. Here (is) 1 freeman (with) 5 acres and he is f. 132b.

worth 16 pence. This Humfry, nephew of Ranulf brother of Ilger, held, but the hundred awarded (*derationavit*) it to the king, and thereupon (he) gave security (*ex hoc dedit vadem*), and yet his predecessor held it.

SAXTHORP [Saxthorpe] was held by Godwin T.R.E. (for) 2 ploughlands; then as now 10 villeins and 10 bordars and 2 serfs; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then and afterwards 3 ploughs belonging to the men, now 2, and 4 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 60 swine. Then 1 mill, afterwards and now 2; then as now 4 rounceys and 20 beasts and 50 swine and 50 goats; and $15\frac{1}{2}$ sokemen, 40 acres of land and 3 ploughs, and 2 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 12 swine: and 1 freeman, 30 acres of land, then as now 1 plough, woodland for 4 swine, and 1 acre of meadow. And 1 outlying estate, MATELASC [Matlask] (of) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands; then as now 7 villeins, and 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, wood(land) for 20 swine, and 15 sokemen with $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands, and 2 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 20 swine;

then as now 4 ploughs. Then it was worth 4 pounds, afterwards 6, now 10 pounds blanch, and 20 shillings of fine (*de gersumma*). And it is 1 league in length and another in breadth, and (pays) 12 pence for geld. And Matelasc [Matlask] is 3 furlongs in length and 2 in breadth, and (pays) 3 pence for geld.

MANICTUNA [Mannington] was held by Godwin T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands; then 6 villeins, afterwards 5, now 4; then as now 10 bordars; then 2 serfs, afterwards and now 1. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1. Then 3 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 2, and 2 acres of meadow. Then wood(land) for 60 swine, afterwards and now 30; then as now 2 mills, and 2 rounceys, and 14 swine and 8 sheep and 40 goats; and 5 sokemen (with) 24 acres of land, then as now 1 plough, wood(land) for 4 swine. Then it was worth 60 shillings, afterwards 80, now 100 blanch and 16 pence, and 20 shillings of fine (*de gersumma*), and it is 1 league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth and (pays) 3 pence and 3 farthings for geld. f. 133.

In BELAGA [Belaugh] (are) 2 sokemen belonging to St. Benet [of Holm] (with) 34 acres of land, and in BERNESWRDE [Barningham, (Little)] 1 sokeman belonging to the same (with) 16 acres; then as now 3 bordars and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and 3 acres of meadow. These sokemen Ralf held when he made forfeiture. Now Godric (holds them) as part of (*ad*) the king's fee; and it is in the valuation of Ælsaham [Aylsham]. In SCOTOHOU [Scottow] 1 sokeman belonging to St. Benet (with) 43 acres (of land); then as now 2 bordars. He is held in the same way (*eodem modo de isto*) as the others.

In CRACHEFORT ['Crakeford'] 1 freeman of Guert's, 1 ploughland; then as now 3 bordars; then $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, now 1, and 2 acres of meadow, now 1 mill; and this is in the valuation of Ailesham [Aylsham], and is $4\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 4 pence for geld.

In UTRINCHAM [Itteringham] 1 freeman of Guert's, 1 ploughland; then as now 5 bordars and 2 ploughs and 1 acre of meadow; wood(land) for 5 swine: (it is) in the same valuation and the whole is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth and (pays) 5 pence and a halfpenny for geld. In HEVINCHAM [Hevingham] (is) 1 freeman, a priest, (with) 40 acres of land in almoign, and he sings 3 masses every week; then as now 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow, wood(land) for 10 swine; and he is worth 5 shillings and 4 pence. And 1 sokeman (with) 8 acres, and he

¹ Including Tuttington with parts of Banningham and Aylsham. See Blomefield, vi, 826, 349.

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is worth 20 pence. Leustan, the predecessor of Tihel, held him T.R.E. and Ralf held him when he made forfeiture, and he is of the soke of Caustuna [Cawston]. Now Godric holds him. But Tarald (*sic*), a man of William de Warenne's, seized him against the king and held him for 3 years. Now he has been recovered (*derationatus*) against him, and Turald pays 5 shillings for (him as) a king's chattel and gave pledge to do justice.

HUNDRET OF TONSTEDA [TUNSTEAD]

In WITTUNA [Witton] 1 priest (with) 30 acres of land in almoyn; then as now 9 sokemen with 12 acres of land; then as now 2 ploughs, and 2 acres of meadow; for this he sings

f. 133b.

3 masses for the king and queen, and in addition (*tunc*) pays 2 shillings. And the whole is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth and (pays) 10 pence for geld whoever may hold there.

HUNDRET OF HAPINCHA [HAPPING]

HAPESBURC [Happisburgh] was held by Edric T.R.E. (as) 13 ploughlands; then as now 21 villeins and 20 bordars. Then as now 3 serfs, and 3 ploughs on the demesne. Then 9 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 7, 10 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 16 swine, and 4 beasts and 18 swine and 200 sheep. And 21 sokemen, 86 acres. Then 5 ploughs, afterwards and now 4; and 12 freemen of whom Edric only had the commendation, 4 ploughlands and 8 villeins, and 9½ bordars, and 1 serf; half a plough(land) Edric, a man of Count Alan's, seized from them (*ex istis inuasit*), and he has given a pledge. Then 10 ploughs, afterwards and now 9. Those freemen Ralf the earl added to this manor, and in the same they are now in charge (*ad censati*); and he held them when he made forfeiture. Then the whole was worth 7 pounds, and the freemen 40 shillings; and in the time of Ralf the whole was worth 10 pounds, now 16 (pounds) blanch and 20 shillings for a fine (*de gersumma*); and it is 1½ leagues in length and the same (*similiter*) in breadth whoever may hold there, and (pays) 30 pence for fine [*sic* for geld].

This land Robert Malet claims and says that his father held it when he went into the marsh (*ivit in maresc*), and this the hundret witnesses; and yet he was not holding it on the day that he died (*qua fuit mortuus*).

HUNDRET OF HAPINGA [HAPPING]

LOSINCHAM [Lessingham] was held by a thegn Godwin T.R.E. (as) 3 plough(lands) and 30 acres; then as now 15 villeins and 16 bordars and 6 serfs. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1; then as now

3 ploughs belonging to the men, and 12 acres of

f. 134.

meadow. Wood(land) for 10 swine, and 2 rounceys and 3 beasts and 7 swine and 20 sheep. And 8 freemen, 100 acres; then as now 2 ploughs and 2 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 60 shillings and the freemen 10 shillings, afterwards the whole—4 freemen¹—now 6 (pounds) blanch and 20 shillings for a fine (*de gersumma*) by tale; and it is 1½ leagues in length (*sic*) and (pays) 10 pence and a halfpenny for geld. The king and earl (have) the soke.

HEMSTEDA [Hempstead (cum Eccles)] (is) 2½ ploughlands; then as now 10 bordars. Then 1 plough on the demesne, afterwards and now 2; then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, and 15 acres of meadow, and 2 beasts and 13 swine and 160 sheep: and 36 sokemen (with) 108 acres, then as now 6 ploughs; and 16 freemen, 2 ploughlands; then as now 3 bordars and 6 ploughs and 14 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 50 shillings and the freemen 40 shillings; afterwards and now 8 pounds blanch and 20 shillings for a fine by tale; and it is 1 league in length and another in breadth, and (pays) 18 pence for geld.

PALLINGA [Palling] was held by Godwin T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands; then as now 9 villeins and 14 bordars; then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, 20 acres of meadow and 14 wild mares (*equæ silvaticæ*) and 2 rounceys and 23 swine and 71 sheep. Then it was worth 4 pounds, afterwards and now 6 (pounds) blanch; and it is 8 furlongs and 12 perches (in length) and 8 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 7 pence and a halfpenny for geld.

EAST HUNDRET OF FLEC [EAST FLEGG]

CASTRE [Caister] was held by 80 freemen T.R.E. and likewise now (as) 4 ploughlands. Then 22 ploughs, and of the whole of this R[alf] the earl made a manor: now 1 plough on the demesne and 21 (ploughs) belonging to the men, 2 acres of meadow; then as now half a mill, and 39 salt pans, and 3 rounceys and 8 beasts and 12 swine and 360 sheep. Then it was worth 8 pounds, afterwards and now 14; and yet the abbot of St. Benet has out of this

f. 134b.

manor 6 pounds. And it is 1 league and 100 perches in length and 1 league in breadth, and (pays) 44 pence for geld whoever may hold there. This was given (*liberatum est*) for an exchange for land in Cornwall (*Cornualia*) with all the custom, as Godric says.

¹ *P(ostea) totum iiij libi hoīs, an error for postea totum (valuit) iiij libras.*

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

MALTEBY [Mautby] was held by Wistan, a freeman of Ralf Stalra, (as) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands. Then as now 7 villeins and 2 bordars and 2 serfs, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men, 4 acres of meadow; now half a mill, and then as now 7 saltpans, and 7 beasts and 2 swine and 122 sheep; and 16 freemen and a half in commendation only, 80 acres of land. Then as now 4 ploughs and $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow, and 4 saltpans, and 14 freemen whom R[alf] the earl added, and they have 2 ploughlands and 50 acres and $7\frac{1}{2}$ bordars; then as now 9 ploughs, 10 acres of meadow, and 6 saltpans and a half and the fourth part of one. The king and earl always (had) the soke of the whole. And all these freemen were worth 30 shillings then, now 53 (shillings) and 7 pence. And the manor was then worth 40 shillings, and afterwards 50, now 66 (shillings) and 6 pence, and is 1 league in length and 8 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 2 shillings for geld.

ROMHAM [Runham] was held by 2 freemen T.R.E., 1 was a man of Edric of Laxefeldra [Laxfield], and the other of Ralf Stalre's, and then as now (it was) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands, and 10 villeins, and 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, 16 acres of meadow and 10 saltpans on the demesne, 1 rouncey and 1 beast and 101 sheep and 9 swine; and 11 sokemen and a half with half a ploughland; then as now 3 ploughs and 2 acres of meadow and $2\frac{1}{2}$ saltpans; and 11 freemen and a half with half a ploughland and 5 acres. Then 4 ploughs, afterwards and now 3, and 3 acres of meadow and 2 saltpans; then as now they were worth 10 shillings. The king and earl (had) the soke (then) and now. It was worth then 30 shillings, f. 135.

afterwards 50, now 90 shillings blanch, and 20 shillings for a fine (*de gersumma*). And it is 10 furlongs in length and 7 in breadth and (pays) 2 shillings for geld, whoever may hold there. In TRUKEBEI [Thrigby] 6 freemen of Ralf Stalre's (with) 40 acres; then as now 1 plough and half a saltpan and 4 acres of meadow, and it is worth 9 shillings in the outsoke (*utsoca*) of Walsam [Walsham]. The king and earl (have) the soke.

HUNDRET OF HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD]

ETTUNA [Eaton] was held by Edric of Laxefeldra [Laxfield], the predecessor of Robert Malet, T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland; then as now 2 bordars. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards nothing, now 1, and 12 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 6 swine, and 1 mill; and now 6 beasts and 6 swine and 6 sheep; and 10 sokemen (with) 80 acres; then as now 2 ploughs and 4 acres of meadow; 1 church,

14 acres, and it is worth 14 pence. And 4 freemen in STOKES [Stoke (Holy Cross)] under Edric in commendation only, 45 acres; then as now 1 plough and 3 acres of meadow and the fourth part of a mill.

And in ERLHAM [Earlham] (is) 1 freeman, Ulviet by name, (with) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands; then as now 1 villein and 4 bordars; then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, 16 acres of meadow, now 1 villein. The same Ulviet also has under him 10 freemen with 80 acres of land; then as now 2 ploughs. Then the whole was worth 4 pounds, and when Robert Blund held it the same (*similiter*); now 7 pounds, and the freemen now 60 shillings. And it (sc. Eaton) is 1 league in length and 1 in breadth, and (pays) 7 pence, and 1 farthing for geld.

And Erlham [Earlham] is 1 league in length and 1 furlong and 1 league in breadth, and (pays) 8 pence and 1 farthing for geld.

In ERLHAM [Earlham] 3 freemen, 42 acres; then as now 1 bordar and 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow: then they were worth 4 shillings, now 5, and they belong to Bowethorpe [Bowthorpe (St. Michael¹)]: 1 church 14 acres and f. 135b.

$1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow, and it is worth 15 pence.

HUNDRET OF DEPWADE

In CARLETUNA [Carleton (Rode)] $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and it is in the valuation of Howa [Howe].³

HUNDRET OF GNAVERINGA [CLAVERING]

RAVERINCHAM [Raveningham] was held by Olf, a man of the predecessor of Robert Malet, (as) 3 ploughlands; then as now 1 villein and 2 bordars. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1, 6 acres of meadow, 13 swine and 200 sheep. And 10 freemen with soke of the fold, and commendation, $64\frac{1}{2}$ acres; then 4 ploughs, afterwards 2, now $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and 3 acres of meadow. And 3 sokemen 4 acres. Then it was worth 30 shillings, now 60 shillings blanch. ³ There too (*In eadem*) (is) 1 freeman, Ketelfiedai, (with) 7 acres and 1 marsh, and he is worth 12 pence.³

LANDS OF BISHOP STIGAND WHICH W[ILLIAM] DE NOIERS KEEPS IN THE KING'S HAND

HUNDRET OF METHEDUNA [SMETHDEN]

HUNESTANESTEDA [Hunstanton] was held by Stigand T.R.E.; then 2 ploughs on the demesne, when W[illiam] received it $1\frac{1}{2}$ and

¹ See f. 121.

² See f. 123b.

³ This entry is repeated on f. 273b.

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now the same; then as now 16 villeins and 4 bordars. Then 3 serfs, afterwards and now 1, and 8 acres of meadow. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now $1\frac{1}{2}$; then 1 mill, half a fishery. Then 1 rouncey and now the same (*similiter*) and 2 beasts. And f. 136.

14 swine and 44 sheep, and 4 sokemen (with) 60 acres. Then it was worth 70 shillings, afterwards and now 110. Here used to belong (*jacebat*) T.R.E. 1 freewoman (with) 30 acres of land; afterwards Ralf the earl had (this) for 3 years before he made forfeiture, and when he made forfeiture. Afterwards Robert Blund held (this) and Godric (held it) to farm for 30 shillings with other land. Siward has once more (*iterum*) joined this (*illam*) to this manor and does not pay Godric the farm; and W[illiam] de Noiers has added 4 sokemen of St. Benet's with 4 acres of land. The whole is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth and pays 6 pence (for a geld) of 20 shillings whoever may hold there.

HUNDRET OF GRIMESHOU [GRIMSHOE]

METHELWALDE [Methwold] was held by Stigand¹ T.R.E. (as) 20 ploughlands. Then 28 villeins, afterwards 24, now 18. Then 4 bordars, afterwards 8, now 13; then as now 24 serfs, 30 acres of meadow; then 6 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 5. Then 23 ploughs belonging to the men,² afterwards 13, now 7; then as now $2\frac{1}{2}$ mills, 7 fisheries on the demesne, 4 rounceys, 12 beasts, 84 swine, 800 sheep, 27 hives of bees. Here then as now belonged 1 outlying estate WETINGA [Weeting]; then as now 3 villeins and 1 bordar and 3 serfs and 1 acre of meadow. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1; then 1 plough belonging to the men: then as now 2 rounceys. In FELTWELLA [Feltwell] 60 acres of land. And in TEDFORDA [Thetford] half a ploughland, and 5 bordars³ T.R.E., now 3, and 2 messuages (*mansure*) are vacant,⁴ 1 church⁴; and 1 church of St. Helen with 1 ploughland and 1 villein, and there could be 1 plough.

In HALINGHEIA [Hilgay] 1 freeman, 30 acres of land, 1 plough, and in WELLA [Upwell, or Outwell] 3 bordars; and in the whole manor there could be 8 ploughs (in use). Then it was worth 20 pounds, now 30; and it is 2 leagues in length and half a league in breadth, and pays f. 136b.

2 shillings and 1 halfpenny in a geld of 20 shil-

lings. And 4 freemen⁵ belonged (*jacent*) to this manor T.R.E.; now W[illiam] de War[enne] has (them).

CROKESTUNA [Croxtun] was held by Stigand T.R.E.; then as now 5 ploughlands. Then 8 villeins, afterwards 4, now none; now 4 bordars. Then 5 serfs, afterwards 4, now none. Then 3 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 2. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men; then 1 mill, which afterwards Ralf the earl took⁶ in King William's time,⁶ and 3 acres of meadow; then as now 1 rouncey, 6 beasts, 19⁷ swine, 215 sheep. Here used to belong T.R.E. 17 sokemen. Of these W[illiam] de War[enne] has 16 and Ralf de Toeni (one⁸). Then it was worth 10 pounds, now it is worth 40 shillings, but it pays 100 shillings; and 3 ploughs could be (used). The whole is $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in breadth [*sic*: length], and 1 in breadth,⁹ and pays 12 pence in a geld of 20 shillings.¹⁰

HUNDRET OF LAWENDIC [LAUNDITCH]

MELEHAM [Mileham] was held by Stigand T.R.E. (as) 10 ploughlands; then as now 20 villeins and 44 bordars. Then 6 serfs, afterwards and now 1, and 10 acres of meadow; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough could be restored. Then 24 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 19, and 5 could be restored; wood(land) for 1,000 swine; then as now 1 mill and 1 saltpan, and 3 sokemen (with) 1 ploughland and 1 acre. Then and afterwards 12 villeins, now 4; then as now 10 bordars, and 4 acres of meadow. Then 1 plough on the demesne, afterwards and now half (a plough), and a half could be restored. Then 4 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 2, and the others could be restored; then wood(land) for 100 swine, now for 50. And 4 sokemen (with) 30 acres of land and 1 bordar; then as now 1 plough and 4 acres of meadow. And 1 sokeman (with) 1 ploughland, and 1 sokeman (with) 8 acres; between the whole 10 bordars and 5 acres of meadow. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 3; now 1 plough belonging to the men, wood(land) for 10 swine. And 7 sokemen (with) 40 acres f. 137.

of land and 1 bordar and 4 acres of meadow;

⁵ I. E. 'sokemen.'

⁶ I. E. omits.

⁷ I. E. 18.

⁸ I. E. does not omit.

⁹ I. E. '1 league in length and a half in breadth.'

¹⁰ I. E. adds, 'Claim of St. Audrey. MEDELUUOLDA was mensal land of the monks (*jacebat ad victum monachorum*) and the abbot made it over (*prestavit*) to Stigand on condition that after his death it should be restored to the abbey. And the hundred bears witness that (it belonged) to the abbey, and CROCHESTUNA likewise. These manors Stigand held on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead.'

¹ I. E. (Hamilton, *I.C.C.* p. 195) says Stigand held these lands of Ely at a food rent. This entry occurs in *I. E.* (*ibid.* p. 137).

² I. E. 'villeins.'

³ 'with 5 acres of land,' *I. E.*

⁴ *I. E.* omits.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, then as now 1 rouncey and 13 beasts and 24 swine and 30 sheep and 50 goats. To this manor now as then belongs 1 outlying estate, LICHAM [Litcham], (of) 4 ploughlands; then as now 9 villeins and 11 bordars and 5 serfs and 4 acres of meadow; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then and afterwards 9 ploughs belonging to the men, now 5, and the other could be restored; and 2 sokemen, $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land; then as now 1 rouncey and 1 beast and 16 swine and 104 sheep and 20 goats. There belongs (*jacet*) also another outlying estate, DUMHAM [Dunham, (Great)], (of) 4 ploughlands. Then 19 villeins, afterwards and now 10, then as now 8 bordars, then and afterwards 2 serfs, now none; wood(land) for 20 swine, and 1 acre of meadow. And 8 sokemen (with) 34 acres of land and 1 bordar and 1 acre of meadow; then $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, afterwards and now 1. On the demesne then as now 1 plough, and a half could be restored; and then $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards 1, now a half, and 1 could be restored; then as now 2 beasts and 8 swine and 6 sheep. On this outlying estate then as now half a market. And in TEDFORT [Thetford] half an acre of land, and 2 sokemen (with) 40 acres of land, and 2 bordars; then as now 1 plough. All this was worth T.R.E. 30 pounds, afterwards and now 60 pounds blanch; and it is 3 leagues in length and 1 in breadth, and (pays) 27 pence for a geld of 20 shillings whosoever may hold the land there.

In BRITRINGA [Bittering] 7 acres of wood and 1 acre of land on which are 4 bordars. This Godric reclaims to the fee of Ralf the earl, and a certain woman who held it T.R.E. is willing to undergo the ordeal (*ferre judicium*) that it is released from pledge. This is held by Siward in pledge. In KERTLINGA [Kirtling] 2 sokemen (with) 17 acres of land and 1 acre of meadow; T.R.E. (there was) half a plough, now nothing; and this is in the valuation of Mulham [Mileham].

f. 137b.

HUNDRET OF FEORHOU [FOREHOE]

WIMUNDHAM [Wymondham] was held by Stigand T.R.E. (as) 4 ploughlands. Then as now 60 villeins and 50 bordars and 8 serfs; then as now 4 ploughs on the demesne. Then 60 ploughs belonging to the men, now 24; this derangement (*confusionem*) Ralf de Wayr caused before he made forfeiture, and they could all be restored. Then wood(land) for 100 swine, now 60, and 60 acres of meadow; then as now 2 mills and 1 fishery; then as now 2 rounceys and 16 beasts and 50 swine and 24 sheep. To this manor belonged (*jacebant*) T.R.E. 87 sokemen, now only 18, and they have 30 acres of land;

then as now 1 plough; and in addition (*adhuc*) 1 sokeman (with) 1 ploughland; then as now 4 villeins and 10 bordars and 1 mill, wood(land) for 16 swine and 4 acres of meadow. This manor with all the soke was worth T.R.E. with the soke (*sic*) 20 pounds, now 60 (pounds); and it is 2 leagues in length and 1 in breadth, and (pays) 6 shillings and 8 pence for geld. Of those sokemen who have been removed (*abbati*, for *ablati*) William de War[enne] has 55,¹ and they have under them 57 bordars; among them all (*inter totum*), they have 5 ploughlands and 12 acres of meadow, and T.R.E. they had 20 ploughs, now 13, and half a mill; then as now they were worth 10 pounds. And Ralf de Bellafago¹ has 10 sokemen (with) 2 ploughlands and 32 bordars; then as now 7 ploughs and 12 acres of meadow and $1\frac{1}{2}$ mills. And Count Alan (has) 1 sokeman (with) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands, and 13 bordars, and 3 ploughs and 9 acres of meadow and 1 mill, and they are worth 30 shillings. And Roger Bigot (has) 2 sokemen (with) 45 acres of land and 6 bordars and 2 ploughs and 2 acres of meadow; then wood(land) for 60 swine, now 16; and they are worth 7 shillings and 6 pence.

HUNDRET OF BLAWFELLE [BLOFIELD]

TORP [Thorpe (next Norwich)] was held by Archbishop Stigand T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands. Then 24 villeins, afterwards 23, now 22, and f. 138.

5 bordars then as now; then and afterwards 2 serfs, now 1. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1. Then as now 4 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 1,200 swine, and 40 acres of meadow; then and now 1 rouncey, then as now 2 beasts and 13 swine, then as now 36 goats. Then as now 26 sokemen with 2 acres of land; one has 3 bordars. Then as now $4\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and of one of them Earl R[alf] had a half with 30 acres of land, and the soke of Stigand; and when R[alf] made his forfeiture he had the man and the soke, and afterwards R. Blund, in his rental (*ad censum*); now W[illiam] de Noiers (has it included) in the rent (*censum*) of Torp [Thorpe]. Then it was worth 12 pounds and 1 quart of honey and 2,000 herrings, afterwards and now 30 pounds blanch; and it is 3 leagues in length and 1 league and 3 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) for geld 8 pence. And there too (*in eadem*) (are) 3 sokemen and a half, with soke and sac, of 32 acres of land and 4 acres of meadow. Then as now among the men 1 plough; now Godwin Halden² holds them by gift of Earl R[alf], and the hundret testifies it, but they belong to Torp [Thorpe] with the custom. In addition (*adhuc*) 140 sheep. Then as now they were worth 24 pence.

¹ Cf. ff. 166, 226, but the numbers do not agree.

² This does not appear in his fees, cf. f. 271.

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HUNDRET OF FLEC [WEST FLEGG]

SOMERTUNA [Somerton] was held by Archisti, 1 freeman with 1 ploughland.¹ Then as now 12 villeins and 11 bordars and 6½ acres of meadow, and 1½ salt pans. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 1½ ploughs belonging to the men, and then as now 3 rounceys; then 8 beasts and always, and 145 sheep and 2 hives of bees. In addition there are there 19 sokemen and 1 ploughland and 3 ploughs. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings. And this land W[illiam] de Noiens holds in the farm of Meleham [Mileham], and the soke is in the hundret, and he (the freeman) could sell it without licence of Stigand. Richard Punant put it in charge (*ad censavit*).

HUNDRET OF HEINEST' [HENSTEAD]

HAMERINGAHALA [Arminghall] (is) 1 outlying estate of 1 ploughland belonging to Torp [Thorpe]. Then 6 villeins, afterwards and now 8. Then 2 serfs, now none. Then as

f. 138b. now 3 bordars. Then 1½ ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1. Then 4 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 2. Wood(land) for 8 swine and 12 acres of meadow. Then 1 mill, afterwards and now none, because Eudo Clamahoc withdrew (*abstulit*) it in the time of King William; now R[alf] de Belfago his successor holds it, as the hundret witnesses: and it renders 24 shillings. In the outlying estate are 4 sokemen with 20 acres of land. Then as now 1 plough. It is 5 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth, and (pays) for geld 8 pence.

HALF HUNDRET OF HERSAM [EARSHAM]

HERSAM [Earsham] was held by Stigand T.R.E. for 3 ploughlands. Then and after 21 villeins, now 25. Then as now 24 bordars, and then as now 5 serfs. Then 3 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 2. Then 16 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 12. Then woodland for 300 swine, afterwards and now 200; 20 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 mills, and then as now 3 horses at the hall (*in aula*), and 1 beast. Then 40 swine, and now the same. Then as now 30 goats, and 11 sokemen with 1 ploughland and 4 bordars. Then 4 ploughs, afterwards and now 3. Wood(land) for 40 swine, and 12 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 11 pounds, afterwards and now 40 pounds blanch, with all things that belong (.) It is 1½ leagues in length and 1 league in breadth, and (pays) for geld 6 pence.

In DENTUNA [Denton] 12 sokemen. Of 9 of these Stigand had the soke in Ersam [Ear-

¹ More probably 'Archbishop Stigand (*Archi*' *Sti*') held 1 freeman.'

sham], and they had 60 acres, and of 4 (*sic*) St. Edmund had the soke² and they had 40 acres, so that (*qd*) they could neither give nor sell their land away from the church (*extra ecclesiam*), but Roger Bigot added them to Ersam [Earsham] on account of the custom, because the soke was in the hundret. Then as now 5 ploughs among them all. In ALDEBERGA [Alburgh] 15 freemen; of 13

f. 139. the predecessor of Eudo, son of Spiruwic, had commendation, of 2 St. Edmund. Among them all 80 acres of land and 4 acres of meadow. Then as now among them all 5 ploughs; and it is 1 league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 10 pence for geld. But more (tenants) hold there. In REDANHA [Redenhall] 7 freemen of Stigand's by commendation T.R.E. with 60 acres of land and 2 bordars; then 3 ploughs, afterwards and now 2. Wood(land) for 4 swine, and 2 acres of meadow. In STE-RESTUNA [Starston] 15 sokemen of Stigand's belonging to Ersam [Earsham] with the soke hold 80 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow and 6 bordars. Then as now 8 ploughs among them all. In the same (were) 15 sokemen, of whom St. Edmund had commendation T.R.E.; but their land was entirely in the church, but the soke and sac in Hersam [Earsham], and R[oger] Bigot therefore annexed (*addidit*) them when he held the manor of Hersam [Earsham] in Stigand's time. Among them all 60 acres of land and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now 3 ploughs.

In RIUESSALLA [Rushall] (were) 10 freemen of Stigand's T.R.E. with 60 acres and 3 bordars. Then as now 3 ploughs. Wood(land) for 6 swine, and 2 acres of meadow.

In TORP [Thorpe (Abbots)] 20 freemen; 2 were Stigand's by commendation, and they had 100 acres of land T.R.E., and 18 were St. Edmund's by commendation, and they could not give up (their land) (*reddere*) without leave of St. (Edmund's), but soke and sac were in Hersam [Earsham]. Then as now 6 ploughs among them all. Wood(land) for 4 swine and 4 acres of meadow. It is half a league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) for geld 6 pence. In BRODISO [Brockdish] 28 freemen, 5 of Stigand's with half a ploughland T.R.E. and 23 of St. Edmund's with 140 acres, but they could neither give nor sell without

f. 139b. Stigand's leave, for he had the soke. Then among them all (were) 8 ploughs, now 7. Wood(land) for 12 swine, 6 acres of meadow. It is 7 furlongs in length and 5 furlongs in breadth and 4 perches, and (pays) for geld 6 pence. The soke and sac of all these belonged to Stigand T.R.E. All these freemen used to render 40 shillings to Stigand T.R.E.; but if

² Perhaps for 'commendation,' see below.

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they did not pay they forfeited (*essent forefacti de*) 4 pounds; now they pay 16 pounds by tale in Hersam [Earsham], under which (*ubi*) Richard Pugnans put them in charge (*ad censavit*). T.R.E. Stigand had the soke and sac of this half hundret except Torp [Thorpe (Abbots)] (which belonged to) St. Edmund's, and except Pulham [Pulham] (which belonged to) St. Aldredra¹ in Hersam [Earsham]. When R[alf] made forfeiture he had the soke and sac of Rada-halla [Redenhall] and of his own commended men. When Reimund Giraldus departed (*discessit*) he had the soke of his (land) only; (as had) afterwards R[oger] of Poitou, his successor. But of the land which St. Edmund has in this half hundret (St. Edmund) held the soke. In PRELESTUNA [Pirleston²] Warenger retained as part of (*detinuit ad*) the fee of Roger de Ramis, in Redenahalla [Redenhall], and in Dentuna [Denton] 2 freemen of Stigand's with the soke (of) 23 acres of land. Then as now half a plough and half an acre of meadow. (This) is valued with the others.

HUNDRET OF LOTHNINGA [LODDON]

DICINGAHAM [Ditchingham] (is) 1 outlying estate in Ersam [Earsham] of 3 ploughlands which Stigand (held) T.R.E. Then 9 villeins, afterwards and now 8. Then 5 bordars, afterwards and now 4. Then 4 serfs, afterwards and now 2. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards 1, now 2. Then as now 4 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 100 swine, and 18 acres of meadow. Then 2 mills, afterwards and now 1. Then as now 48 swine and 64 sheep and 55 goats. And 22 sokemen are there with 1½ ploughlands. Then as now

f. 140.

among them all 8 ploughs. Wood(land) for 4 swine, and 9 acres of meadow, and 1 mill. It is valued in Hersam [Earsham]; and it is 1 league and 4 furlongs in length and 9 (furlongs) in breadth, and (pays) 8 pence for geld whoever may hold there.

In MUNDAHAM [Mundham] (are) 7 freemen belonging to this outlying estate. Of these 7, 3 were Stigand's and 2 Edwin's by commendation, and 1 Algar's and 1 Tohli's the sheriff's. Between them all 60 acres of land. Then as now 3 ploughs. Four of these Robert son of Corbutio claims by livery of the king (with) 24 acres of land as the hundret testifies. But afterwards R[oger] Bigot annexed them to (*addidit in*) Ersam [Earsham], and has 52 acres. The king and the earl (have) the soke. They are valued in Ersam [Earsham].

In SILINGA [Seething] 1 freeman under Stigand held 1 ploughland; after King William came

into England Stigand himself annexed (this) as an outlying estate of (*in*) Stoftes³ [*sic*: Toft (Monks)]. Then as now 1 villein. Then 2 bordars, afterwards and now 3 bordars. Then and afterwards 1 plough on the demesne, now 1½. Then as now half a plough belonging to the men and 1½ acres of meadow. Then as now 1 horse at (*in*) the hall, now 3 swine. And 21 sokemen T.R.E., afterwards and now 12, and they have 24 acres of land. Then as now 1 plough, half an acre of meadow, and it is in the valuation of Toftes [Toft (Monks)]. Then it was worth 40 shillings, now it pays 4 pounds and 10 shillings in Toftes [Toft (Monks)], and is 1 league in length and 1 in breadth, and (pays) 16 pence for geld.

HUNDRET OF TAVREHAM [TAVERHAM]

HORSTEDA [Horstead] was held by Stigand T.R.E. (as) 4 ploughlands. Then 19 villeins, afterwards and now 16; 9 bordars; then 8 serfs, afterwards and now 4. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne; then 10 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 6, and 12 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 60 swine; then as now 3 mills, and 1 rouncey, and 2 beasts, and 7 swine, and 20 sheep. Then 30 goats, now 40,

f. 140b.
and then as now 1 hive (*vasa*) of bees. Then there used to belong (*jacebant*) to this manor 18 sokemen with 3 ploughlands, which were made over (*liberati*) to Robert Blancard; now they are part of (*ad*) the fee of Roger of Poitou.

In STANINGEHALLA [Staininghall] 1 freeman (with) 1 ploughland, and 4 villeins and 4 bordars, and 2 ploughs, 2 mills,⁴ wood(land) for 20 swine. This belongs to Horsteda [Horstead], and the whole is in the valuation of Mulham [Mileham].⁵ And Horsteda [Horstead] is 1 league in length and another in breadth, and (pays) 15 pence for geld.

In CATTUNA [Catton] 13 sokemen (with) 1 ploughland; then as now 3 bordars. Then 3 ploughs, afterwards and now 2, wood(land) for 12 swine, and it is 1 league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 8 pence and 3 farthings for geld. This is in the valuation of Thorp [Thorpe (next Norwich)].⁶

In SPROWESTUNA [Sprowston] 140 acres of land. Then 3 ploughs, afterwards and now 2, and 4 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 4 swine, and it is 1 league in length and 8 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 15 pence for geld whoever may hold there. This also is in the valuation

³ See f. 141.

⁴ *n. ii. mol'*: the *n* here is probably only the commencement of *mol'*, which the scribe began to write before entering the numeral.

⁵ See f. 136b.

⁶ See f. 137b.

¹ Abbey of Ely.

² Now Billingford.

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of Torp [Thorpe]. In BELAGA [Belaugh] 1 ploughland and 24 acres which Stigand held; then as now 2 bordars and 8 acres of meadow. Then 1 plough; and it is in the valuation of Hosteda [Horstead].

HUNDRET OF HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD]

LAKEMHAM [Lakenham] was held by Stigand T.R.E. as an outlying estate in Torp [Thorpe (next Norwich)] for 2 ploughlands; then as now 11 villeins and 2 sokemen (with) 4 acres. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1, and 1 church with 13 acres in almoyn. Then 3 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 2, and 3 ploughs could be restored; 7 acres of meadow; then as now 1 mill. This is in the valuation of Torp [Thorpe (next Norwich)¹]; and it is 2 leagues in length and 7 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 3 pence and 3 farthings for geld.

f. 14r.

HUNDRET OF DEPWADE

TACOLVESTUNA [Tacolneston] was held by Stigand for an outlying estate in WIMUNDHAM¹ [Wymondham] (as) 5 ploughlands; then as now 16 villeins and 21 bordars and 6 serfs, and 4 ploughs on the demesne. Then 14 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 5; 12 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 20 swine, and then as now 1 mill, and 4 rounceys, and 16 beasts, and 50 swine, 80 sheep, and 15 goats. And 5 sokemen; 12 acres; then as now half a plough. And 8 freemen (with) 1 ploughland, and 2 villeins, and 8 bordars. Then 3 ploughs, afterwards and now 2; 8 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 10 pounds, now 20 pounds blanch, and is 1½ leagues in length and half (a league) in breadth, and (pays) 10 pence and a halfpenny for geld.

HUNDRET OF CLAVERINCA [CLAVERING]

TOFT [Toft (Monks)] was held by Stigand for a manor T.R.E.; 4 ploughlands and 20 acres; then as now 14 villeins and 18 bordars and 8 serfs and 3 ploughs on the demesne, and 8 ploughs (belonging to the men) and 20 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 80 swine, and 1 rouncey and 4 beasts and 20 swine and 100 sheep; and 5 sokemen with 1½ ploughlands; then as now 5 ploughs, and 8 acres of meadow.

And HADESCOU [Haddiscoe], 1 outlying estate of 220 acres of land; then as now 7 villeins and 4 bordars, and then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 2, and 4 acres of meadow. Then 1 plough, now half, and 100 sheep. And 4 sokemen (with) 80 acres. Then 3 ploughs, afterwards and now 2, and 4 acres of

meadow. Then it was worth 10 pounds, now 24 (pounds) blanch. And it is 1 league in length and 2 furlongs and 10 perches, and 1 league in breadth, and (pays) 10 pence and 3 farthings for geld.

STOUTUNA [Stockton] was held by S[tigand] for an outlying estate T.R.E. in Ersam [Earsham]; 2 ploughlands and 3 bordars. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1; then as now half a plough belonging to the men, 12 acres of meadow, woodland for 4 swine, and 1 mill and 2 rounceys and 4 beasts and 4 swine. And 30 sokemen (with) 3 ploughlands; then as now 8 ploughs and 16 acres of meadow. And there, f. 14rb.

too (*in eadem*) 1 church (with) 65 acres, and 3 bordars and half a mill, and 12 sokemen, 25 acres; then as now 3 ploughs and 6 acres of meadow.

There belong (*jacet*) also to STOUTUNA [Stockton] 10 sokemen; 2½ ploughlands; then as now 6 bordars and 7½ ploughs and 8 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 16 swine. And 21 sokemen in IERPSTUNA [], 120 acres. Then 8 ploughs, now 5, and 5 acres of meadow. And 8 freemen were added to this manor, and they have 12 acres and half a plough.

In ELINCHAM [Ellingham] 5 sokemen (with) 15 acres and half a plough, and 1 church with 24 acres.

In KILDINCHAM [Gillingham] 12 freemen, 3 ploughlands, and 9 bordars. Then 8 ploughs, now 5, 12 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 8 swine, and 1 church (with) 30 acres of free land. Of these 9 belonged to the predecessor of Ralf de Bellafago in commendation T.R.E. and 1 to Alwi Deted² and 1½ to the abbot of St. Edmund and a half to Stigand. There, too (*in eadem*), 4 freemen (with) 15 acres and half a plough. Stigand had the soke T.R.E. and they have been added to the rental (*in censu*) of Ersam [Earsham]; and all this is in the rental of Ersam [Earsham³].

The whole of STOUTUNA [Stockton] is 2 leagues in length and 1 league in breadth, and (pays) 5 shillings and 4 pence for geld whoever holds there.

In RAVINCHAM [Raveningham] 3 freemen (with) 30 acres of land and 1 plough and half an acre of meadow, and it is in the valuation of Toft (Monks). In the same (is) 1 freeman (with) 60 acres of land which he (the freeman) held in pledge (*babebat inwadiatas*) from many men; then as now 1 plough and 27 bordars, 1 acre of meadow, and it is worth 20 shillings.

² Probably meant for 'de Tedfort' [Thetford].

³ See f. 138b.

¹ See f. 137b.

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In **TURVERTUNA** [Thurlton] 1 freeman (with) 20 acres and half a plough and 1 acre of meadow, and he is worth 2 shillings. In the same, 2 freemen, 10 acres and 2 bordars, and half a plough and 1 acre of meadow, and they are worth 16 pence. In **TURVERTUNA** [Thurlton] 1 free[man] belonging to the predecessor of Ralf de Bellofago, and he has 8 acres and is worth 12 pence.

f. 142.

II.—LANDS OF THE BISHOP OF BAYEUX

THE HUNDRET AND HALF OF FREDREBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

In **TORP** [Thorpe (Gayton)] 2 freemen T.R.E. with 60 acres of land; then as now 1 villein and 1 bordar, and 1 acre of meadow; then as now 1 plough; and they are worth 6 shillings and 8 pence. One of these men was commended only to the predecessor of Roger Bigot. This all belongs (*jacet*) to Nestesham [Snettisham]. All **Torp** [Thorpe (Gayton)] is 8 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and pays 8 pence in a geld of 20 shillings.

GRIMESTUNA [Grimston] was held by Stigand T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands. Then 16 villeins, afterwards and now 8; then as now 13 bordars; then 1 serf, 28 acres of meadow. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, afterwards and now half (a plough) and 3 mills; then as now 1 rouncey. Then 3 beasts, now 4; then as now 60 sheep. Here belong (*jacet*) 14 sokemen with 1 ploughland, then as now 1 plough. Then and afterwards it was worth 100 shillings, now 7 pounds. All **Grimestuna** [Grimston] is 1½ leagues in length and in breadth, and pays 2 shillings in a geld of 20 shillings.

HERPELAI [Harpley] was held by Stigand T.R.E. for 1 outlying estate in Snesham [Snettisham], 2 ploughlands; then as now 2 villeins and 9 bordars. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1; and 5 sokemen (with) 12 acres of land. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1½. Then it was worth 40 shillings, now 80. This **Hugh de Portu** holds.

SNETTESHAM [Snettisham] was held by Stigand T.R.E. (for) 8 ploughlands; then as now 20

f. 142b.

villeins and 12 bordars. Then 6 serfs, afterwards and now 3, and 30 acres of meadow. Then 4 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 2. Then 6 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 4, and 5 mills and 1 saltpan, and 1 fishery; wood(land) for 100 swine; then as now 4 rounceys and 38 swine and 440 sheep. And 6 sokemen (with) 2 ploughlands

and 10 villeins, and 6 bordars, and 1 serf, and 10 acres of meadow, and half a mill and 1 fishery. And in **SCERNEBRUNA** [Shernborne] 1 sokeman (with) 5 acres. To this manor belongs (*jacet*) 1 outlying estate, **FLICHAM** [Flitcham], (of) 7½ ploughlands; then as now 18 villeins and 14 bordars and 3 serfs and 8 sokemen and 4 mills. Then 3 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 2; then as now 5 ploughs belonging to the men. There belongs also 1 outlying estate, **NIUETUNA** [Newton, (West)], 1½ ploughlands and 6 villeins and 3 bordars and 2 serfs, and 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then as now 2 ploughs belonging to the men, and 20 acres of meadow, and 2 sokemen (with) 16 acres of land and half a plough; then as now 1 rouncey and 7 sheep. And in addition (*adbuc*) 1 outlying estate, **RISINGA** [Rising, (Castle)], 3 ploughlands; then as now 12 villeins and 38 bordars; then 4 serfs, now 3, and 14 acres of meadow; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men, and 7 sokemen (with) 24 acres of land; then as now 1 plough, and 3 mills, and 12 salt pans, and 1 fishery. And 3 sokemen (with) 60 acres of land; then as now 1 plough, and 1 sokeman (with) 60 acres and 1 plough, and 26 bordars and 1 plough and 8 acres of meadow, and 1 mill and 1 saltpan. And in **REIDUNA** [Roydon] 1 sokeman (with) 1 ploughland; then as now 25 bordars and 2 serfs and 6 acres of meadow, and 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men, and 2 salt pans. And 8 sokemen (with) 2 ploughlands, and 16 acres and 5 bordars and 2 ploughs and 1½ salt pans. The whole was worth T.R.E. 50 pounds, afterwards and now 80 pounds and 100 shillings. The whole is 2½ leagues in length and half a league in breadth whoever holds there, and pays 4 shillings in 20 shillings for the king's geld.

f. 143.

HUNDRET OF DOCHINGE [DOCKING]

DOCHINGE [Docking] was held (as) 1 ploughland by 1 freeman under Stigand; then as now half a plough, 3 bordars. This is in the valuation of Snetesham [Snettisham]. In **STANHO** [Stanhoe] (were) 12 freemen under Stigand T.R.E.; then 4 ploughlands, and 4 ploughs then, afterwards and now 3. In **STOFSTA** [Tofts (Bircham)] 4 ploughlands were held by 1 freeman under Stigand T.R.E., 2 ploughs on the demesne then, and afterwards and now 1; then as now 8 villeins and 5 bordars. This is in the valuation of Snetesham [Snettisham]. All this **STOFSTA** [Tofts (Bircham)] is 1 league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth and pays 10 pence in 20 shillings for geld. And the whole of Stanhoe [Stanhoe] is 1 league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and pays 14 pence and 1 halfpenny in 20 shillings for geld.

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HUNDRET OF GRENEHOU [GREENHOE (NORTH)]

In WARHAM [Warham] Stigand held 2 sokemen with half a ploughland; then as now half a plough, and then as now it was worth 30 pence.

HUNDRET OF HEINESTEDE [HENSTEAD]

In FRAMINGAHAM [Framingham (Earl)] Roger Bigot holds 60 acres of land which Godwin held under Stigand T.R.E. Then 4 bordars and now 7. Then 2 ploughs, afterwards $1\frac{1}{2}$, now 2 on the demesne. Then as now 3 oxen belonging to the men, and 4 sokemen and a half with 16 acres of land and 4 acres of meadow. Now as then they plough with 3 oxen. And in ALVERTUNA [Yelverton] 1 sokeman and a half with 16 acres. Now as then they plough with 3 oxen. And in HOLVESTUNA [Holvestone] 3 sokemen and 2 halves (*sic*) with 16 acres of land, then as now half a plough. And in KERKEBEI [Kirby (Bedon)] 2 sokemen and a half with 12 acres. Then as now they plough with 3 oxen; then as now 1 horse at (*in*) the hall. Then 8 swine, now 28, and 6 hives of bees. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, now 40. In SCOTESSAM [Shotesham] Alvred a freeman held under Stigand T.R.E. (with) 12 acres, and 3 sokemen with 20 acres of land and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now 1 plough. And in PORRINGALANDA [Poringland] 1 freeman and 1 sokeman f. 143b. with 21 acres. Then as now half a plough.

In BRAMBRETUNA [Bramerton] $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land; they are valued in Kiningaford [Cringleford]. HOLVESTUNA [Holvestone] is 4 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth, and (pays) for geld 8 pence.

HUNDRET OF ENSFORD [EYNESFORD]

In WESTUNA [Weston] T.R.E. Stigand held 1 outlying estate (of) 50 acres of land and 20 acres [of meadow]; then as now 6 bordars, then as now half a plough, and it is in the valuation of Snetesham [Snettisham].

HUNDRET OF ERPINCHAM SUD [SOUTH ER- PINGHAM]

In WICMERA [Wickmere] 2 freemen (with) 30 acres of land; then as now 3 bordars and half a plough and 1 acre of meadow, and it is worth 4 shillings. This is held by Tihel de Helion.¹

HUNDRET OF HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD]

In KRINGELFORDA [Cringleford] 1 ploughland was held by Alvred the priest, a freeman of

Stigand's; then as now 3 villeins and 1 plough on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men, 8 acres of meadow; then as now 1 mill, and 17 sokemen (with) 1 ploughland; then as now 3 ploughs, 4 acres of meadow; and 3 freemen and a half in commendation only T.R.E. (with) 51 acres; then as now 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow and 3 parts of a mill, and 4 sokemen (with) $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres under them. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 40. This Roger Bigot holds, and it is half a league and 2 furlongs in length and 6 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 11 pence for geld whoever holds there.

In FLORENDUNA [Flordon] 2 freemen and a half of Stigand's (with) 25 acres. Then half a plough and 1 acre of meadow, and it is worth 2 shillings. This Roger Bigot holds.

III.—LANDS OF THE COUNT OF MORTAIN

HUNDRET OF ERPINGAHAM NORT [NORTH ERPINGHAM]

In RUFTUNA [Roughton] T.R.E. Ulnoth held 1 ploughland; then as now $2\frac{1}{2}$ villeins f. 144. and 5 bordars, and 1 plough on the demesne, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men; wood(land) for 8 swine, and 2 acres of meadow; then as now 1 mill. Then 1 rouncey and now, and 3 beasts; then 5 swine and now 20 sheep and 12 goats. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings, and is 9 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (pays) 10 pence and a halfpenny in geld.

HUNDRET OF TONESTEDA [TUNSTEAD]

CLAREIA [] was held by Earl Harold T.R.E. (as) half a ploughland; then as now 3 bordars and 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow, and it is worth 6 shillings.

III.—LANDS OF COUNT ALAN

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOU [GREENHOE (SOUTH)]

SUAFHAM [Swaffham] belonged to the royal demesnes (*ad regionem*) and King E[dward] gave it to R[alf] the earl. Then 12 villeins, and afterwards 8, and now. Then 26 bordars, and always (*semper*); when he received it 3 serfs, and now. Then 1 plough on the demesne, and when he received it 2, now 4, and 12 freemen used to dwell there. Then as now among the men 8 ploughs. Wood(land) for 13 swine, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ mills, and 1 fishery; 1 rouncey was found then, now 2. Then as now 4 beasts. Then 12 swine, and now. Then

¹ It does not appear in his *breve*. See f. 261b.

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as now 200 sheep; and it is 1 league in length and another in breadth, and pays to a geld 16 pence. Then it was worth 8 pounds, and afterwards 16 (pounds), and now; and besides that 20 shillings. This land was received as 2 manors.

NEREFORDA [Narford] is held by Phanceon, which Alfahc held T.R.E. Then 8 villeins and so always (*semper*). Then as now 12 bordars. Then 3 serfs, when he received it and now 1. Then on the demesne (were) 3 ploughs, afterwards 2, and now 3. Then 6 ploughs belonging to the men, and when he received it, and now 5; and 4 freemen there held 1 ploughland and (*sic*) plough, and 1½ mills and 1 fishery, 8 acres of meadow; and when he took it over he found 3 rounceys, now 2. Then no beasts, now 7; then 16 swine, now 35. f. 144b.

Then 100 sheep less 6, now 86, and 5 hives of bees, and it is 1 mile (*mille*) in length and 8 furlongs in breadth, and pays 18 pence in geld. Then and afterwards it was worth 4 pounds, and now 100 shillings.

In FULENDUNA [Foulden] Ribald holds (the land) which Altstan held, half a ploughland. Then as now 1 plough, then as now 1 mill, 1 acre of meadow. It is valued with Suarham [Swaffham]. In the same vill 2 freemen hold 1 ploughland, and under them 5 bordars and 1 serf and 2 ploughs, 4 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 40 shillings. It is measured with the land of W[illiam] de Wa[renne].¹

In SCULATORPA [Sculthorp] 15 acres, and it renders 20 pence.

In PAGRAVA [Palgrave] Edric held half a ploughland. Then 6 bordars, and now; then 1½ ploughs, and now. Then and always (*semper*) it was worth 10 shillings. In PIKENHA [Pickenham, (South)]² Ribald holds what Godwin held, 2 ploughlands. Then and always 6 villeins and 3 bordars and 2 serfs and 2 ploughs, and the villeins (have) 3 ploughs. Wood(land) for 10 swine, 8 acres of meadow, 1 mill, 1 fishery; and 6 freemen dwell there now as then and have 1 plough. Then it was worth 30 shillings, now 60 shillings.

In the other PICHENHAM [Pickenham, (North)] the same holds. (There were) 9 freemen T.R.E., 3 ploughs; now 7 freemen, and they have 5 ploughs and 2 bordars, 10 acres of meadow, and it is 10 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth, and for a geld pays 12 pence. Then it was worth 40 shillings, now 50 shillings; and in CRESSINGHAM [Cressingham, (? Great)] he holds 1 villein (with) 10 acres. He is valued above.

¹ See f. 167b.

² On the Pickenhams, cf. f. 119b and note.

HUNDRET OF LAUENDIC [LAUNDITCH]

In MULHAM [Mileham] half a ploughland, and 6 acres in STANFELDA [Stanfield] which the son of Almar holds, which 2 sokemen of Stigand's held T.R.E.; then as now 3 bordars and 2 acres of meadow; then as now 2 ploughs, wood(land) for 20 swine, and it is worth 10 shillings.

HUNDRET OF FEORHOU [FOREHOE]

COTESEIA [Costessy] was held by Guert T.R.E. (as) 4 ploughlands; then as now 8 villeins and 8 bordars. Then 4 serfs, now 1; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and 5 ploughs f. 145.

belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 100 swine, and 6 acres of meadow; then as now 2 mills; then as now 14 beasts (*animalia*), and 1 deer-park (*parcus bestiis*) and 27 swine and 13 goats. To this manor belongs 1 outlying estate, BAUENBURC [Bawburgh], 2 ploughlands; then as now 6 villeins and 6 bordars and 2 serfs; then 1 plough on the demesne, now 2; then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, and 4 acres of meadow; then as now 1 mill. In TORP [Honingham Thorpe in Honingham³] (is) 1 ploughland, an outlying estate to this manor; then as now 4 villeins and 3 bordars and 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men and 4 acres of meadow; then as now 1 mill. To this manor belong (*jacent*) 44 sokemen (with) 3 ploughlands. Then 12 ploughs, now 8, and 4 could be restored. In BEREFORDA [Barford] 7 sokemen and a half (with) 46 acres of land and 2 ploughs and 6 free villeins, and 5 bordars and half a mill and 2 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 20 pounds, now 45. And it is 7 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth, and (pays) 13 pence and 1 halfpenny for geld.

And BAUENBUC [Bawburgh] is 5 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (pays) 8 pence and 1 halfpenny for geld; and THORP [(Honingham) Thorpe] is 5 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (pays) 6 pence and 1 halfpenny for geld. And the land of the sokemen is 6 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (pays) 13 pence and 1 halfpenny for geld. And this is ESTUNA [Easton]; and HUNINCHAM [Honingham], which a certain one of those sokemen holds, is 6 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth.

WRANPLINCHAM [Wramplingham]; 15 acres of land are held by 1 sokeman of Guert's; then as now 1 plough and 1 villein and half a mill, and it is worth 20 shillings. Of this Godric claims half a house for the king's fee;⁴ and this the hundret testifies.

³ This cannot be Bowthorpe, which was measured on f. 121, and is therefore probably Honingham Thorpe. See *Feudal Aids*, iii, 483.

⁴ Probably as appendant to Kimberley. See f. 121.

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In BRANDUN [Brandon (Parva)] 6 sokemen and a half (with) 12 acres of land and 1 plough. This is in the valuation of Costeseia [Costessy]. In RUNHAL [Runhall] 4 sokemen (with) 10 acres, half a plough.

f. 145b.

In CARLETUNA [Carleton (Forehoe)] 3 sokemen (with) 10 acres and half a plough.

In HUNICHAM [Honingham] 1 sokeman (with) 30 acres and 1 plough and 4 villeins and 3 bordars. All this is in the valuation of Costeseia [Costessy]. In WANINPLICHAM [Wrampingham] 2 sokemen (with) 4 acres of land.

In MERLINGEFORDA [Marlingford] 2 sokemen, 16 acres, half a plough. In TOKETORP¹ [] Enisam Musar holds 30 acres which belong to (*sunt ad*) the same manor; then as now 1 plough and 4 villeins and the fourth part of a mill, and it is worth 20 shillings.

There, too (*In eadem*) 1½ ploughlands which² Toke held under Stigand, now Ribald (holds it), for a manor; then as now 7 villeins and 3 bordars and 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men; now 1 mill, 10 acres of meadow; then as now 5 beasts and 2 swine. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 30.

HUNDRET OF MITTEFORDE [MIDFORD]

In TODENEHAM [Tuddenham (East)] 10 sokemen of Guert's in Coteseia [Costessy] T.R.E. (with) 42 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow; then as now 1½ ploughs, and they are in the valuation of Costeseia [Costessy]. In APPETORP []³ 1 sokeman of Guert's (with) 30 acres of land; then as now 2 bordars and 1 plough and 3 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 15 swine. (This is included) in the same valuation. In IACHESHAM [Yaxham⁴] 2 sokemen of the same (Guert) (with) 24 acres of land; then as now half a plough. (This is included) in the same valuation.⁵ In BASKENEA [] 12 acres of land; 1 sokeman of the same; in the same valuation. In FLOCHETHOR [Flockthorpe⁶] 1 sokeman of Harold's, belonging to (*in*) Costeseia [Costessy] (with) 30 acres of land, and 2 serfs, and 1 plough, and 2 acres of meadow; and he is worth 5 shillings.

WESTFELDA [Westfield] is held by Faeicon, which S[aint] A[udrey]⁷ held T.R.E. (as)

¹ In Norwich. See Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 453; under St. Clement of Norwich.

² A word (*Ribaldus*) erased here.

³ Possibly Honingham Thorpe.

⁴ See *Norf. Arch.* xii, 274.

⁵ One of these sokemen with 12 acres seems to have belonged to Ely. See *I.C.C.* (Hamilton), p. 140.

⁶ In Hardingham.

⁷ See *I.C.C.* pp. 140, 195. 'Westfelt was held by St. Audrey in demesne T.R.E. and Earl Ralf held it when he forfeited.'—'Aggression of W. son of Bloc.'

1 ploughland. Then as now 8 villeins and 8 bordars. Then as now on the demesne 1 plough, and belonging to the men 2 ploughs, 3 acres of meadow, 1 mill. Then it was worth 60 shillings, now 40 shillings, and it is 6 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth, and (pays) 6 pence for geld.

HUNDRET OF BRODECROS [BROTHERCROSS]

In CIDESTERNA [Syderstone] T.R.E. Alfah held 3 ploughlands. Then as now 14 bordars, then as now on the demesne 3 ploughs, and belonging to the men 2 ploughs, 4 acres of f. 146.

meadow. Then as now 1 rouncey. Then 4 swine, now 16. Then 40 sheep, now 100. Then it was worth 60 shillings, now the same; and it is 10 furlongs in length and 8 in width, and (pays) 14 pence in geld. The same holds (it).

In RUDEHAM [Rudham, (East)⁸] is an outlying estate (belonging) to this manor of half a ploughland and half a plough, and it is in the valuation of Scidesterna [Syderstone]. And the same holds it.

HUNDRET OF HOLT

In BRUNINGAHAM [Briningham] Geoffrey holds what Turber held, a freeman T.R.E. who was commended to Harold, 30 acres. Then as now 1 villein and 1 bordar and 1 plough. Wood(land) for 3 swine, 2 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 10 shillings, now 5 shillings.

In BATHELE [Bale] 1 freeman of Harold's with half a ploughland, and 1 bordar. Then as now half a plough. Then as now he was worth 3 shillings, and the same holds (him).

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOU [GREENHOE, (NORTH)]

In DALLINGA [Dalling, (Field)] Count Alan holds 1 sokeman with half a ploughland, and he was a man of Harold's T.R.E.; then as now 6 bordars, 2 acres of meadow; then as now half a plough; then as now it was worth 7 shillings. The same holds. And in GUARHAM [Warham] and in HOLKHAM [Holkham] and in GUELLA [Wells (next-the-Sea)] Ribald holds of the count 11 sokemen with 2 ploughlands and 6 bordars, 1 acre of meadow; then it was worth 40 shillings, and now (the same). And there Edui, the king's reeve, claims 1 man with 30 acres, and this the hundret testifies.

HUNDRET OF HOLT

HUNEWRDE [Hunworth] was held by Alestan, T.R.E. and now (he holds it) of Count Alan (as) 30 acres of land, 8 villeins, wood(land) for

⁸ East Rudham and Syderstone descended together, *Feudal Aids*, iii, 403, 516.

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3 swine, half an acre of meadow, 2 mills; then they used to have 2 ploughs, now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. The whole of this is valued in Saxiorp [Saxthorpe¹]. It is held by the same Ri[bald].

HUNDRET OF ERPINGEHAM NORT [NORTH ERPINGHAM]

In MATINGELES [Matlask] Estan, a freeman of Eral [Harold], held T.R.E. 16 acres of land. Then as now 2 bordars, and with 2 oxen

f. 146b.

it is valued in Sastorp [Saxthorpe]. The same [Ribald] holds it. In SUTFELLE [Suffield] Gun held 1 freeman of Ralf Starle [i.e., the Staller] T.R.E. (with) half a ploughland. Then as now 4 bordars, and half a plough on the demesne and half belonging to the men, and half an acre of meadow. In GUNETUNE [Gunton] 1 sokeman with 12 acres of land and $1\frac{1}{2}$ (acres) of meadow. Then as now it was worth 6 shillings.

In MATELESC [Matlask], where Count Alan holds, 1 man of the king's claims 16 acres of land by offering ordeal (*judicium*) and battle against the hundret, which witnesses them (as belonging) to the count; but a certain man of the count's is willing to prove that the hundret witnesses the truth, either by ordeal or by battle. Ribald holds (this).

HUNDRET OF FLEC WEST [WEST FLEGG]

SOMERTUNA [Somerton] is held by Wihunmard, which T.R.E. Alfric, a man of Harold's, held (as) 3 ploughlands. Then 4 villeins, afterwards and now 2. Then as now 11 bordars. Then 6 serfs, afterwards and now 2. Then as now 3 ploughs on the demesne, then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men, and 30 acres of meadow and $1\frac{1}{2}$ salt pans, and 9 freemen (with) 2 ploughlands. Then as now 3 rounceys at (*in*) the hall and 2 beasts; then 12 swine, now 24; then 100 sheep, now 200. Then as now 10 swine and 20 acres of meadow. And 2 halves of those (freemen) belonged to St. Benet of Hulme, and Godram seized (*invasit*) them in the time of Ralf the earl. Then as now 3 ploughs; and in addition (*adhuc*) there are there 7 sokemen (with) 67 acres of land. Then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. Then and afterwards the whole of this was worth 5 pounds, now 9 pounds with the sokemen who are in the hundret; and it is 1 league in length and 8 furlongs and 10 (perches) in breadth, and (pays) for geld 30 pence. In MARTHAM [Martham] 2 freemen and a half with 6 acres of land and 20 acres on the demesne. Then as now half a plough. In REPES [Repps (with Bastwick)] $1\frac{1}{2}$ freemen (with) 10 acres of land. Then as now half a plough. They are valued in Somertuna [Somerton].

¹ See f. 148.

In BASTUIC [Bastwick] 2 freemen belonging in Somertuna [Somerton (East)] (with) 12 acres, 1 acre of meadow.

f. 147.

HUNDRET OF ENSFORDA [EYNESFORD]

WESTUNA [Weston] 20 sokemen, 1 ploughland, and 16 bordars. Among them all T.R.E. 8 ploughs, afterwards and now 5, and 4 acres of meadow; and these sokemen are in the valuation of Costesei [Costessy²]. The soke was in the king's (manor of) Folsam [Foulsham] T.R.E.; now A[lan] holds it because Ralf the earl held it.

LING [Lyng] was held by Alfah a freeman T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands; then as now 15 villeins and 2 serfs; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne; then 3 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 2, and 9 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 300 swine, and 1 mill, and 5 sokemen, 24 acres of land; then as now 1 plough, and 2 acres of meadow; then as now half a plough. And in BALDERESWELLA [Bawdeswell] 1 sokeman (with) 30 acres of land; then and afterwards 1 plough, now none. And 1 acre of meadow. Then it was worth 4 pounds, afterwards 10 pounds, now 100 shillings; and it is 1 league in length and in breadth, and pays 4 pence and a halfpenny for the king's geld.

BELEGA [Bylaugh] is held by Gingom', which Ralph the earl held T.R.E. (as) 4 ploughlands; then as now 9 villeins and 7 bordars; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, then 4 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 2, and 6 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 30 swine, and 1 mill; now 1 rouncey, then 8 beasts, now 12; then 35 swine, now 40; then as now 100 sheep, now 3 hives of bees, and 12 sokemen (with) 2 ploughlands; then 6 ploughs, afterwards 3, now 2; wood(land) for 30 swine. And 1 freeman, 30 acres of land; then as now 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow. Here belongs (*jacet*) 1 outlying estate which is called BEC [Beck], 1 ploughland; then as now 1 plough, and 1 acre of meadow. Then and afterwards it was worth 3 pounds, now 100 shillings, and it is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth, and pays 4 pence and a halfpenny for geld.

FOXLE [Foxley] is held by Godric, which Lord a freeman held T.R.E., now Alan (holds it) and Godric of him; 3 ploughlands, then as now 10 villeins, and 3 of these dwell in BEC

f. 147b.

[Beck]; and 21 bordars, and 2 of these dwell in BILLINGEFORDA [Billingford]; then 2 serfs, then as now 3 ploughs on the demesne, and then 5 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and

See f. 114b.

HOLDERS OF LANDS

now 3, and 3 acres of meadow : (wood)land for 300 swine; when he took it over (*recept*) 2 rounceys, now 1, now 14 beasts; then 30 swine, now 22; then 40 sheep, now 100; then 60 goats, now none; then 5 hives of bees, now 7. And 2 sokemen in the same vill, and in BALDERESWELLA [Bawdeswell] 12, and they have 48 acres of land; then as now 2½ ploughs; wood(land) for 10 swine. Then it was worth 100 shillings, afterwards 8 pounds, now 10 pounds; it is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth, and pays 8 pence and a halfpenny towards the king's geld. Balderesuella [Bawdeswell] is 6 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth, and (pays) 8 pence and 1 halfpenny for geld whoever may hold there, (and it is) separate from the measurement (*preter mensuram*) of Foxle [Foxley].

In SUENINGATUNA [Swannington] Anschitil holds what Turbern a freeman held T.R.E., half a ploughland; then 8 sokemen, afterwards and now 5; then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 1, and 4 acres of meadow, woodland for 5 swine; and it is worth 20 shillings.

HUNDRET OF TAVERHAM

In TAVERHAM [Taverham] Turbert a freeman T.R.E. held 1 ploughland; then as now 3 villeins and 3 bordars, then as now one plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men, and 5 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 5 swine. Then it was worth 20 shillings, and now Haimer holds it. In FELETORP [Felthorpe] 80 acres and 8 acres of land and 20 freemen; then as now 2 ploughs and 3 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 12 swine; and it is in the valuation of Costeseia [Costessy¹]. The soke belongs to the king and earl, and it is 10 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and pays 8 pence and a halfpenny in geld.

In ATEBRUGE [Attlebridge] (were) 3 freemen under Guert (with) 30 acres; then 1 plough, now a half, and 2 acres of meadow, and it is worth 4 shillings.

f. 148.

HUNDRET OF ERPINCHAM SUD [SOUTH ERPINGHAM]

SASTORP [Saxthorpe] was held by Adstan under Harold T.R.E.; now Ribald holds it (as) 1 ploughland. Then and after 20 villeins, now 8. Then as now 8 bordars, and 1 plough on the demesne. Then 3 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 2, and 1 acre of meadow. Woodland for 30 swine; then as now 1½ mills. Then as now 4 sokemen (with) 28 acres of land, and half a plough. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 30.

¹ See f. 144b.

In SCOTOHOU [Scottow] 1 freeman (with) 12 acres of land, and the same is worth 12 pence. The same (Ribald holds him).

HUNDRET OF TONSTEDA [TUNSTEAD]

ORDESTEDA [Worstead²] was held by St. Benet T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands, then as now 4 villeins. Then and afterwards 5 bordars, now 10. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men and 2 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 6 swine; then as now it was worth 20 shillings.

(In) DILHAM [Dilham] and PANCFORDA [Panxford] 50 acres of land, 1 sokeman of Ralf Stalra's. Then 3 villeins, and now 3. Then 3 bordars, now 2½; then as now 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow. Then it was worth 8 shillings, now 5.

HUNDRET OF HAPINGA [HAPPING]

HIKELINGA [Hickling] was held by Godwin a freeman of Edric of Laxefeldra [Laxfield] T.R.E. and now Guihunmar holds (it as) 3½ ploughlands; then as now 9 villeins and 11 bordars; then 3 serfs, now 1; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, then 2½ ploughs belonging to the men, now 3; 1 church (with) 20 acres, and it is worth 20 pence. Wood(land) for 60 swine, 24 acres of meadow, and 1 rouncey and 5 unbroken mares (*equæ silvaticæ*) and 4 beasts; then 12 swine, now 24; then 100 sheep, now 200, and 2 hives of bees. And 9 sokemen (with) 1 ploughland. Then 1½ ploughs, now 2, and 1½ acres of meadow. And in STANHAM [Stalham] 11 freemen (with) 100 acres of land in commendation only, and half the soke; and the king has the other moiety of the soke. Then 2 ploughs, now 1, and 2 acres of meadow. And in LUDHAM [Ludham] 7 freemen (with) half a ploughland. The king and earl (have) the soke; then as now 1 plough and 1 bordar.

In HINCHAM [Ingham] 4 freemen (with) 12 acres. The king and earl have the soke. Then as now half a plough. The whole of

f. 148b.

this was worth T.R.E. 40 shillings and afterwards the same; now 9 pounds. There too (*In eadem*) Edric a man of Edric of Laxefeldra held T.R.E. 3 ploughlands; then as now 9 villeins and 14 bordars. Then 4 serfs, now 2; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 2½ ploughs belonging to the men, now 2; wood(land) for 60 swine, 24 acres of meadow; then 2 rounceys, now 1, and 6 beasts and 7 swine and 350 sheep and 44 goats, and 7 sokemen, 35 acres; then as now 1 plough, and half an acre of meadow. The same (holds). In STALHA [Stalham] 3 freemen (with) 15 acres of land, of

² Blomefield, xi, 46, says Irstead.

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which Edric had the commendation and half the soke, and the king and earl the other moiety. Then and afterwards they were worth 100 shillings, now 6 pounds, and the same holds (them). These two manors Robert Malet claims because (*quod*) Edric his predecessor had simple (*tantum*) commendation T.R.E. of those who were holding (there), and he says that his father was seised of them (*ex eis*), and this Roger Bigot testifies. And this manor is $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues and 12 perches in length, and 1 league and 10 perches in breadth; and (pays) 15 pence for geld whoever may hold there.

In WACSTANEST [Waxham] 2 freemen, 1 was a man of Edric's and the other a man of Edric's and St. Benet's with 161 acres of land; then as now 13 bordars, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and 18 acres of meadow; and 4 freemen (with) 10 acres of land and half a plough. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 35; 1 church (with) 20 acres, and it is worth 16 pence.

HINCHAM [Ingham] was held by Edric a man of G.¹ [] of Laxefeldra (as) 1 ploughland. Then 3 villeins, afterwards and now 2; then as now 6 bordars and 1 plough on the demesne, wood(land) for 6 swine, and 4 acres of meadow, and 7 unbroken mares (*equæ silvaticæ*) and 6 beasts and 12 swine and 60 goats, and 16 freemen in commendation only (with) 1 ploughland and 20 acres; then as now 2 bordars and 3 ploughs. Then the manor was worth 12 shillings and the freemen 12 shillings, and now the same (*similiter*); and it is 11 furlongs in length f. 149. and 7 in breadth whoever may hold there, and (pays) 11 pence and 1 farthing for geld.

In WACTANESHAM [Waxham] 80 acres of land were held by the same Edric, a freeman; then as now 12 bordars and 1 plough on the demesne; then and afterwards 1 plough belonging to the men, now half (a plough) and 6 acres of meadow and 6 swine and 2 beasts and 100 sheep; then as now it was worth 10 shillings; 1 church (with) 18 acres, and it is worth 18 pence. To this Edric added 2 sokemen of St. Benet in the time of R[alf] the earl, and they have $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres and are worth 6 pence; and 8 freemen in commendation only (with) 80 acres of land; then and afterwards 2 ploughs, now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and 3 acres of meadow, and they are worth 5 shillings. This all was held by Edric when Ralf made forfeiture. The king and earl (have) the soke.

THE HUNDRET AND HALF OF CLACHELOSA [CLACKCLOSE]

In BYCHAM [Beechamwell] Ribald holds; 60 acres of land T.R.E.; then 1 plough, now

half; then as now it was worth 5 shillings. In STOCHES [Stoke (Ferry)] the same holds 3 freemen with 7 acres T.R.E., and it is worth 12 pence.

THE HUNDRET AND HALF OF FREDREBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

In ILSINGHETUNA [Islington²] 1 ploughland was held by Rolf a freeman T.R.E.; then as now 6 bordars and 2 freemen (with) $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres; then as now 1 plough and $3\frac{1}{2}$ salt pans, and 16 acres of meadow, and it is worth 20 shillings. This land the bishop of Bayeux had on the day that Earl Ralf made forfeiture; now Count Alan has half in his share (*parte*) and Ivo Taillebois delivered it (to him).³

There too (*In eadem*) Geoffrey holds 1 freeman, 1 ploughland, and 7 bordars; then as now 1 plough. Also 1 freeman and a half (with) 10 acres of land and 1 salt pan, 12 acres of meadow. The whole is worth 20 shillings.

In MILDETUNA [Middleton] Ribald holds 2 ploughlands (which) Earl Ralf had; then as now 3 villeins and 1 priest and 3 bordars; then as now 2 ploughs and 18 acres of meadow. Then 1 fishery; and it is worth 20 shillings. In WALTUNA [Walton, (East)] T.R.E. Turchill held 1 plough(land?); then as now 6 villeins and 1 bordar and 1 plough on the demesne, half a plough belonging to the men, and 1 mill, and it is worth 20 shillings. The same (holds) in WICA [Wicken, (Ash)] and BOWESEIA [Bawsey] half a ploughland, held by Ulviet a freeman f. 149b.

T.R.E.; 7 bordars, 9 acres of meadow, half a plough, half a mill, half a salt pan, and it is worth 5 shillings. The same (Ribald) holds it. All Waltuna [Walton, (East)] (is) one league in length and a half in breadth, and pays 18 pence in 20 shillings for geld.

HUNDRET OF SCEREPHAM [SHROPHAM]

In BACONSTORP [Baconsthorpe⁴] Torstin holds half a ploughland which Chetelbern a freeman held T.R.E.; then as now 3 bordars and 2 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 4 swine. Then as now 1 plough, and it is worth 20 shillings. The soke T.R.E. was in Bucham [Buckenham, (Old)].

HUNDRET OF GILLICROS [GUILTCROSS]

In HERLINGA [Harling, (Little)] Anschittil holds 4 ploughlands which Ulchetel a freeman held T.R.E. Then 15 villeins, afterwards and now 13; then as now 4 bordars. Then 2 serfs, afterwards and now 1, 8 acres of meadow; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne; then 7 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards 6, now 4;

¹ So in facsimile, presumably in error for E., i.e. Edric.

² In Tilney.

³ See Introduction, p. 27.

⁴ In Attleborough.

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then as now 1 mill; then 5 fisheries, now 1½ fisheries, and 4 sokemen (with half a ploughland). The soke (is) in Keninchala [Kenninghall]; then as now 1 bordar and 4 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs, now 1, then as now 1 rouncey, now 4 beasts and 20 swine; then as now 70 sheep. Then it was worth 6 pounds, afterwards 7 pounds, now 100 shillings. The whole is 1½ leagues in length and 1 league in breadth whoever may hold there, and pays 27 pence for geld.

HALF HUNDRET OF HERSAM [EARSHAM]

In ALDEBERGA [Alburgh] 12 acres of land and half an acre of meadow, and it belongs to Romborc [Rumburgh].¹

HALF HUNDRET OF DICE [DISS]

SCELVAGRA [Shelfanger] was held by Colo, a freeman of Ansgar Stalre, T.R.E. for a manor; now Hervey holds (it as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now 2 villeins and 15 bordars. Then and after 2 serfs, now 1. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 40 swine and 3 acres of meadow, and 1 sokeman with 4 acres. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings.

In SCELVANGRA [Shelfanger] Modephefe, a freewoman of Algar's, holds 2 ploughlands. Then as now 3 villeins and 15 bordars. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and 2 ploughs belonging to the men, and 1 sokeman with 4 acres. Wood(land) for 40 swine, and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 40 shillings.

fol. 150.

SCELVANGRA [Shelfanger] is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (pays) 9 pence for geld.

HUNDRET OF HAPINGA [HAPPING]

In HAPESBURC [Happisburgh] (were) 2 freemen (with) 100 acres of land T.R.E. Of these 100 acres 60 were on the demesne of Hapesburc [Happisburgh] when R[alf] made forfeiture, but Edric seized them and vouches to warranty Ivo Talesbosc and his partners, and hereupon gave pledge; and he has 5 bordars and 1 plough and 60 acres, and they are worth 6 shillings; and (the other) 40 acres are worth 4 shillings. In LUDHAM [Ludham] Edric, a freeman of Edric de Laxefeld, held T.R.E. 60 acres of land and 4 bordars and half a plough and 2½ acres of meadow; and 11 freemen 80 acres of land.

In CATEFELDA [Catfield] 1 freeman (with) 5 acres, and he is worth 6 pence. In LUDHAM [Ludham] 1 ploughland, 19 sokemen of St. Benet's T.R.E., and this Edric, a man of Count

Alan's, seized in the time of R[alf] the earl, and was thereof seised when the division of land was made between the king and the earl; and it has 1½ ploughs, 4 acres of meadow, and is worth 10 shillings. In PALLINGA [Palling] the same Edric seized 1 freeman with 30 acres of land in the time of R[alf] the Earl, and he has half a plough and is worth 2 shillings.

HUNDRET OF HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD]

HEDERSEETA [Hethersett] was held by Olf a thegn T.R.E.; now Ribald holds (it as) 3 ploughlands; then as now 8 villeins and 7 bordars. Then 3 serfs, afterwards and now 2, then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 40 swine, 12 acres of meadow. Then 7 rounceys, now 1; then as now 5 beasts and 5 swine and 87 sheep, and 7 hives of bees; 1 church with 60 acres, and it is worth 5 shillings; and another church (with) 8 acres, and it is worth 8 pence; and 80 sokemen less 3 (with) 4 ploughlands. Then 10 ploughs, and afterwards and now 7, 10 acres of meadow, 1 mill; and 2 freemen in commendation only with 60 acres of land, and R[alf] the earl (had) the soke: then as now 1 villein and 5 bordars and 2 ploughs and 5 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards it was worth 8 pounds, now 10, and it is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (pays) 26 pence and 3 farthings for geld. In DUNESTUN f. 150b.

[Dunston] 1 freeman of Harold's (with) 30 acres and 4 bordars; then as now half a plough and 3 acres of meadow, and the third part of 1 mill; and 2 freemen and a half in commendation only; the king and earl have the soke; and they have 14 acres, then as now 1 plough, and they are worth 5 shillings. In ERLHAM [Earlham] 1 freeman of Edric, the predecessor of R[obert] Malet, with 30 acres and 5 bordars; then as now 1 plough, and 4 sokemen with 15 acres of land; then as now half a plough, and 1 mill, and 8 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 8² shillings, now 12. In FLORENDUNA [Flordon] 1 freeman (of?) Gert, 7 acres of land, and 1 villein with 5 acres and 2 oxen, and he is in the valuation of Costeseia [Costessy].³

In CRINGAFORDA [Cringleford] R[oger] Bigot holds 1 freeman of Stigand's (with) 15 acres of land, and 2 bordars; and (there are) 2 freemen (with) 7½ acres; then as now half a plough, and 1½ acres of meadow, and the eighth part of a mill; and it is worth 3 shillings.

HUNDRET OF DEPWADE

In CARLETUNA [Carlton (Rode)] 14 freemen with 95 acres. Then 1½ ploughs, now 2, and 2 acres of meadow.

¹ In Suffolk.

² There is an erasure.

³ See f. 144b.

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In KEKLINCTUNA [Kettleton¹] 3 freemen (with) 73 acres and 3 bordars. Then 2 ploughs, afterwards and now 1½ ploughs, and 4 acres of meadow. In WAKETUNA [Wacton] 2 freemen (with) 28 acres of land, then half a plough, and 2 freemen with 20 acres and half a plough, 2½ acres of meadow. In TIBHAM [Tibenham] 1 freeman (with) 30 acres and 1 acre of meadow. In OSLACTUNA [Aslacton] 1 sokeman (with) 6 acres. In MULETUNA [Moulton (St. Michael)] 6 freemen (with) 57 acres and half a plough and 3 acres of meadow. In ESTRATUNA [Stratton] 8 freemen (with) 100 acres and 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow. In TASEBURC [Tasburgh] 6 sokemen 21 acres and 1 acre of meadow and half a plough. One of these was the man of the predecessor of Roger Bigot, and Earl R[alf] held him when he made forfeiture. In TUANETUNA [Swanton²] 2 sokemen 7 acres and half a plough. In MILDELTUNA [Middleton] 1 freeman and a half (with) 12½ acres and half a plough, and 2 acres of meadow. This all is in the valuation of Costeseia [Costessey].³

In MARINGATORP [Morning Thorpe] 1 freeman (with) 33 acres and 7 bordars and 1 plough f. 151.

and 2 acres of meadow, and he is worth 4 shillings. In STRATUNA [Stratton] 1 freeman (with) 25 acres and half a plough and 1 acre of meadow, and he is worth two shillings. In the same 1 freeman (with) 91 acres and 3 villeins and 5 bordars; then 1½ ploughs, now 1, and 4 acres of meadow. In the same 7 sokemen (with) 27 acres. In the same 15 freemen (with) 17 acres and half a plough, and they are worth 8 shillings; and the fifth part of a mill. All STRATUNA [Stratton] is 2 leagues and 6 furlongs in length, 1 league and 4 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 25 pence for geld. In TASEBURC [Tasburgh] 1 freeman (with) 30 acres and half a plough and 2 acres of meadow; he is worth 2 shillings.

HUNDRET OF CLAVERINGA [CLAVERING]

In THURUERTUNA [Thurlton⁴] 1 freeman (with) 10 acres and 2 sokemen (with) 4 acres, and it is worth 16 pence.

V.—LANDS OF COUNT EUSTACE

HUNDRET AND HALF OF FREDREBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

MASINCHAM [Massingham, (Little)] was held by Orgar a freeman T.R.E. (as) 4 ploughlands; then as now 5 villeins and 5 bordars and 2 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs on

the demesne, now 3; then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, and the fourth part of a saltpan. Here belongs (*jacet*) 1 sokeman (with) 12 acres of land. Then 24 sheep, now 260, and 23 swine. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, now 50. And 20 sokemen of Harold's in MARSINGHARA [Massingham] with 2½ plough(lands); then as now 5 bordars. Then and afterwards 6 ploughs, now 3, and they are worth 50 shillings. These men were handed over (*liberati*) as Harold held them. Now the whole of this is held by Guy of Anjou (*Wido Angevinus*). The whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and pays 8 pence for a geld of 20 shillings.

ANEMERE [Anmer] was held by Orgar a freeman T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands; then as now 1 villein and 6 bordars, then 4 serfs and 3 parts of one acre (of meadow); then as now 4 ploughs on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men, and 1 fishery and half a saltpan. Then 11 swine, now 8. Then 100 sheep, now 80. f. 151b.

Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, and now (the same). And 6 freemen with 1 ploughland, and 2 bordars; then as now 1 plough and 1 saltpan, and they are worth 15 shillings and 4 pence. These freemen (the count) reclaims of the king's gift. The whole is half a league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth, and pays 4 pence and a halfpenny for 20 shillings geld. And 3 sokemen with 30 acres which (*quem*) Osmund holds by livery (*de liberatione*), and 1 sokeman with 8 acres, and they are worth 5 shillings.

HUNDRET OF DOCHINGE [DOCKING]

FRENCE [Freng], 1 ploughland, was held by Orgar a freeman T.R.E. and 1 plough on the demesne; then as now 3 ploughs belonging to the men and 4 villeins and 6 bordars and 1 acre of meadow; now 16 swine, then 100 sheep, now 106. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, now 60. And 1 freeman (with) 1½ ploughlands T.R.E. Then 1½ ploughs, afterwards and now 1 plough, and 7 bordars. And 1 sokeman (with) 30 acres; and it is worth 20 shillings. And 1 sokeman (with) 15 acres. The whole is half a league in length and a half in breadth, whoever may hold there, and pays 27 pence for a geld of 20 shillings.

HUNDRET OF ENSFORD [EYNESFORD]

WITTINGEHAM [Witchingham] was held by Godwin a freeman T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands; then as now 2 villeins and 18 bordars and 3 serfs; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 3 ploughs belonging to the men and 3 acres of meadow and 2 mills and 2 rounceys and 12 beasts and 24 swine and 80 sheep and 4 hives of bees; and 8 sokemen with

¹ In Fornecett St. Peter. See Blomefield, *Hist. of Norfolk*, v, 223; *Feud. Aids*, iii, 476.

² Ibid.

³ See f. 144b.

⁴ Called Thuruton in 1316, *Feud. Aids*, iii, 480.

HOLDERS OF LANDS

20 acres of land, the soke of whom is in Folsam [Foulsham], but the earl holds (it). Then as now 2 ploughs and 1 acre of meadow. Then and afterwards it was worth 100 shillings, now 7 pounds.

HUNDRET OF HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD]

In NEILANDA [Neyland¹] 11 freemen of Stigand's, 50 acres; then as now 1½ ploughs and 5 acres of meadow; and they are worth 10 shillings.

HUNDRET OF DEPWADE

TORP [Thorpe, (Ashwell)] was held by a thegn of Stigand's (as) 3 ploughlands; then as now 12 villeins. Then 10 bordars, now 15. Then 4 serfs, now 3; then as now 3 ploughs on the demesne; then 7 ploughs (belonging to the men), now 5, 30 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 30 swine, f. 152.

then 1 rouncey, then 16 beasts. Then 40 swine, now 17. Then 24 sheep; then 34 goats, now 40, and 8 hives of bees. Then it was worth 100 shillings, now 6 pounds, and is 1½ leagues in length and 5 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 6 pence and three farthings for geld.

VI.—THE LANDS OF COUNT HUGH

HUNDRET OF SCEREPHAM [SHROPHAM]

SCEREPHAM [Shropham] is held by Richard de Vernun, which was held by Anant a freeman T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now 4 villeins and 13 bordars and 2 serfs and 20 acres of meadow; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 2 mills and the fourth part of 2 mills. Then 1 beast, now 2. Then 10 swine, now 6. Then 30 sheep, now 29, and 2 sokemen (with) 1 acre of land and the fourth part of 1 acre. Then it was worth 60 shillings and now the same (*similiter*), but it renders 80 (shillings). The whole is 1 league in length and half in breadth, and (pays) 18 pence for geld. The soke (was) the king's in Bucham [Buckenham] T.R.E., and always until Walter de Dol had (it) of the gift of Ralf, as Godric says. In SNETRETUNA [Snetterton] 40 acres of land were held by the same, and 1 bordar and half an acre of meadow; then half a plough.

HUNDRET OF HOLT

In WABRUNNA [Weybourne] T.R.E. Hagan held, now Ranulf holds 2 ploughlands. Then as now 9 villeins and 30 bordars and 5 serfs. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 4 (ploughs) belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 10 swine, 3 acres of meadow, 2 mills. Then 8 beasts, now 10; then 26 swine, now 28.

¹ In Wreningham. See Blomefield, op. cit. x, 167.

Then 60 sheep, now 48. Then 47 goats, now 36. Then it was worth 4 pounds, now 7, and is 1 league and 3 furlongs in length and 1 league in breadth, and (pays) 18 pence in geld.

In KELLINGA [Kelling] T.R.E. Osgot held 3 ploughlands. Then 2 villeins, now 1. Then f. 152b.

13 bordars, now 22. Then 4 serfs, now 6. Then and afterwards on the demesne 3 ploughs, now 2. Then and afterwards belonging to the men 4 ploughs, now 2 ploughs, 1 acre of meadow. Then as now 1 rouncey. Then 3 beasts, now 4. Then 11 swine, now 5. Then 40 sheep, now 18. Then it was worth 40 shillings, now 60 shillings, and it is 1½ leagues in length and 1 in breadth, and (pays) 18 pence in geld. The same (Ranulf) holds (this).

HUNDRET OF LOTHNINGA [LODDON]

HEDENAHAM [Hedenham] is held by Warinc, which Algar a thegn of Stigand's held T.R.E. for a manor (of) 2 ploughlands. Then as now 5 villeins and 9 bordars. Then 6 serfs, afterwards and now none. Then 3 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards none, now 2. Then and afterwards 1½ ploughs belonging to the men, now 2, and 12 acres of meadow. Then 1 mill, and now 2 beasts, now 12 swine, now 40 goats. And under him (are) 20 freemen in commendation (with) half a ploughland. Then 3 ploughs, afterwards none, now 4, and 4 acres of meadow. In SITHINGA [Seething] (were) 9 freemen and 4 halves belonging to Stigand T.R.E. and Walter de Dol removed them and added them to Hedenham (*ad ennam*), and they have half a ploughland. Then 1 plough, afterwards none, now 1.

In WDETUNA [Woodton] 2 freemen and a half, of whom Alger had commendation, (with) half a ploughland. Then as now 2 villeins and 1 bordar. Then 1 plough, afterwards nothing, now a half, and 1 acre of meadow. Then and afterwards the whole was worth 40 shillings, now 4 pounds. The soke (belonged) to Stigand; and it is 1 league in length and 1 in breadth, and (pays) 8 pence for geld.

HUNDRET OF DEPWADE

FUNDEHALA [Fundenhall] is held by Roger Bigot which Burkart a thegn held T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands; then as now 11 villeins and 11 bordars. Then 4 serfs, now 3. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and 4 ploughs belonging to the men, 20 acres of meadow; 24 acres of free land belonging to the church. Wood(land) for 13 swine, now 1 rouncey and 9 beasts and 30 swine and 48 sheep and 48 goats; and 1 sokeman (with) 1 acre. Then it was worth 40 shillings.

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f. 153.

There too (*in eadem*) 2 ploughlands are held by Alvrice, a freeman of Stigand's. Then as now 5 villeins and 16 bordars; then 6 serfs, now 4; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 4 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 3, and 20 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 30 swine. Then and now 1 mill, and 3 sokemen (with) 12 acres. Then it was worth 60 shillings. And here belongs 1 outlying estate (called) EILANDA [Newland,¹] 30 acres; then 1 villein; then as now 4 bordars and 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men, 1 acre of meadow. Wood(land) for 12 swine. To this manor Walter de Dol added 2 freemen who are in HABETUNA [Hapton], 1 Stigand's, the other Guert's, and they have 90 acres; then as now 5 villeins and 7 bordars. Then 3 serfs. Then 3½ ploughs, now 2, and 17 acres of meadow. He added also 3 freemen (with) 8 acres. Then they were worth 12 shillings. In HABETUNA [Hapton] 1 church (with) 15 acres. Of the whole of this Walter de Dol made 1 manor, and the whole together is worth 9 pounds. And it is 1½ leagues in length and a half in breadth, and (pays) 13 pence and a half-penny for geld. Roger Bigot holds of the earl. And Habetuna [Hapton] (is) 1 league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 6 pence and 3 farthings for geld.

HUNDRET OF CLAVERING

KERKEBEY [Kirby (Cane)] was held by 1 thegn of Stigand's, Osmund, the predecessor of Ralf de Belfago T.R.E. as 1 ploughland; now Warinc holds it; 1 bordar; then and afterwards 1 plough, and 3 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 3 swine. And 4 freemen in commendation (with) 15 acres and half a plough, and they are worth 15 shillings.

In RAVINCHAM [Raveningham] 1 freeman of King Edward's (with) 30 acres and 1 bordar, and he is worth 5 shillings.

f. 153b.

VII.—LANDS OF ROBERT MALET

HUNDRET AND HALF OF FREDREBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

GLORESTORP [Glosthorpe²] was held by Godwin a freeman (as) 2 ploughlands T.R.E. Then and afterwards 8 villeins, now 3. Then and afterwards 3 bordars, now 5; then as now 3 serfs, and 30 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then half a plough

belonging to the men, and (the same) now; wood(land) for 8 swine, and 2 mills. Here belong (*iacet*) 13 sokemen with 40 acres of land; when he received it 2 rounceys, now 1; then as now 8 swine; then 20 sheep, and it is worth 60 shillings.

There belongs (*iacet*) also 1 outlying estate (held) for a manor (called) HEUSEDA³ [Bawsey], T.R.E. 1 ploughland; then and after 7 villeins, now 5; then as now 12 bordars and 3 serfs, and 40 acres of meadow, and 1 plough on the demesne, and 2 oxen belonging to the men, and 1 mill. Wood(land) for 16 swine, and 1½ salt-pans; then 1 rouncey and now; and 14 swine, 30 sheep and 50 goats. To this outlying estate belong (*iacet*) 3 sokemen (with) 10 acres of land, and they are worth 30 shillings. These 2 manors are 2 leagues in length and 4 furlongs in breadth whosoever may hold there, and they pay 12 pence for 20 shillings geld.

HUNDRET OF SCERPHAM [SHROPHAM]

CULVERSTESTUNA [Kilverstone] was held by Edric T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now 4 villeins and 1 bordar and 4 serfs, 5 acres of meadow and 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then and afterwards 1 plough, now half (a plough). Then as now 1 mill and 1 fishery (*piscatio*). Here belongs (*iacet*) 1 sokeman of the king's (with) 60 acres of land whereof his⁴ predecessor had commendation only and he claims the land of the king's gift. Then and afterwards 1 plough, now 2 oxen, and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 rounceys and 4 beasts; then 300 sheep, now 300 less 12; then 60 swine, f. 154.

now 3. Then and afterwards it was worth 60 shillings, now 80 (shillings), and 1 plough could be (employed). Walter of Caen (*de Cadomo*) holds (it) of R[obert].

HUNDRET OF HEINESTEDE [HENSTED]

In SASILINGHAM [Saxlingham (? Thorpe)] Edric the predecessor of Robert Malet held 2 sokemen and a half with 66 acres of land; now Walter holds (them). Then 9 bordars, now 13. Then as now 3½ ploughs among them all and 3 acres of meadow, and the eighth part of a mill. And under them 1 sokeman with 6 acres of land. Then as now half a plough. Then it was worth 30 shillings, now it renders 50 shillings.

IN SCOTESHAM [Shotesham] Ulketel, a freeman of Edric's in commendation held T.R.E., with 30 acres of land. Then 1 bordar, afterwards and now 2. Then half a plough, but not afterwards or now. Then as now it was worth 5 shillings and 4 pence. The same (holds it).

¹ In Wreningham. See Blomefield, op. cit. x, 176.

² In Bawsey.

³ An error for 'Beuseda.' ⁴ i.e. Robert Malet's.

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HALF HUNDRET OF HERSAM [EARSHAM]

In SCOTOFORD [Shotford¹] Humfry holds (the land) that 1 freeman of Edric's held in commendation, with 43 acres of land. And then as now 2 villeins and 2 bordars. Then as now 1 plough among the men. Wood(land) for 15 swine, and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 10 shillings.

HALF HUNDRET OF DICE [DISS]

GESSINGA [Gissing] was held by Alstan, a freeman of Edric's by commendation only, (as) 60 acres of land; now William holds it. Then as now 4 bordars. Then as now one plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men and 2 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards it was worth 8 shillings, now 15.

In BORSTUNA [Burston] Walter holds what Aculf, a freeman of Edric's by commendation only, held, 26 acres and 2 bordars. Then as now 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow and 1 sokeman with 2 acres of land. Then as now it was ^{f. 154b.} worth 8 shillings.

In TORP [Thorpe (Parva)²] 80 acres were held by Edric a sokeman under Edric the predecessor of Malet; now Hubert holds them. Then as now 3 villeins and 3 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then as now 2 ploughs belonging to the men and 6 acres of meadow. And in TELVETUNA [Thelveton] 2 freemen of the same (with) 14 acres of land. Then as now half a plough. Then the whole was worth 10 shillings, afterwards and now 20. The soke belongs to the king (*Soca regis*). TORP [Thorpe (Parva)] is 4 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth and (pays) 3 pence for geld.

In BORSTUNA [Burston] Moithar a freeman of Edric's held 30 acres of land, 4 bordars. Then 1 plough on the demesne, now half (a plough). There too (*in eadem*) 4 freemen under the same with 26 acres of land. Then as now half a plough and 2 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards it was worth 8 shillings, now 15.

FRISA [Frenze] was held by Edric under Edric for 1 ploughland; now Hubert holds it. Then and afterwards 1 villein, now 2; then and afterwards 1 bordar, now 2. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then as now the men plough with 2 oxen; and 4 acres of meadow, now 1 mill. Then and afterwards it was worth 10 shillings, now 15. It is 5 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth and pays 3 pence for geld.

In REGADONA [Roydon] 1 freeman of Edric's by commendation held 20 acres; now Walter holds them. Then as now half a plough and 1

acre of meadow. Then and afterwards it was worth 2 shillings and 6 pence, now 3 shillings.

In SIMPLINGAHAM [Shimpling] 2 freemen of the same by commendation only (with) 15 acres of land. Then half a plough, now 1 ox. Then as now it was worth 16 pence.

In TELVETAHAM [Thelveton] 2 freemen of the same by commendation, 8 acres of land; now Walter holds them. Then and afterwards half a plough, now nothing. Then as ^{f. 155.}

now it was worth 16 pence. In SEMERA [Semer³] 1 freeman under Edric by commendation only (with) 40 acres and under him 3 bordars. Then as now 1 plough among the men. Wood(land) for 4 swine, and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now he was worth 8 shillings. The same (holds him).

In GESSINGA [Gissing] half a freeman of Edric's in commendation only with 11 acres, and under him 1 bordar; and he is worth 12 pence, and William holds (him).

In BORSTUNA [Burston] 1 freeman of Leofric de Torenduna⁴ in commendation (with) 20 acres; now R[obert] Malet holds him of the queen's gift; then as now 2 bordars; and under him 1 freeman (with) 6 acres; then as now half a plough; then as now it was worth 3 shillings, and now the mother of Robert Malet holds (him).

HUNDRET OF LOTHNINGA [LODDON]

WODETONA [Woodton] was held by Ulketel a freeman of Edric's by commendation, for 30 acres and Walter holds it. Then as now 5 bordars. Then 2 ploughs, afterwards 1, and now 2. Then as now half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 4 swine, and 1 acre of meadow; now 7 swine; now 40 sheep. And there were⁵ there 8 freemen of Ulketel's in commendation T.R.E. (with) 30 acres of land. Then as now among the men 1 plough. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings and now 30. It is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth and (pays) for geld 15 pence. The soke is in the hundret.

HUNDRET OF TAVERHAM [TAVERHAM]

HOFFORDA [Horsford] was held by Edric a freeman T.R.E. (as) 2½ ploughlands. Then and afterwards 5 villeins, now 7; then as now 5 bordars; then and afterwards 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1; then and afterwards 1 plough

³ In Mendham.

⁴ Thorndon All Saints, co. Suffolk. Apparently the same as Leofric son of Bosa, f. 228b.

⁵ The facsimile has *sn't*, probably in error for *fu't*.

¹ In Mendham. Blomefield, op. cit. v, 376.

² In Scole.

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belonging to the men, now half (a plough), and 4 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards wood(land) for 160 swine, now 60, and 1 mill; then as now 1 rouncey. Then 3 beasts, now 4, and now 17 swine; then 30 sheep, now 92; and now 15 hives of bees. And then and afterwards 22 sokemen, now 21 (with 1 (?)) ploughland and 2

f. 155b. acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 1½ ploughs, now 1. Of 2 sokemen the king and earl have the soke, and over the others the 6 forfeitures. Then and afterwards it was worth 3 pounds, now 110 shillings; and it is 1½ leagues in length and 1 in breadth, and pays 17 pence and one farthing towards (*in*) the king's geld.

HORSHAM [Horsham (St. Faith)] was held by the same Edric, a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands; then and afterwards 12 villeins, now 16, then as now 9 bordars. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, and half an acre of meadow. Then and afterwards woodland for 160 swine, now 60 and 2 mills. Then as now 1 rouncey; then 2 beasts, now 4; then 6 swine, now 18; then 10 goats, now 35. And 19 sokemen (with) 1 ploughland, then as now 1 plough. Of 3 the king and earl have the soke, and over the others the 6 forfeitures. Then and afterwards it was worth 3 pounds, now 4 pounds and 10 shillings; and it is 1½ leagues in length and 1 in breadth, and pays 17 pence and 1 farthing (for geld). And in BEOFETUNA [Beeston (St. Andrew)] 2 freemen and in SPROTUNA [Sprowston] 3, and they have 64 acres of land, and 1 bordar; then as now 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow, and they are worth 6 shillings. The king and earl (have) the soke.

HUNDRET OF TONSTEDA [TUNSTEAD]

BAKETUNA [Bacton] is held by Robert [Malet] which Edric held T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands. Then 14 villeins, now 10, and 3 bordars. Then 4 serfs, now 3; then as now 3 ploughs on the demesne. Then 5 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 1; 14 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 60 swine, then as now 2 mills, now 2 rounceys and 1 beast. Then

f. 156. 8 swine, now 13. Then 180 sheep, now 50, and 16 goats; and 28 sokemen with 178 acres. Then and afterwards 10 ploughs, now 9½. And 14 freemen and a half (with) 2 ploughlands and 33 acres; then as now 11 bordars. Then as now 10½ ploughs and 5 acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 110 shillings, and the freemen are worth 40 shillings, and it is 1 league in length and 1 league in breadth, and (pays) 15 pence for geld.

In DILHAM [Dilham] 1 ploughland was held by Edric T.R.E. Then 9 bordars, now 4.

Then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 6 acres of meadow and 1 rouncey, now 7 swine, and 2 sokemen and a half (with) 50 acres. Then as now 2 bordars and 2 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 30 shillings, now 35; and it is 11 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth, and pays 9 pence for geld.

HUNDRET OF DEPWADE

FRIETUNA [Fritton] 1 freeman of whom his¹ predecessor had commendation T.R.E., 30 acres and 2 bordars; now half a plough and half an acre of meadow; and he is worth 7 shillings, and Warin the Cook holds him.

In HERDEWIC [Hardwick] 1 villein with 5 acres and he is in the valuation of Eia [Eye]. In FRIETUNA [Fritton] 1 freeman of whom his predecessor had the commendation only T.R.E. and he has 15 acres and 2 bordars and half a plough, and is worth 4 shillings and 3 pence.

f. 157.

VIII. LANDS OF WILLIAM DE WARENNE

HUNDRET OF ENSFORDA [EYNESFORD]

STINETUNA [Stinton²] is held by Rardulf, which Wither 1 freeman held T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands, then as now 9 villeins, 39 bordars, and 3 serfs. Then as now 3 ploughs on the demesne and 8 ploughs belonging to the men and 4 acres of meadow: woodland for 100 swine, and 1 mill. Then as now 2 rounceys and 20 beasts and 40 swine and 120 sheep and 27 goats and 3 hives of bees; 1 church (with) 14 acres. And 14 sokemen (with) 80 acres, then as now 4 ploughs, woodland for 10 swine, and 1 acre of meadow and 1 bordar. Two of these sokemen R[alf] held when he made forfeiture and they had twelve acres and were worth 20 pence. In the whole it was then worth 100 shillings, now 7 pounds; and it is 1 league in length and a half in breadth and pays 11 pence towards the king's geld. KERDESTUNA [Kerdiston] was held by Godwin 1 freeman T.R.E., now the same R[ardulf] (holds) 2 ploughlands. Then as now 16 villeins and 20 bordars; then 2 serfs: then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and 3 ploughs belonging to the men, and 8 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 40 swine. Then 2 rounceys, now none; then 4 beasts, now 6; then 40 swine, now 7, and now 60 sheep and 24 goats, and half a church (with) 7 acres. And 1 sokeman (with) 5 acres of land. And 1 freeman (with) 30 acres of land. And half 1 priest (with) 7 acres of land. Then as now

¹ *Suus*, i.e. Robert Malet's.

² Now part of Sall and Heydon; Blomefield, op. cit. viii, 266.

HOLDERS OF LANDS

among them all 1 plough. Then as now it was worth 100 shillings. And 1 freeman was added to this manor in King William's time (with) 45 acres of land and 6 bordars; then as now between himself and the men 1½ ploughs, and 1½ acres of meadow: wood(land) for 10 swine, and the fourth part of 1 mill; and he is worth 20 shillings. And this all is by way of exchange with 2 manors of Lewes (*Laquis*); and it is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and pays 15 pence towards the king's geld, whoever may hold there.

f. 157b.

HACFORDA [Hackford] was held by Tuold, which Wither 1 freeman held (as) 1½ ploughlands; then as now 6 villeins and 10 bordars and 1 serf; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and 3 ploughs belonging to the men, and 4 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 60 swine. And 1 sokeman (with) 11 acres of land, and half a plough; 1 mill; when it was taken over 4 rounceys, now 3, and 10 beasts and 40 swine and 60 sheep; now 5 hives of bees; and 1 church (with) 9 acres (of land) and 2 acres of meadow; then as now it was worth 50 shillings, and it is 5 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth, and pays 4 pence (for geld) whoever may hold there. This is by exchange with Lewes. In DALLINGA [(Wood) Dalling] 5 freemen. In TYRNINGA [Thurning] the same (holds) 1 freeman and 1 ploughland; among them all then as now 3½ ploughs and 2 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 8 swine. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 30. It is by exchange with Lewes. He (i.e. the freeman) of TIRNINGA [Thurning] was in the rental (*censu*) of the king's (manor of) SALLA [Sall], in the time of Earl [Ralf] and under R[obert] Blund, and 1 year under Godric; now he is held by W[illiam] de Warenne; and this the hundret testifies, that he was a freeman T.R.E.

HELISINGA [Elsing] is held by Wimer. Loca held the same for a manor, (as) 1 freeman T.R.E. (with) 2 ploughlands; then as now 6 villeins; then 12 bordars, now 10; then 4 serfs. Then and after 3 ploughs on the demesne, now 2; then 4 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 3, and 7 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 300 (swine) and 2 mills. Then as now 2 rounceys and 10 beasts, and then 40 swine, now 14. Then as now 40 sheep, and 12 hives of bees and 1 church (with) 18 acres of land and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now it was worth 4 pounds. This is of the fee of Fretheric, and is 1 league in length and half in breadth and 1 rod (*virgata*), and pays 8 pence and a halfpenny towards the king's geld.

HUNDRET OF TAVERHAM [TAVERHAM].

In TAVERHAM [Taverham] Toca 1 freeman T.R.E. held for a manor 1 ploughland, then as

now 6 villeins and 6 bordars and 1 serf: then f. 158.

and afterwards 1 plough on the demesne, now 2; then and afterwards 1½ ploughs belonging to the men, now 2, and 10 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 5 swine, and the fourth part of 1 mill; the fourth part of a church (with) 3 acres, and 2 rounceys; then 4 beasts, now 7; then 8 swine, now 40; then 40 sheep, now 300. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, now 40 shillings. This is of the fee of Fretheric, and is 1½ leagues in length and 1 league in breadth, and pays 17 pence and a farthing towards the king's geld whoever may hold there.

HUNDRET OF ERPINCHAM SUD [SOUTH ERPINGHAM]

In COKERESHALA [Coltishall] Tuold holds the (estate) which 16 sokemen of Stigand's and Ralf Stalra's held: 110 acres of land; then as now 3 bordars, 1 church (with) 10 acres, and 5 ploughs, and 8 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 30 shillings, now 40. Ralf gave to St. Benet (of Holm) his portion of the soke with his wife, as the abbot says. And the whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth and (pays) for geld 12 pence. In MORTOFFT [¹] there are on the demesne 2 freemen (with) half a ploughland: then as now 8 bordars and 3 ploughs and 4 acres of meadow and 1 mill. Then they were worth 20 shillings, now 20. The king and earl (have) the soke. In ULT[E]RINCHAM [Itteringham] 1 freeman of Harold's (with) 15 acres, then as now 3 bordars and 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow; wood(land) for 4 swine, and half a mill, and (this) is worth 3 shillings. In WICMARA [Wickmere] 1 free-woman of Harold's (with) 24 acres of land and 3 bordars; then as now 1 plough, and 1½ acres of meadow, and she is worth 5 shillings. In BERNINCHAM [Barningham, (Little)] 2 freemen of Harold's (with) 30 acres of land; then as now 5 bordars and 2 ploughs and the third part of a mill, and 2 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 20 swine, and they are worth 13 shillings and 4 pence, and 1 church (with) 9 acres. In MANINCTUNA [Mannington] 2 freemen of Ralf Stalra's (with) f. 158b.

17 acres of land; then as now 1 plough, wood(land) for 3 swine; and they are worth 5 shillings. In URMINCLANDA [Irmingland] Tuold holds 1 freeman, 8 acres of land, 1 plough, and he is worth 11 pence. In CORPESTIH [Corpusty] 2 freemen, 14 acres of land, then as now 1 plough, and they are worth 11 pence.

In TATITUNA [Tuttington] 2 freemen of Gued (with) 16 acres, then as now 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow, and they are worth 16 pence. The soke was in Ailesham [Aylsham] T.R.E.

¹ Part of Heydon; Blomefield, op. cit. ii, 244.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

IN CRAKEFORDA [¹Crakeford¹] Tuold holds 10 acres which a freeman (of) Guert held as of (*ad*) Ailessam [Aylsham], then as now half a plough, and it is worth 3 shillings. In BRANTUNA [Brampton] the same (holds) 3 sokemen of Harold's, the soke is in Caupstuna [Cawston], 6 acres, then as now 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow, and they are worth 3 shillings. These sokemen Humfrey (*Homfridus*) de St. Omer (*Otmaro*) held as of the fee of his predecessor, and this the hundret testifies, and Drogo claims them. This land Humfrey (*Amfridus*) held when he made forfeiture, and Drogo afterwards, but William de Warenne had it after him, and now has it in like manner.

IN ERMINGLANDA [Irmingland] the same holds 1 sokeman of Harold's, (the soke is) in Caustuna [Cawston], (with) 1 ploughland, then as now 5 villeins and 1½ ploughs and 4 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 60 swine, the third part of a mill; and it is worth 10 shillings.

IN HOBUIST [Hautboys] 1 sokeman of Ralf Stalra (with) 160 acres and he belongs to (*jacet in*) Hovetuna [Hoveton (St. John)] which Earl Ralf gave to St. Benet with his wife by the king's permission as the abbot says: then as now 2 bordars and 1 sokeman and a half, 13 acres of land; then 1½ ploughs, now 1; then as now half a mill, 4 acres of meadow; it is worth 5 shillings and 4 pence. There too (*in eadem*) 2 sokemen of St. Benet's (with) 165 acres of land, then as now 1 villein and 2 bordars. Then 2 ploughs, now 1½ ploughs. It is worth 10 shillings. This was delivered for 1 ploughland. The whole is by exchange with Lewes.

HUNDRET OF TUNESTEDA [TUNSTEAD]

IN PASTUNA [Paston] Tuold holds 5 freemen, 1 ploughland and 30 acres; then as now 1 villein and 19 borders, then as now 5 ploughs and f. 159. 2 oxen; wood(land) for 6 swine and 2 acres of meadow; then 1 mill, 1 church (with) 1 acre, and it is worth 40 shillings. The soke (belongs to) St. Benet.

(In) WITUNA [Witton] 1 freeman (with) 30 acres, then as now 10 bordars and 2 ploughs, and 4 sokemen (with) 20 acres, then as now 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow and 1 church (with) 10 acres. Then it was worth 15 shillings, now 20. Of this Bishop Almar had a moiety T.R.E. and in the time of King William, and W[illiam] Malet likewise the other moiety.

IN WALSAM [Walsham] 2 freemen (with) 105 acres; then as now 1 villein and 4 bordars and 2 sokemen; then as now 4½ ploughs, and 3½ acres of meadow; wood(land) for 4 swine: then as now 1 mill. Then it was worth 30 shillings, now 40. St. Benet had the soke and commendation T.R.E.

¹ In Banningham. *Ibid.* vi, 325.

IN RISTUNA [(Sco) Ruston] 4 sokemen of Stigand's (with) 10 acres, then as now half a plough, and it is in the valuation of Colceteshala [Coltishall]. This is of the exchange of Lewes.

IN BERTUNA [Barton (Turf)] 1 freeman (with) 16 acres, and it is worth 2 shillings. St. Benet had the soke T.R.E. and (it was) for the same exchange. Of all this the soke was St. Benet's. Now W[illiam de Warenne] holds it with the land.

EAST HUNDRET OF FLEC [HUNDRET OF EAST FLEGG]

IN PHILEBEY [Filby] Tuold holds 1 freeman of Estgar's: T.R.E. 1 ploughland and 9 acres, then 1 villein; then as now 3 bordars and 1 plough on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men and 2 acres of meadow: then 3 salt pans, now 2. Then it was worth 8 shillings, now 16. This is of the exchange of Lewes.

f. 159b.

HUNDRET OF DEPWADE

IN CARLETUNA [Carlton (Rode)] Almar a freeman T.R.E. held 30 acres of land under Stigand, and then as now 1½ bordars and 1 serf and 1 acre of meadow and 1 plough, and it is worth 5 shillings. This is of the king's gift. All churches are valued with the manors.

HUNDRET OF CLACLELOSA [CLACKCLOSE]

IN MARHAM [Marham] ²Ralf holds ²half a ploughland which St. Adeld[reda] ³held T.R.E. Then as now 3 bordars and 1 plough and 4 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 20 shillings, ⁴and afterwards, ⁴now 26 shillings and 8 pence.

IN PHINCHAM [Fincham] ⁵a freeman held at the soke of the abbot of Ramsey 2 ploughlands T.R.E.; now Hugh holds (them). Then 24 freemen and now, and 6 bordars and 4 serfs and 10 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then half a plough belonging to the men, now 1. Then as now it was worth 60 shillings. In the same town then as now 8 freemen that W[illiam] holds and 11 bordars and 5 serfs; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men, 16 acres of meadow. When he received it 200 sheep less 20, and now 100. Then as now 6 beasts, 24 swine and 4 rounceys. Then it was worth 40 shillings; afterwards and now 60. In the same vill William Brant holds 2 ploughlands, which 1 freewoman held T.R.E. Then as now 2 freemen and 4 bordars and 4 serfs and 16 acres of

² *Inq. El.* omits. (Hamilton, *I.C.C.* p. 137.)

³ The monastery of Ely.

⁴ *Inq. El.* omits.

⁵ cf. *I.C.C.* (Hamilton), p. 131. Anant had 2 ploughlands and St. Audrey had soke and commendation over him, but the abbot of Ramsey over his men.

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meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and 20 sheep and 3 swine, and they are worth 30 shillings. In the same town 12 acres, and they are worth 12 pence. All this manor of Phincham [Fincham] is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, whoever may hold there; when the hundret and half pays 20 shillings for geld, this vill also (pays) 16 pence.

In HIDLINGHEIA [Hilgay] 22 acres of land which were held by 8 men T.R.E., and they are worth 7 shillings and 8 pence. But the hundred testifies that it was (appropriated) to the maintenance (*ad victum*) of the monks of St. Benet (of Ramsey).

f. 160.

In WINEBOTESHAM [Wimbotsham] $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and 10 acres of meadow, and it is worth 40 shillings; and this land 23 freemen held at the soke of St. Benet (of Ramsey).

In DANEFELLA [Denver] Hugh holds two ploughlands and 3 acres which Alvrice a freeman held T.R.E. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and 12 bordars; and 8 freemen (with) 40 acres of land. Then and afterwards 1 plough, now 1, and 12 acres of meadow; then as now he had 1 fishery. Then it was worth 60 shillings, now 40. This he reclaims for the exchange. The whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and pays 8 pence for geld.

There too (*in eadem*) Will[iam de Warenne] holds 2 ploughlands and 2 ploughs which 1 freeman Hosmunt held T.R.E. Then as now 8 villeins and 1 serf and 8 acres of meadow and 1 fishery. In DANEFÆLA [Denver] the same holds 4 freemen (with) 71 acres which Osmund held. Of these the predecessor of Hermer [de Ferrières] had commendation only; and then as now (the tenant) had half a plough. In the same town 5 freemen and a half (with) 36 acres, then as now half a plough. These Osmund held in commendation only, and St. Benet has the soke of 2 men. There too (*in eadem*) 3 freemen which the same Osmund held (with) 2 acres of land and 2 bordars. The whole of this is worth 40 shillings.

In DERHAM [Dereham, (West)] 1 freeman (with) 30 acres; then as now half a plough. In FICHAM¹ [(?) Fincham] 2 freemen (with) 3 acres of land. In DUNHAM [Downham (Market)] 30 acres that 9 freemen hold, then as now half a plough, and they are worth 12 shillings and 4 pence. Of these 9 men St. Benet has the commendation and the soke, and William de War[enne] reclaims them for the exchange.

In UTWELLA [Outwell] 6 bordars, and they have been valued.

HUNDRET AND HALF OF FREDREBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

WALTUNA [Walton, (West)] was held by Toche a freeman T.R.E. Now St. Peter² holds (it as) 4 ploughlands; then as now 9 villeins. Then 63 bordars, now 67. Then 14 serfs, now 8, and 100 acres of meadow. Then 6 ploughs on the demesne; afterwards none, now 5; then as now 6 ploughs belonging to the men. Then f. 160b.

$1\frac{1}{2}$ salt pans, now 6. Then 14 rounceys, now 8. Then 36 mares, now none. Then 24 beasts, now 23. Then 100 swine, now 114. Then 700 sheep, now 800. To this manor belong (*jacet*) 6 sokemen, 1 ploughland and 10 acres (of land), and 30 acres of meadow; then as now 17 bordars, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and 7 salt pans. The whole is worth 17 pounds and 10 shillings. The whole is 4 leagues in length and 2 furlongs in breadth, whosoever may hold there, and pays 2 shillings in a geld of 20 shillings. This is of the fee of F[r]ederic.

ACRE [(Castle) Acre] was held by Toche a freeman T.R.E.; 3 ploughs on the demesne and 8 ploughs belonging to the men; then as now 2 villeins. Then 42 bordars, now 48. Then 8 serfs, now 3, and 8 acres of meadow, and 2 mills and half a salt pan and 1 fishery. Then 6 rounceys, now 1. Then 8 beasts, now 11. Then 45 swine, now 70. Then 160 sheep, now 540. To this land belong (*jacet*) 2 freemen (with) 1 ploughland and 8 bordars. Then 2 ploughs, now 1, and 8 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 100 shillings, now 9 pounds, and those 2 freemen (are worth) 20 shillings. The whole is 1 league and 10 perches in length and 1 league in breadth and $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and pays 8 pence in a geld of 20 shillings. To the church (belong) 30 acres.

In GAITUNA [Gayton] 16 freemen (with) 2 ploughlands and 11 bordars; then as now 3 ploughs, and it is worth 40 shillings. This he has for the exchange.

In GAITUNA [Gayton] Ralph holds 1 ploughland, which Alveva a freewoman held T.R.E. Then as now 4 villeins and 2 bordars and 1 serf. Then as now one plough on the demesne and 8 acres of meadow, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ salt pans, and 3 freemen and a half (with) 60 acres, and 1 plough and 3 acres of meadow. And it is worth 30 shillings. This (is held) for a manor.

In GRIMESTUNA [Grimston] 1 ploughland was held by Alveva a freewoman T.R.E., 11 f. 161.
bordars and 7 freemen with 4 acres of land, 12 acres of meadow; then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and the 7 freemen (have) half a plough. The whole is worth 20 shillings.

¹ This name is blurred and indistinct in the MS.

² i.e. the abbey of SS. Peter and Paul, Cluny.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

There too (*in eadem*) 2 freemen with 1 ploughland and 1 plough and 14 bordars. And 12 freemen (with) 12 acres of land; then as now one plough and 10 acres of meadow. The whole is worth 20 shillings.

There too (*in eadem*) 1 freeman (with) 1 ploughland, then as now 13 bordars and 1 mill. And 6 freemen (with) 9 acres and 10 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 1 plough on the demesne, now half (a plough), and those 6 freemen (have) half a plough. The whole is worth 30 shillings.

In CONGREHAM [Congham] 1 ploughland, a freeman, 14 bordars; then as now 1 plough on the demesne and half (a plough) belonging to the men, and half a fishery; and 12 freemen, 15 acres of land and half a plough and half a saltpan, and 8 acres of meadow; and it is worth 20 shillings. The whole of this is for the exchange of Lewes (*Laes*).

In CONGHEHAM [Congham] 1 church, 1 freeman holds 1 ploughland, 11 bordars and 1 serf and 10 acres of meadow, then as now 1 plough on the demesne; and 5 freemen (with) 8 acres of land, half a plough, and 1 mill, and it is worth 20 shillings. There too (*in eadem*) 1 freeman and in GRIMSTUNA [Grimston] 2 freemen all (hold) among them 1 ploughland, 14 bordars; 1½ ploughs and 15 acres, and 11 acres of meadow; and 8 freemen (with) 11 acres of land and half a plough and half a saltpan. And it is worth 22 shillings.

NIDLINGHETUNA¹ [Hillington] 2 ploughlands were held by 2 freemen T.R.E.; then as now 5 villeins and 6 bordars and 2 serfs, and 8 acres of meadow, and two ploughs on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men, and 1 mill. And William [de Warenne] holds 1 ploughland of this land. And (there is) 1 freeman (with) 15 acres, then as now half a plough. The whole is worth 60 shillings. This is for the exchange.

In MARSINCHAM [Massingham] William [de Warenne] holds 1 ploughland which Alfet a freewoman held T.R.E.; then as now 3 bordars and 1 serf and 1 plough, and it is worth 15 shillings.

f. 161b.

Of this his predecessor had commendation only and Harold the soke, and Rainald son of Ivo claims it for his fee, and Wihewoc² was seised thereof, and the father of Rainald, and Rainald himself, and this the hundred witnesses.

In HARPELAI [Harpley] Walter holds 2 ploughs on the demesne³ which Toche held

¹ Probably an error for 'In Idlinghetuna,' or else merely N for H.

² i.e. Wihenoc.

³ Or, '2 plough(lands) in demesne'?

T.R.E., and 2 ploughs belonging to the men, and 2 villeins and 10 bordars. Then 6 serfs, now 3, and half a saltpan; then as now 1 rouncey and 4 beasts. Then 10 swine, now 30. Then 180 sheep, now 308. Here belong (*jacent*) 12 sokemen with 60 acres of land, then as now half a plough. The whole was then worth 60 shillings, now 70.

The whole is 1 league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth and pays 8 pence for 20 shillings (geld) whoever may hold there.

In ANANERE [Anmer] half a ploughland and 1 plough and 4 bordars which 1 freeman (*libera homo*) held T.R.E.; of this his predecessor had the commendation only. The whole is worth 5 shillings. This land Wido (Angevin) demands (*revocat*) (on the ground) that it was delivered to his uncle Osmund and to Count Eustace, and the men of William de Warenne disseised them.

In PHLICHAM [Flitcham] 4 freemen held 1 ploughland T.R.E.; then as now 5 bordars and 6 acres of meadow; then as now 2 ploughs, and it is worth 20 shillings. This he reclaims for the exchange.

HUNDRET OF DOCHINGA [DOCKING]⁴

Simon holds BEREWICA [Barwick]; 2 freemen, 1 was a man of Harold's, and the other (belonged to) the predecessor of Fredric in commendation only; and they have 1 ploughland, then as now 12 bordars, then as now 1 plough, and half a plough belonging to the men, then as now 1 rouncey. Then 30 sheep, now 160; half a church (with) 10 acres. And 1 freeman in commendation only (with) 60 acres of land and 2 bordars; then as now half a plough. Then it was worth 15 shillings, now 20.

HUNDRET OF GRIMESHOU [GRIMSHOE]

WILTUNA [Wilton] was held by Alveva T.R.E.; then as now 5 ploughs on the demesne, and 16 villeins, 24 bordars. Then 10 shillings,⁵ now 8; 12 acres of meadow, and 3 ploughs belonging to the men, and 6 fishponds (*piscine*). On the demesne f. 162.

7 beasts and 30 swine, 200 sheep. Here belong (*jacent*) 8 sokemen (with) 20 acres of land; then as now half a plough. Then and afterwards it was worth 6 pounds, now 10. The whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and pays 17 pence in a geld of 20 shillings.

FATWELLA [Feltwell] was held by Alveva T.R.E.; (there are) 2 ploughs on the demesne, in HOCWELLA [Hockwold] 1 plough on the demesne, and in RISING [6] 1 plough on the demesne.

⁴ Now part of Smithdon hundred.

⁵ i.e. serfs, s being wrongly extended *sol*.

⁶ Rising can hardly be Wood Rising and is probably now lost.

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Among the whole then as now 16 villeins and 18 bordars and 4 serfs, and 4 ploughs belonging to the men, and 16 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 200 swine, 30 goats; then as now 2 rounceys and 6 beasts and 40 swine and 100 sheep and 17 hives of bees.

In RISINGA [¹] 2 sokemen (with) 20 acres. Then half a plough, now 1. Then and afterwards it was worth 6 pounds, now 10.

² In FATWELLA [Feltwell] 40³ sokemen (with) 3 ploughlands, and 40 acres, 5 ploughs and 8 acres of meadow, and (this) is worth 70 shillings. And ⁴ Simon holds ⁴ 1 sokeman (with) 1 ploughland and 7⁵ villeins and 5 bordars and 4 serfs and 1 plough on the demesne, and 3 acres of meadow and 1 plough belonging to the men,⁶ and it is worth 20 shillings, and 1 church; this [Feltwell] Godric claims as of (*ad*) the fee of Ralf which lay in Stohu [Stow (Bedon⁷)], and thereupon 1 man of Godric is willing to undertake the proof by ordeal (*vult portare iudicium*).⁶ Over all these St. Aldreda⁸ had the soke and all custom and commendation. And of these 7 were free with their lands, but the soke and commendation remained to St. Aldreda. ⁹ The whole was made over to W[illiam de Warenne] for the exchange.⁹

In MATELWALDE [Methwold] 4 freemen (with) 3 ploughlands, then as now 4 villeins and 1 bordar and 4 acres of meadow. Then 4 ploughs, afterwards and now 3. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 45. ¹⁰ Stigand (had) the soke; and they were made over for the exchange. Simon and Walter (*Galt*) (hold) 2 ploughlands, 2 ploughs, and they are worth 40 shillings.¹⁰

NORH WALDE [Northwold]: 34 sokemen of St. Adeldreda, 5 ploughlands, then as now 7 ploughs, and 8 acres of meadow. Then they were worth 60 shillings, now 100. St. A[lreda] has the soke and commendation, and all custom f. 162b.

of 30 of the men only, and 4 were free. Their soke and commendation (belonged) to St. A[lreda].¹¹

In MONDEFORT¹² [Mundford] 7 sokemen

¹ See note (⁶), p. 84.

² Cf. *Inq. El.* (Hamilton, *Inq. Com. Cant.* 139).

³ *I.E.* 41. ⁴ *I.E.* omits. ⁵ *I.E.* 8.

⁶ *I.E.* omits. ⁷ Cf. f. 126. ⁸ i.e. Ely Abbey.

⁹ *I.E.* omits. The Ely *placitum* (*I.C.C.* p. 192), states that Gerard, knight of William de Warenne, holds $\frac{1}{2}$ a ploughland in demesne in Feltwell, and William de Warenne has 45 sokemen of Ely who perform certain services. See *Introd.* p. 31.

¹⁰ *I.E.* omits.

¹¹ In Northwold (Ely *placitum*, *ubi supra*) W. de Warenne had 33 sokemen of Ely performing similar services.

¹² Cf. *I.E.* (Hamilton, p. 195). The Ely *placitum* (*ubi supra*) says William had 5 sokemen of Ely performing similar services.

belonging to St. A[lreda] with all custom; half a ploughland and 1 plough, and they are worth 10 shillings.¹³ This also is for the exchange. There too (*in eadem*) (is) 1 freeman of Harold's (with) half a ploughland, 2 bordars, 2 acres of meadow; then as now half a plough; and it is worth 10 shillings. (This also is) for the exchange.¹³

In COVESTUNA [Coulston] 1 ploughland, 1 freeman of Harold's, 4 villeins, 4 bordars. Then 2 serfs, 12 acres of meadow. Then and after 2 ploughs on the demesne. A third could be (employed); now 1, and then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, and 2 mills and 1 fishery, wood(land) for 15 swine; and it is worth 8 shillings. This is for the castellany¹⁴ of Lewes (*pro castellatione aquarum*). The whole is 5 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth and pays 5 pence and 1 halfpenny in a geld of 20 shillings.

In KEBURNA [Ickborough] Roger holds; 2 freemen, half a ploughland, and 6 acres and 1 bordar and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now 1 plough, and they are worth 3 shillings.

In SANTUNA [Santon] 5 freemen, 2 ploughlands. Walter holds a moiety, 1 villein, 3 bordars. Then as now 3 ploughs, and it is worth 10 shillings.

OTRINKEEHIA [Ottering Hythe¹⁵]; 1 ploughland, 3 freemen, 3 bordars; then as now 2 ploughs; and it is worth 5 shillings. The same Walter (holds) the moiety.

WETINGE¹⁶ [Weeting]; 9 freemen, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands; Waselin and Oswald 2 ploughlands, a third of the whole (*de omni tercia parte*), 15 villeins and 20 bordars and 6 serfs, 13 acres of meadow, then as now 6 ploughs. Wood(land) for 5 swine, half a fishery, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men; then as now they were worth 60 shillings. Of 7 of these the commendation and soke belonged to St. Aeldreda,¹⁷ and of 2 the soke only. The whole is 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in breadth and pays 14 pence in geld.¹⁷

OTRINGHEIA [Ottering Hythe¹⁸] (is) 4 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth and pays in f. 163.

geld 4 pence. This all is of the castellany of Lewes (*de castellatione de Lawes*).

CRANEWISSE¹⁸ [Cranwich], 1 freeman of Harold's; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and

¹³ *I.E.* omits.

¹⁴ Or 'rape' of Lewes; see *Introd.* p. 18 n.

¹⁵ Now Methwold Hithe.

¹⁶ Cf. *I.E.* (Hamilton, p. 138). The Ely *placitum* (*ibid.* p. 192) states that Gerard, a knight of W. de Warenne, had 3 ploughlands in Weeting belonging to Ely.

¹⁷ *I.E.* omits.

¹⁸ Cf. *I.E.* loc. cit.

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10 villeins and 5 bordars and 3 serfs, and 4 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men, now 3; half a mill and half a fishery; wood(land) for 10 swine, then as now 4 rounceys. Then 7 beasts; then as now 13 swine, then 100 sheep, now 120, and 7 hives of bees; and it is worth 60 shillings. There, too (*in eadem*), the same William [de Warenne] (holds)¹ 1 freeman; St. Aldreda (has) the² soke and commendation; (with) 2 ploughlands; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 9 villeins and 5 bordars and 2 serfs and 4³ acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁴ ploughs belonging to the men, now 3,⁵ and 6⁶ 2 ploughs on the demesne, and half a⁷ mill and half a fishery; woodland for 10 swine and 4 rounceys and 6 beasts and 14 swine. Then 100 sheep, now 120, and 7 hives of bees; and this is worth 60 shillings. The whole is 7⁸ furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and pays 9⁹ pence and 1 halfpenny for 20 shillings of geld. This (is) of the castellany (*castellatione*) of Lewes.¹⁰

HUNDRET OF SMETHEDUNA [SMETHDEN]

Of the fee of F[r]edric, HECHAM [Heacham] was held by Toche, a freeman T.R.E.; then as now 7 ploughs on the demesne and 70 bordars and 6 serfs, and 12 acres of meadow and 7 ploughs belonging to the men; wood(land) for 100 swine, and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ mills, 1 fishery; then as now 1 rouncey, 30 beasts, 60 swine, 600 sheep. Here belong (*jacet*) 35 sokemen, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands; then as now 6 ploughs, 4 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 12 pounds, now 15. There, too (*in eadem*), W[illiam de Warenne] holds 2 ploughlands which Alnod a freeman held T.R.E.; then as now 26 bordars and 2 serfs and 6 acres of meadow, and 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men, and half a mill, and 1 saltpan and 1 fishery, and 4 sokemen (with) 2 acres. Then 12 beasts, now 16. Then 30 swine, now 40. Then 80 sheep, now 60; and

f. 163b.

it is worth 60 shillings. The whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and pays 4 shillings for 20 shillings of geld.

In SNETESHAM [Snettisham] (are) 7 sokemen of Stigand's (with) 2 ploughlands, and 11 sokemen of Stigand's (with) 20 acres, 4 villeins, 15 bordars, 4 ploughs and 8 acres of meadow, and 1 mill, and half a fishery and 2 parts of a saltpan. Then and afterwards they were worth 30 shillings, now 50. This is for the exchange.

¹ I.E. adds 'Anant.'

³ I.E. 2.

⁵ I.E. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$.

⁷ I.E. 'one.'

⁹ I.E. 8.

² I.E. adds 'sac and.'

⁴ I.E. 4.

⁶ I.E. omits.

⁸ I.E. 8.

¹⁰ I.E. omits.

HUNDRET OF DOCHINGE [DOCKING]

In FRAINGHES [Fring] 1 freeman (with) 20 acres of land, and he is worth 16 pence. Of this his predecessor had commendation only, Stigand (had) the soke.

HUNDRET OF WANELUND [WAYLAND]

In TRESTUNA [Threxton] Hugh holds 1 ploughland and 4 villeins and 4 bordars and a serf and 10 acres of meadow; then as now 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men; and 1 freeman (has) 12 acres; and it is worth 30 shillings; and this belongs to Lewes (*Laues*), and is 10 furlongs in length and half a league in breadth, and pays 15 pence for geld, whoever may hold there.

In CATESTUNA [Caston] (are) 3 freemen (with) 1 ploughland. Then 2 bordars, now 10, and 12 acres of meadow; then as now 2 ploughs, and they are worth 17 shillings and 4 pence. Over 2 the king and the earl have the soke, and the predecessor of John, nephew of Waleran, of the third. This belongs to the castle of Lewes. The whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth and (pays) 11 pence for geld.

In TOFFTES [Rockland St. Peter] (are) 4 freemen (with) 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands. Then 7 bordars, now 17, 20 acres of meadow; then as now 5 ploughs, then as now 1 mill, wood(land) for 8 swine, and they are worth 40 shillings; and it is 6 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth and (pays) 5 pence for geld. This is for the exchange (of Lewes).

f. 164.

In AILINCHAM [Ellingham, (Little)] (are) 6 freemen (with) 80 acres of land. Then 1 plough, now 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. Then 2 bordars, now 3. And in SCULETUNA [Scoulton] 6 freemen (with) 30 acres of land. Then 1 plough, now 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. And in TOMESTUNA [Thompson] 6 freemen (with) 1 ploughland. Then and afterwards 1 bordar, now 3; 12 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs, now 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. The whole is worth 49 shillings. This is for the exchange.

HUNDRET OF SCEREPHAM [SHROPHAM]

LURLINGA [Larling¹¹] is held by Hugh (as) 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands, but it was delivered for 1 plough(land) which a freeman held T.R.E.; then as now 9 bordars and 3 freemen, and 15 acres of land and 2 oxen and 1 bordar; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 8 acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 30 shillings.

¹¹ Cf. I.E. (Hamilton, p. 140). In Larling a freeman had 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands, Ely had sac and soke and he rendered 2 sextaries of honey.

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In ROKELUN [Rockland (All Saints)] Simon holds 3 ploughlands which 1 freeman, Brode, held T.R.E.; then as now 2 villeins and 12 bordars. Then 4 serfs, now 1, and 8 acres of meadow; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men; wood(land) for 6 swine. Then 4 rounceys, now none. Then 8 beasts, now 5. Then 30 swine, now 15. Then 100 sheep, and now the same (*similiter*). And there, too (*in eadem*), the same Simon holds 6 freemen and a half, whom the same Brode had in commendation only; 70 acres of land and 4 acres of meadow; then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. Of these 6 and a half (freemen) the soke (was) in the king's (manor of) Bucheham [Buckenham, (Old)] T.R.E. and afterwards, until William de War[enne] had it. Then and always (they were worth) 3 pounds and 10 shillings.

Besides this there were added to this land 9 freemen and half, 1 ploughland, 54 acres, this is in demesne; then as now 9 bordars and 8 acres of meadow; then as now 6 ploughs and 2 half mills. The whole of this is for 1 manor of Lewes (*Laquis*) and is worth 3 pounds and 11 shillings. Of $4\frac{1}{2}$ of the 9 (freemen) the soke and commendation was in the king's (manor of) Bucham [Buckenham, (Old)] T.R.E., and afterwards, until W[illiam de Warenne] had it; and the whole was delivered in the time of Earl Ralf. The whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (pays) 15 pence for geld.

f. 164b.

In RUDHAM [Roudham] 2 freemen (with) 1 ploughland and 3 sokemen and 5 bordars and half an acre of meadow. Then 1 plough, now 2, and it is worth 10 shillings. The soke T.R.E. was in the king's (manor of) Bucham [Buckenham, (Old)], and (the land) was delivered in the time of Earl Ralf. Afterwards he retained the soke.

In ILLINKETUNA [Illington] William [de Warenne] holds 1 freeman (with) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands; then as now 7 villeins and 10 bordars and 4 acres of meadow. And (there are) 6 freemen (with) 22 acres of land; then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 3 ploughs belonging to the men. Then it was worth 20 shillings, afterwards and now 30. The soke (is) in Bucham [Buckenham]. The whole is half (a league) in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 7 pence for geld. And this is of the castle of Lewes (*de castello de Laquis*).

HUNDRET OF GILDECROS [GUILTCROSS]

In NORTUNA [(Blo) Norton] Fulcher holds 1 ploughland which 1 freeman held T.R.E.; then as now 6 villeins and 2 bordars and 1 acre of meadow. Then and afterwards 1 plough on the demesne, now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and half a plough belonging to the men; half a mill, and 1 sokeman (with) 1 acre of land. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, now 30. This

is of the castle of Lewes. The soke (was) in the king's (manor of) Chenighehala [Kenninghall] always until William [de Warenne] had it.

In WICA [Wick¹] William [de Warenne] holds 1 ploughland which 1 freeman held T.R.E.; then as now 5 villeins and 10 bordars and 4 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 1 plough on the demesne, now 2, then as now 1 plough belonging to the men; now 1 mill. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 30; and 8 sokemen (with) 32 acres, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs then as now, and they are worth 10 shillings. This all was delivered for 1 ploughland and is of the castle of Lewes. The soke (was) in Kenchala [Kenninghall] always till W[illiam] had it.

In BENHAM [Banham] 1 freeman Lefsi held T.R.E. 1 ploughland; then as now 9 villeins and 6 bordars. Then 1 serf and 12 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 1 plough on the demesne, now 2; then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men; wood(land) for 100 swine; and it is worth 40 shillings. And the same held 5 sokemen (with) 31 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow. Then $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs; afterwards and

f. 165.
now 1, and it is worth 5 shillings. The whole is $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length and 1 league in breadth, and (pays) 24 pence and 1 halfpenny for geld whoever may hold there. The whole is of the castle of Lewes.

HUNDRET OF LAWENDIC [LAUNDITCH]

In GRESSENHALA [Gressenhall] Toke, a free-man, held T.R.E. (and) afterwards Fedric $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands; then as now 10 villeins and 18 bordars. Then 4 serfs, now 1, and 4 acres of meadow; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 2 belonging to the men; wood(land) for 100 swine. Then 1 mill, now 2. And 18 sokemen then as now with all custom, (with) 1 ploughland, then as now 3 bordars, and 4 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 3 ploughs, now 2; then as now 2 mills, and 1 rouncey. Then 10 beasts, now 11, then as now 30 swine, now 30 sheep and 30 goats. Here belongs (*jacet*) now as then 1 outlying estate, SCERNINGA [Scarning], half a ploughland and 5 bordars and 1 acre of meadow; then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 20 swine and 4 beasts. Then the whole was worth 40 shillings, now 4 pounds. The whole is 7 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (pays) 7 pence and a halfpenny for geld. Wimer holds it.

In LECCESHAM [Lexham] the same (holds) what Ofchetel a freeman T.R.E. (and) afterwards Fedric held for a manor, (*viz.*) 2 ploughlands. Then 8 bordars, now 12; then 4 serfs,

¹ In Garboldisham; Blomefield, op. cit. i, 255, 260.

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2 acres of meadow ; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, now 2 ; wood(land) for 30 swine ; then as now 1 mill, and 12 sokemen (with) 1 ploughland. Then 3 ploughs, now 2. In demesne 4 rounceys, now 3 ; then 8 beasts, now 9, then as now 24 swine and 200 sheep : then as now it was worth 40 shillings.

In WESENHAM [Weasenham] 12 sokemen of Stigand's held T.R.E. 2 ploughlands ; now (there are) 6 sokemen more (*plus*) ; now as then 4 bordars. Then 4 ploughs among the whole, of which 2 are on the demesne, and 1 acre of meadow ; then as now 3 ploughs belonging to the men, now 6 beasts and 8 swine and 60 sheep and 2 round-
f. 165b.

ceys. Then it was worth 40 shillings, now 60. This is of the exchange of the new land (*de nova terra*). The whole is 1 league in length and half in breadth, and pays 20 pence for geld, whoever may hold there. Wimer holds it.

In KEMESTUNA [Kempston] 4 sokemen (with) 1 ploughland under Stigand ; then as now 4 villeins and 1 serf and 1 acre of meadow. Then 3 ploughs, afterwards and now 2½ ; wood(land) for 10 swine ; then as now it was worth 20 shillings.

In FRANDESHAM [Fransham] 2 freemen held T.R.E., of whom the predecessor of Fedric had commendation only. Afterwards Fedric, now W[illiam de Warenne] has it, and Gilbert of him ; 1½ ploughlands ; then as now 4 villeins and 8 bordars. Then 2 serfs and 4 acres of meadow ; then as now 3 ploughs, wood(land) for 60 swine. Then 1 mill, now 1½ : then as now it was worth 30 shillings.

SCERNENGA [Scarning] the same (holds) : it was held by Fredregis a freeman T.R.E. ; 1½ ploughlands, then as now 4 villeins and 6 bordars, 3 acres of meadow, then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, wood(land) for 30 swine ; then as now 1 mill. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 30 ; (it is) of the fee of Fedric, and his predecessor had commendation only, and his (*sui*) predecessors had the soke themselves (*ipsimet*).

In RUHHAM [Rougham] and in FRANDESHAM [Fransham] 2 ploughlands were held by Toke a freeman T.R.E. ; then as now 1 villein. Then 12 bordars, now 10. Then 3 serfs, now 1, and 1 acre of meadow : then as now 3 ploughs on the demesne and 1½ ploughs belonging to the men ; woodland for 10 swine ; and now half a mill. And 16 freemen (with) half a ploughland and 8 acres of land ; then as now 1½ ploughs. Then it was worth 50 shillings, now 60. This is by exchange with Lewes. The whole of Frandeham [Fransham] is 9 furlongs in length and 8 in breadth, and pays

10 pence for geld, whoever may hold there. [Wimer ?] holds it.

In TITESHALA [Tittleshall] T.R.E. 5 freemen held 1 ploughland ; now Wimer holds it of
f. 166.

William [de Warenne]. Then as now 7 bordars, 6 acres of meadow : then as now 3½ ploughs, and wood(land) for 40 swine, and 1 fishery. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 30. This is by exchange with Lewes. The soke is in the king's (manor of) Muleham [Mileham].

In STANVELDA [Stanfield] 2 ploughlands were held by 33 freemen under Stigand by soke and commendation : then as now 5 bordars and 6 acres of meadow. Then as now among the whole 10 ploughs ; wood(land) for 60 swine. Then it was worth 40 shillings, now 60. This is of the exchange with Lewes. The soke is in the king's (manor of) Mulham [Mileham].

HUNDRET OF WANELAND [WAYLAND]

In GRESTUNA [Griston] 1 church and 10 acres of land ; this Godric claims to have belonged (*jacere*) in the time of Earl Ralf to Stou [Stow (Bedon)],¹ and the men of the hundred witness that it is of (*ad*) the fee of William de Warenne, and a certain king's man is willing to undergo the ordeal (*vult ferre iudicium*) that it belonged to Stou [Stow (Bedon)] when Ralf made forfeiture and 1 year before and 1 year after (his forfeiture).

HUNDRET AND HALF OF FEORHOU [FOREHOE]

In BERHAM [Barnham (Broom)] 2 ploughlands and 6 acres were held by 47 freemen when he received it, and now by 57 ; then as now 7 bordars and 8 ploughs and 10 acres of meadow ; then as now 1½ mills. Then they were worth 100 shillings, now 9 pounds. The soke is in the king's (manor of) Widmundham [Wymondham]. The whole is 6 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (pays) for the king's geld 8 shillings and 5 pence whoever may hold there.

In COLETUNA [Colton] 2 freemen (with) 30 acres of land, and they are in the same valuation.

In TOCHESTORP []² 24 acres of land, and they are in the same valuation.

In WALEBRONA [Welbourne], 10 freemen T.R.E. held 1 ploughland and 40 acres. Now there are 20 freemen. Then as now 4 ploughs and 3 acres of meadow.

In TOKESTORP []² 3 freemen (with) 20 acres of land. The whole is worth 60 shillings.

¹ Cf. ff. 126, 162.

² In Norwich, St. Clement's. See f. 145b and note.

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In WIKLEPUDA [Wicklewood]¹ 1 freeman (with) 1 ploughland; then as now 17 bordars and 3 ploughs and 6 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 40.

f. 166b.

In MORLEA [Morley (? St. Botolph)] 2 ploughlands; 1 was held by a priest and the other by 5 freemen, and the priest had 19 bordars, and T.R.E. 5 ploughs, now 3, and 5 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 60 shillings, now 40. And the 5 freemen had under them 10 bordars, then as now 2 ploughs and 4 acres of meadow, and it is worth 40 shillings.

In DEPHAM [Deopham] 30 acres of land, 1 freeman; on the same carucate.² Then as now 5 bordars and 1 plough, and it is in the same valuation. All the soke is in the king's (manor of) Hincham [Hingham].

In WIMUNDHAM [Wymondham] (were) 30 freemen when he received it, now 43; then as now 1 ploughland. Then and afterwards 5 ploughs, now 2; then as now 6 bordars and 6 acres of meadow. The whole is worth 40 shillings. The whole is of the exchange of Lewes of the land of the saints.³

HUNDRET OF MITTEFORT [MIDFORD]⁴

In TURSTANESTUNA [Thuxton] 10 freemen, (reckoned) for half a ploughland (in the exchange), T.R.E.; then as now 2 bordars and 5 acres of meadow; then as now 2 ploughs. Then it was worth 10 shillings, now 20. And in MATESHALA [Mattishall] 14 acres of land, 1 freeman, and (it) is in the same valuation.

In BERCH [? Southburgh]⁵ 7 freemen, (reckoned) for half a ploughland, and 3 bordars and 5 acres of meadow. Then 2 mills, now 3. Then wood(land) for 8 swine, now for 4. Then and after 2 ploughs, now 1½ ploughs; 1 church (with) 12 acres; and it is worth 20 shillings.

In LETTUNA [Letton] 9 freemen T.R.E., (reckoned) for half a ploughland, and 2 bordars and 8 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 8 swine; then as now 3 ploughs. Then it was worth 10 shillings, now 20 shillings; 1 church (with) 12 acres.

In SCIPDHAM [Shipdham] 11 freemen, (reckoned) for 1 ploughland, and 3 bordars and 10 acres of meadow. Then wood(land) for 60 swine,

¹ Note that *p* as elsewhere stands for the A.-S. *w* or *p*.

² i.e. that held by the 5 freemen in Morley.

³ See introd. p. 18 *n*.

⁴ Cf. *Inq. El.* (Hamilton), 140. 'In Lecetuna and in Berch and in Scipedham and in Torstemetona 13 sokemen of St. Audrey.' Ibid. p. 195 (*Ely placitum*), 'W. de Warena has seized 7 freemen in Shipham.'

now for 40. Then 5 ploughs, afterwards and now 4. Then it was worth 30 shillings, now 40 shillings; half a church (with) 8 acres; and (it is) 1 league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth and (pays) 15 pence for geld. And Berc [Southburgh]⁶ is 6 furlongs in length and 5 in

breadth, and (pays) 15 pence for geld. And Lettuna [Letton] pays the same (*similiter*). All this is for exchange with Lewes. In TURESTUNA [Thuxton] 9 acres, 1 freeman, and it is worth 2 shillings, (and is) of the same exchange.

HUNDRET OF DOCKINGA [DOCKING]

STANHO [Stanhoe], 1 freeman, Ulketel, in commendation only (with) 1 ploughland and 3 bordars. Then as now 1 plough, and it is worth 20 shillings.

In SCERNEBUNA [Sherborne] (are) 4 freemen (with) 2 ploughlands, and 1 freeman with 40 acres. Then as now 5 villeins, and then as now 3 ploughs, and they are worth 60 shillings.

HUNDRET OF MITTEFORT [MIDFORD]

RISINGA [(Wood) Rising] was held by Alvea T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland; then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and 16 villeins and 6 bordars, and 5 ploughs belonging to the men, and 15 acres of meadow. Then wood(land) for 200 swine, now 160; and there are 8 freemen (with) 3 ploughlands. Then as now 3 ploughs. Wood(land) for 6 swine, and 7 beasts and 1 rouncey, and 20 swine, 30 goats. Then it was worth 40 shillings, now 60. And it is 8 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth, and (pays) 15 pence for geld.

HUNDRET OF HEINSTEDE [HENSTEAD]

In ALUNTUNA [Yelverton]⁶ (is) 1 freeman of Harold's by commendation (with) 30 acres of land and 3 bordars, 1 acre of meadow. Then as now 1 plough. It is valued in Acra [Acre, (Castle)]. By exchange.

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOU [GREENHOE, (SOUTH)]

In DUDELINGATUNA [Didlington]⁷ 32 freemen held 4 ploughlands, and still hold (them). Then as now 15 bordars under them. Then as now between them 5 ploughs; and it is 8 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and pays to a geld

⁵ Mattishall Burgh is called 'Bergh Parva' in 1316, *Feud. Aids*, iii, 480. This, however, seems to be South Burgh, see op. cit. p. 425.

⁶ See *Feud. Aids*, iii, 428.

⁷ Cf. *Inq. El.* (Hamilton), 140. 'In Dodelintona the land of one sokeman by name Torstin whereof the abbot of Ely has sac and soke and commendation. Now W. de Warenne has it.'

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13 pence.—Of these Oger holds 1 ploughland, 1 plough upon it (*super eum*); (it is worth) 20 shillings (*sic*)—when the hundret pays 20 shillings.¹ Then it was worth 100 shillings, now 4 pounds and 5 shillings.

In FUGALDUNA [Foulden] 24 freemen held 6 ploughlands, and still hold (them) under f 16; b.

William [de Warenne], and William holds 1 ploughland and 1 plough upon it (*super eum*), and it is worth 20 shillings. Then under them (were) 16 villeins and 16 bordars, and now (the same). Then and always 7 ploughs. Then as now 1 mill, 10 acres of meadow and 2 fisheries, and it is 1 mile in length and a half in breadth, and pays in geld 16 pence. Then it was worth 60 shillings, now 120 shillings; and this land he says he has for the exchanges of Lewes (*pro escangiis de Lewis*).

HILDEBURHWELLA [Hilborough] was held T.R.E. by Osmund, now by W[illiam] for a manor, of the king's gift and by W[illiam ?] of him. Then 22 villeins and (so) always. Then 10 bordars and (so) always. Then 6 serfs, and now (the same). Then as now on the demesne 4 ploughs. Then among all (the men) 10 ploughs and afterwards 7, and now 8 acres of meadow. When he received it 5 beasts were found and 2 rounceys, now the same (*similiter*), and then 15 swine and now. Then 100 sheep, now 120, now 17 goats, and 5 hives of bees, and 3 mills; wood(land) for 20 swine; and it is half a mile and 2 furlongs in length and 7 (furlongs) in breadth, and pays to geld 8 pence. Then it was worth 6 pounds, now 7.

And in CLAIA [Cley, (Cockley)] Osmund held half a ploughland. Then 5 bordars, and now (the same). Then as now 1 plough, 1 acre of meadow. Then it was worth 10 shillings, now 15 shillings; and in Cleia [Cley, (Cockley)] were found 3 rounceys, and now (also), and 6 beasts and 20 swine and 102 sheep and 1 hive of bees. The same W[illiam] holds it.

In BRADENHAM [Bradenham (? East)] a certain freeman [the same (William)]² holds 30 acres; there then as now 3 bordars, but Osmund had soke and sac; wood(land) for 10 swine, 2 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 5 shillings, now 5 shillings.

In PAGRAVA [Palgrave (in Sporle)] St. Ricarius holds 1 ploughland of the fee of F[r]ederic which a certain freeman held T.R.E. Then 4 villeins and always. Now 2 bordars. Then as

now 1 plough on the demesne, and then as now half a plough among all (the men). Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 25 shillings.

In ACRA [Acre, (South)] a certain freeman held 1 ploughland: then as now 6 villeins and 1 bordar and 3 serfs, and 1 plough on the f. 168.

demesne. Then among all (the men) 3 ploughs, now 1. Wood(land) for 15 swine. Then as now half a mill. Then it was worth 20 shillings and always. This is of the fee of Fretheric. Wimer holds it.

In BUDENEIA [Bodney] 3 freemen held 1 ploughland, now W[illiam de Warenne] holds it in exchange. Then as now 1 villein. Then as now 1 plough. Wood(land) for 12 swine, 2 acres of meadow, and the fourth part of 1 mill. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now the same (*similiter*).

In PICHENHAM [Pickenham, (? South)] William [de Warenne] holds half a ploughland which Osford held T.R.E. Then 2 villeins, and now. Then as now 1 plough; wood(land) for 4 swine, 2 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 mill. Then as now it is worth 10 shillings.

HUNDRET OF GALHOU [GALLOW]

SCULETORPA [Sculthorpe] was held by Toka of the fee of Fretheric T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands. Then as now 12 villeins and 34 bordars. Then 6 serfs, now 3. Then and afterwards 3 ploughs, now 4. Then as now 5 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 20 swine, 4 acres of meadow, 3 mills. When he received it 4 rounceys, now 6. Then 6 beasts, now 20. Then 40 swine, now 20. Then 100 sheep, now 400. And 30 sokemen belong to (*iacent*) this manor with all their custom, dwelling on 1½ ploughlands. Then as now 4 ploughs; and 2 other sokemen with 40 acres dwell in TOFFAS [Toft (Trees)]; and under them 12 bordars (with) 1 acre, 1½ acres of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs, 1 church (with) 60 acres. Then it was worth 6 pounds, and afterwards, now 10 (pounds), but it was at farm for 15 pounds, but could not pay it. And it is half a league in length and half in breadth, and (pays) 6 pence for geld. And 12 unbroken (*silvatice*) mares, and they are worth 12 shillings. To the church 60 acres (belong).

BARSEHAM [Barsham]³ Hugh⁴ (holds); it was held by Toka T.R.E. (as) 4 ploughlands. Then as now 10 villeins and 26 bordars. Then 4 serfs, now none. Then 4 ploughs on the demesne, and afterwards none; now 2 but (the

¹ This passage has been confused in the copying, probably owing to the eye of the scribe having lighted on the wrong '20 shillings' in the first instance.

² This is probably the significance of *id* interlined over Bradenham.

³ The three Barshams—East, North, and West—belonged to the Warenne fee. *Feud. Aids*, iii, 405.

⁴ *Hugo* interlined.

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others) could be restored. Then 5 ploughs belonging to the men, and afterwards none, now 3, and (the rest) could be restored. Woodland for 20 swine, 3 acres of meadow, 4 mills. Then nothing, now 2 rounceys; now 4 beasts and 30 swine and 200 sheep and a half;¹ and 6 sokemen (with) half a ploughland, 3 bordars. Then

f. 168b.

as now 2 ploughs, 1 church with 100 acres. Then it was worth 4 pounds, now 6; and it is half a league in length and half in breadth, and (pays) 6 pence for geld. In the same vill (William de Warenne holds) 1 freeman with 1 ploughland as (*pro*) a manor, and he was delivered instead of land (*pro terra*). Then as now 21 bordars and 1 serf; and he used to live in 2 manor-houses (*manebat in ii ballis*). Then 2 ploughs and afterwards nothing, now half (a plough); and among the men 2 ploughs and 2 acres of meadow, 2 half mills. Wood(land) for 10 swine; and 6 sokemen with 6 acres of land: now 80 sheep and 30 swine: 1 church (with) 12 acres. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, now 50 shillings, and this land pays 12 pence for geld. (It is all) in the same measurement.

In the same vill Toka held 1 ploughland for a manor T.R.E.; Reiner holds it. Then as now 3 villeins and 7 bordars. Then 2 serfs; then on the demesne 1 plough and afterwards nothing, now 1; and then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, 2 acres of meadow, 3½ mills; now 2 rounceys and 4 beasts and 8 swine, 86 sheep; and 15 sokemen with half a ploughland, and 2 bordars. Then as now 1 plough; 1 acre of meadow; 1 church (with) 8 acres, and half an acre of meadow.

In SNARINGES [Snoring, (Little)] 2 sokemen and in CLIPESTUNA [Clipston]² 4, and in KETLESTUNA [Kettlestone] 8, and they have half a ploughland. Then 3 ploughs and afterwards none, now 3, 2 acres of meadow, 1 church (with) 8 acres. Then it was worth 40 shillings, now 3 pounds, and this land pays 12 pence for geld. It has been measured above. The same (man) holds it.

In WATERDENNA [Waterden]³ Lambert holds 1 ploughland which was held by 2 freemen T.R.E. Then as now 17 bordars. Then 2 serfs. Then as now in demesne and among them all 2 ploughs. And in CREICH [Creak, (? South)]⁴ 1 of them used to hold 1 other freeman with half a ploughland; and under them 6 bordars and among them 1 plough, one of which ploughs is on the demesne; now 1 rouncey and 5 swine

¹ This probably means 'half a hundred,' i.e. 250 sheep.

² In Fulmodeston.

³ Afterwards in Brothecross hundred.

⁴ South Creak was part of the Warenne fee in 1302, but not North Creak. *Feud. Aids*, iii, 405-6.

and 60 sheep; 1 church (with) 5 acres. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 17 shillings and 4 pence, and it is 3 furlongs in length and 2 in breadth, and (pays) 12 pence in geld.

In FULMOTESTUNA [Fulmodeston] T.R.E. Toka held 2 ploughlands for a manor. Then as now 29 bordars. Then 2 serfs: then as now on the demesne 2 ploughs, and 4 ploughs belonging to the men; wood(land) for 30 swine,

f. 169.

16 acres of meadow. Then 1 mill. Then as now 1 rouncey and 6 beasts and 23 swine. When he received it 180 sheep, now none. Then 40 goats, now none, now 1 hive of bees, 1 church without land. Walter (*Galterus*) holds it. Then it was worth 40 shillings, now 60 shillings, and the whole is 4 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth, and pays 12 pence for geld.

In CROKESTONA [Croxtan] Toka held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then 4 freemen. Then 1 plough and 4 acres of meadow, and it is in the valuation above; 1 church without land; and it is 2 furlongs in length and 1 in breadth, and (pays) 12 pence for geld. The same (Walter) holds it.

In BRUNEHAM TORP [Burnham Thorpe] Walter holds 2 ploughlands which Tocha held T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now 10 villeins and 29 bordars. Then 3 serfs. Then as now on the demesne 2 ploughs; and then 5 ploughs belonging to the men, now 2; (the rest) could be restored. Wood(land) for 8 swine, 1 acre of meadow. The third part of 1 mill. Then 2 rounceys, now 6, and 1 ass. Then 4 beasts and now; and 28 swine and 345 sheep; and 9 sokemen belong (*jacet*) to this manor with 1 ploughland and they have 2 ploughs; 1 church with 80 acres. Then it was worth 60 shillings, and afterwards; now 4 pounds; and it is 1½ leagues in length and 1 league in breadth, and for 20 shillings pays 3 shillings in geld whoever may hold there.

In REIEBURH [Ryburgh, (Little)]⁵ 1 sokeman and in STABRIGE [Stibbard]⁶ Peter de Valognes (has)⁷ another with 30 acres of land and 1 plough, 1 acre of meadow, half a church (with) 3 acres; and it is worth 5 shillings and 4 pence.

HUNDRET OF BRODERCROS [BROTHERCROSS]

In RUDEHAM [Rudham, (West)]⁸ Ralf holds 3 ploughlands which Toka held T.R.E. Then as now 6 villeins and 16 bordars. Then 3 serfs,

⁵ Little Ryburgh was held of the barony of Valognes. *Feud. Aids*, iii, 405.

⁶ Stibbard and Little Ryburgh are coupled in the return of 1316. *Ibid.* 460.

⁷ *Petrus Waloniensis* interlined.

⁸ West Rudham and Bagthorpe were held together by the prior of Castle Acre in 1302. *Ibid.* 404.

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now 1. Then 3 ploughs, now 1. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, 4 acres of meadow, 2 mills, 1 saltpan; then as now 11 beasts, and then 30 swine, now 28. Then 400 sheep, now 180; 2 churches (with) 60 acres. Then 14 horses, now 22 unbroken (*salvaticæ*) mares.

f. 165b.

To this manor belongs 1 outlying estate BACHESTORP [Bagthorpe] of 1 ploughland. Then as now 3 bordars and 1 plough. Then as now 2 rounceys and 3 beasts and 4 swine. Then 80 sheep, now 100. And another outlying estate HOUTUNA [Houghton] of 1 ploughland. Simon holds it.¹ Then as now 13 sokemen with all custom. Then as now on the demesne 1 plough, and 1 plough belonging to the men. Then 4 swine. Then 60 sheep, now 40. And 25 sokemen in RUDEHAM [Rudham, (? East)]² belong to this manor with 1½ ploughlands; and then as now among them 4 ploughs; and in HOUTUNA [Houghton] 1 sokeman with 30 acres; and under them 3 villeins and 3 bordars. Then as now 1 plough; 1 church without land. Ralf holds it. And in BENEMARA [Barmer] Ralf holds 4 sokemen with 60 acres of land and 3 bordars. Then as now 1 plough, and half a church. And in SCISTERNA [Syderstone] the same Ralf holds 4 sokemen with 40 acres. Then and afterwards 1 plough, now half (a plough). And in HELGATUNA [Helhoughton] the same holds 1 sokeman with 12 acres and half a plough. All this was worth T.R.E. 8 pounds, now 10 pounds; in demesne are 20 shillings. And the whole of Rudeham [Rudham] is 1 league in length and 1 in breadth and (pays) 4 shillings and 3 pence for geld.

The whole of BENEMARA [Barmer] is 3 furlongs in length and 2 in breadth, and (pays) 6 pence and a halfpenny for geld. In RUDEHAM [Rudham, (? East)] Lambert holds 1 ploughland which 1 freeman held T.R.E. Then as now 1 villein and 14 bordars. Then 3 serfs, now 2. Then on the demesne 2 ploughs, now 1. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, half an acre of meadow. Then 4 rounceys, now 5 and 1 mule. Then 6 beasts, now 11. Then 16 swine, now 20. Then 450 sheep, now 300. To this manor belong 18 sokemen on the same ploughland. Then as now 2 ploughs. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 30 shillings. This was delivered to him for land. To this manor belongs 1 outlying estate SCIDESTERNA [Syderstone] of 30 acres, half a plough, and

3 bordars. Then it was worth 5 shillings and 4 pence, now it pays 12 shillings.

In TATESSETE [Tattersett] Reiner holds 1 ploughland which Toka held T.R.E. Then as now 15 bordars and 1 serf; then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and belonging to the men 1 plough, 1 acre of meadow, 2 mills.

f. 170.

Then 1 rouncey, now 2, and 5 beasts and 6 swine. Then 40 sheep, now 80; 2 churches (with) 40 acres; and 14 sokemen belong to this manor with 69 acres. Then as now 6 bordars and 2 ploughs, 1 acre of meadow. Then it was worth 10 shillings, now 60 shillings; and it is half a league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 13 pence for geld.

In HELGETUNA [Helhoughton] (is) 1 sokeman with 60 acres. Then as now 8 bordars and 1 plough, 1½ acres of meadow. Then half a mill. Wood(land) for 8 swine. Then as now it was worth 5 shillings. This land is entered (*scripta*) above, of the fee of Frederic.

In SCIRAFORDA [Shereford] 1 ploughland was held by 6 freemen T.R.E. Then as now 6 bordars. Then as now 2 ploughs, 2½ acres of meadow; 1 church (with) 12 acres. Then it was worth 10 shillings, now it pays 20; and it is 3 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth, and (pays) 9 pence and a halfpenny in geld. This is for the exchange of Lewes.

In REIEBORH [Ryburgh (? Great)] Peter [de Valognes] holds 8 sokemen with 1 ploughland. Then as now 1 villein and 6 bordars and 2 ploughs. Wood(land) for 20 swine, 2 acres of meadow, 1 mill. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings. This is of the fee of Frederic.

In HAMATUNA [Hempton] are 4 freemen with half a ploughland, and 4 bordars, and 1 plough; 1 church with 1 acre. Then it was worth 5 shillings, now 3 shillings, and it is 2 furlongs in length and in breadth, and (pays) 4 pence and a halfpenny for geld.

HUNDRET OF HOLT

In WIVENTONA [Wiveton] William [de Warenne] holds 2 ploughlands which Turgrim held T.R.E. for a manor. Then as now 2 villeins and 22 bordars and 1 sokeman with 12 acres of land, and 2 serfs, and two ploughs on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men, 2 acres of meadow, half a mill. Then 6 swine, now 6. Then 60 sheep, now 30, and half a sokeman with 2 acres. Then it was worth 40 shillings, now 60 shillings.

In BURSTUNA [Briston] of the fee of Frederic are held 14 sokemen, whom Toka held T.R.E. (with) half a ploughland, and 3 bordars. Then as now 4 ploughs. Wood(land) for 20 swine; and it is worth 16 shillings.

¹ Interlined.

² East Rudham, Barmer, and Syderstone were held together in 1302 of the heirs of William de Say (*Feud. Aids*, iii, 403), whose Domesday predecessor was William de Warenne's undertenant Ralf (de Caisneto, or Chesney): *V.C.H. Sussex*, i, 380.

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f. 170b.

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOGA [GREENHOE, (NORTH)]

ESTGAMERA [Egmere] was held by Elvalt a freeman T.R.E. and was delivered to Frederic for land to complete his manors (*pro terra ad proficiendum man[siones] suos*) (as) half a ploughland; then as now 3 bordars, and 1 sokeman with 12 acres, and it is valued in Barsaham [Barsham].

In HOLCHAM [Holkham] Walter holds half a ploughland; then as now 1 bordar; and it belongs to Brunaham [Burnham (? Sutton)],¹ and is of the fee of Frederic, and is there valued.

HUNDRET OF ERPINHAM NORTH [NORTH ERPINGHAM]

In GIMINGHEHAM [Gimingham] 1 freeman, Ratho, holds two ploughlands. Then as now 12 villeins and 40 bordars. Then 2 serfs, now 1. Then and after 2 ploughs on the demesne, and now 3. Then as now 4 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 80 swine, 12 acres of meadow. Then and after 2 mills, and now 4. Then 2 rounceys. Then 11 wild mares, now 7, now 8 beasts. Then 30 swine, now 40. Then 30 sheep, now 160. Then as now 30 goats; and 23 sokemen with 48 acres of land. Then as now 3½ ploughs, 1 church, (with) 28 acres.

SISTRAN [Sidestrand] was held of Stigand the archbishop by 1 freeman for a manor of 1 ploughland. Then as now 8 villeins and 1 serf. Then and after 1 plough on the demesne, and now 2, and 1 plough belonging to the men; and 5 sokemen with 21 acres of land. Then as now 1 plough, 1½ acres of meadow. Then as now 2 rounceys. Then 3 beasts and 3 swine. This Waleram delivered to complete (*ad proficiendum*) the manor of Gimingham [Gimingham].

KANAPATONE [Knapton] is held by 1 freeman (as) 1 ploughland. Then as now 10 villeins and 5 bordars. Then 1 serf, now 2. Then and afterwards 1 plough on the demesne, and now 2. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, 2 acres of meadow, and 13 sokemen with 3 ploughlands and 1 bordar. Then as now 3½ ploughs and 4 beasts and 4 swine; and it was delivered to complete (the manor of) Gimingham [Gimingham]. And Giming[ham] then was worth 40 shillings, and afterwards 4 pounds, now 8 pounds.

f. 171.

SISTRAN [Sidestrand] was worth then and afterwards 20 shillings, now 60. Then and

¹ Burnham-Sutton was of the fee of Warenne, *Feud. Aids*, iii, 517. Compare, however, the account of Burnham Thorpe f. 169 above, which seems to be referred to.

afterwards Kanapat(one) [Knapton] was worth 20 shillings, now 60; and the whole of this was delivered for 1 manor of 4 ploughlands. And the whole of this is 2 leagues and 8 perches and 5 feet in length, and in breadth 1 league and 12 perches and 4 feet, and (pays) for geld 5 shillings (and) 1 penny whoever may hold there.

In TORP [Thorpe (Market)] Ralf holds 2 ploughlands which were held by 1 freeman of Stigand T.R.E. Then as now 4 villeins and 24 bordars and 1 serf. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 3 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 40 swine, 2 acres of meadow and 2 mills, 1 hive of bees. Then as now 2 rounceys and 3 beasts. Then 6 swine, now 11, and now 50 sheep. Then as now 20 goats. And 5 sokemen with 32 acres of land, and they have 1 plough: 1 church (with) 10 acres. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, and now 8 pounds.

In MULESLAI [Mundsley] Grinketel 1 freeman holds 30 acres of land and 2 bordars. Then as now 1 plough. And in addition to this (*adhuc*) William [de Warenne] holds in the same place 3 freemen (who were) Edri's T.R.E. with 10 acres of land and 1 plough. Then as now it paid 4 shillings. (There is) 1 church with 12 acres.

In TRUNCHET [Trunch] 3 freemen, 1 of Harold's, the second of Ralf Stalre, the third of Ketell, (hold) 90 acres of land and 14 bordars. Then as now 5 ploughs among them, 1 church (with) 10 acres. Wood(land) for 3 swine, 3 acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 30 shillings. And in addition (*adhuc*) there are there 6 freemen (who were) Edric's T.R.E. with 34 acres of land and 2 ploughs and 2½ acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 7 shillings and 4 pence.

In REPES [Repps] 2 freemen of Edric's hold 30 acres of land. Then as now 2 villeins, 2 ploughs, and 4 bordars. Then as now it was worth 6 shillings.

In NORREPES [Northrepps] (is) 1 freeman of Ketell's with 30 acres of land. Then as now 2 villeins and 5 bordars. Wood(land) for 5 swine. Then as now 1 plough, 2 acres of meadow, 2 mills, 1 church with 18 acres. Then as now it was worth 10 shillings.

f. 171b.

In SISTRAN [Sidestrand] (are) 2 freemen, 1 of Edric's the other Almar's, with 60 acres of land. Then as now 5 villeins and 5 bordars and 3 ploughs; 1 acre of meadow. Wood(land) for 3 swine. Then as now it was worth 10 shillings.

In SUTREPES [Southrepps] and NORHREPES [Northrepps] (are) 8 freemen, 2 of Alvold the abbot's, 5 of Ratho's of Gimingham, 1 of

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Osbert's, with 16 acres, and they have 2 ploughs. Then as now it was worth 4 shillings: 1 church (with) 12 acres. And the whole (*tor (sic) = tot*,) is half a league and 2 perches in length, and 4 furlongs and 4 feet in breadth, and (pays) for geld 6 pence and a halfpenny and half a farthing. And this whole land was delivered to W[illiam de Warenne] for 1 manor (as) 5 ploughlands belonging to (*in*) Torp [Thorpe (Market)].

In MULESLAI [Mundsley] and in TRUCHET [Trunch] R[obert] Malet claims 19 freemen, 3 in commendation, and the others with all their custom.

GERSAM [Gresham] is held by William [de Warenne] (as) 2 ploughlands, which Ulstan a freeman held. Then as now 4 villeins and 6 bordars and 1 serf. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 4 ploughs belonging to the men; 11 sokemen, (with) 35 acres and 1 plough, 2 acres of meadow, 1 mill. To this belongs 1 outlying estate, ALDEBURC [Aldborough], of 60 acres of land. Then as now 3 villeins and 4 bordars, and 1½ ploughs among them. And in SALHUS [Salhouse] 30 acres, 1 villein and 1 bordar, 40 goats, and 3 sokemen, 15 acres, half a plough. Then as now it was worth 4 pounds, and it is 9 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth, and (pays) for geld 7 pence. And it is of the fee of Frederic. And Aldeburg [Aldborough] is 8 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth, and (pays) for geld 5 pence and a halfpenny.

In SURSTEDE [Sustead] (is) 1 half freeman with 15 acres of land and 1 bordar, 1 rood (*virga*) of meadow and half a mill. Then as now half a plough. Then and afterwards (it was worth) 2 shillings and 6 pence, and now 3 shillings.

In ALMARTUNE [Aylmerton] William holds 2 ploughlands which Wilfus (?) 1 freeman of Edric's held. Then as now 3 villeins and 13 bordars. Then 2 serfs. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs

^{f. 172.}
on the demesne, now 1. Then as now 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 4 swine, 2½ acres of meadow. Then 1 rouncey. Then 3 beasts. Then 9 swine, now 3. Then 40 sheep, now 15. Then 60 goats; half a church (with) 10 acres; and 2 sokemen with 20 acres of land, half a plough, 1 acre of meadow. Then it was worth 20 shillings, and afterwards and now 40. And it is 9 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth, and (pays) for geld 8 pence and 3 farthings. And this is a manor of the fee of Frederic.

OF THE EXCHANGE OF LEWES

In BERNINGEHAM [Barningham] Tuold holds 30 acres of land which 1 freeman of Ketell's held T.R.E. Then as now 3 bordars and 1 plough and half an acre of meadow. And there

are there 10 freemen of Alwin 'cil'¹ T.R.E. with 28 acres of land. Then as now 2 ploughs.

In PLUMESTEDE [Plumstead] the same Tuold holds 1 freeman with 12 acres of land. Then as now 1 plough. Wood(land) for 10 swine. Then and afterwards [it was worth] 10 shillings, now 20. These Drogo de Befrerere claims, for homage only.

In ULTRETUNE [Wolterton] the same holds 4 bordars. Then as now half a plough, with 16 acres.

In HAMINGEHAM [? Banningham] the same holds 3 bordars with 16 acres, and half a plough, and 1 sokeman with 3 acres: they have been valued. All the churches of the land of William de Warenne have been valued with the manors.

HUNDRET OF BROSCROS [BROTHERCROSS]

HELGATUNA [Helhoughton] is held by William de Warenne of the fee of Frederic; 1 freeman, (whom he has) because (*ideo qd.*) his predecessor so held that he could not depart from the land without his (Frederic's) leave, and the hundret testifies this. And a certain man of Drogo's

^{f. 172b.}
de Bevraria, Frank (*Franco*) by name, challenges it for the fee of his lord, of the king's gift, by livery, saying that his predecessor held it, Homfrid, to wit, in the time of Frederic, and after him Drogo held it: and the hundret testifies to this, that they held it, but it has not seen the writ (of grant) thereof, nor any feoffor (*sed hoc non vidit in [de] brevem nec liberatorem*).

HUNDRET OF GILHOU [GALLOW]

In NORBARSAM [North Barsham] which W[illiam] de Warenne holds, Harold held 2 freemen with 1 ploughland belonging to Faganaham [Fakenham], and now William holds them but his men do not know how; and the hundret testifies them (to be) William's, that he is seised of them. But a man of the king offers the ordeal (*offert judicium*) that they used to belong T.R.E. to Faganaham [Fakenham], a manor of the king's.

^{f. 173.}

[VIII] LAND OF ROGER BIGOT

(In) TEDFORT [Thetford] Roger has (land) in demesne quit of all custom; to which used to belong (*adjacebant*) T.R.E. 2 ploughlands, and now the same (*similiter*). Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, 20 bordars, 2 serfs, 1 mill, 13 acres of meadow, and 30 acres of land; there is there 1 mill and 5 acres of meadow. Then as now 128 sheep. Then it was worth 7 pounds,

¹ So for 'cild.'

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afterwards and now 8. Of the abovesaid bordars the king has the poll-tax only (*scotum de suo capito tantum*).¹ In the borough Roger has 33 men commended to him whom his predecessor held, in whom he had nothing except commendation. He has also 1 mill, which Turstin a burgess holds. He lays claim to this by the king's gift, but the hundret does not know how. This mill is worth 32 shillings. (There is) 1 church.

HUNDRET AND HALF OF FEDEBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

PENTELEIA [Pentney] was held by Hagane T.R.E. for a manor, 3 ploughlands; now it is held by Robert de Vals. Then as now 11 villeins, 14 bordars, 6 serfs; 3 ploughs on the demesne, 3 ploughs belonging to the men, 20 acres of meadow, 3 mills, the third part of a saltpan. To this land belongs (*jacet*) 1 outlying estate, WALTUNA [Walton, (East)], 1 ploughland. Then as now 6 bordars, 2 serfs, 1 plough on the demesne, 16 acres of meadow, 3 rounceys. Then 20 mares, now 7. Then as now 21 beasts, 30 swine; then 40 sheep, now 92; 7 hives of bees. There too (*in eadem*) 10 sokemen (with) 72 acres. Then as now 1 plough. The whole was worth 100 shillings T.R.E., and when he received it; now 7 pounds. The whole of this is held by Robert [de Vals]. (It is) 5 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (pays) 8 pence for geld. To the church 30 acres (belong). It is worth 2 shillings and 8 pence.

In TORP [Thorpe, (Gayton)] 80 acres were held by a freeman T.R.E.; now the same R[obert] holds them. Then as now 6 villeins, 6 bordars, 3 acres of meadow, 1 plough on the demesne, half a plough belonging to the men. In the same (vill) is a freeman (with) 20 acres; it is worth 12 pence.

EASTWININC [East Winch] a freeman of Guyert's held T.R.E. 60 acres; now the same R[obert]. Then as now 6 villeins, 3 bordars, 2 ploughs, 11 acres of meadow. Then the whole was worth 40 shillings, now 60. In PLICHAM [Flitcham] (is) 1 sokeman with 30 acres. The same R[obert] holds it; 1 bordar and 1 acre of meadow; then 2 oxen, now 3. It is worth 3 shillings. To the church 8 (acres belong). It is worth 8 pence.

In MASINGHEHAM [Massingham, Great]² 1 freeman 30 (acres), which Humfrey de Cuelai

¹ This poll-tax is said by Mr. Ballard (*Domesday Boroughs*, p. 63) to be peculiar to East Anglia. He instances Ipswich (*Dom. Bk. ii, 290b*); Colchester (*ii, 106b*), as well as this passage and compares the 480 'bordars' at Norwich 'who on account of poverty pay no custom' (*f. 116b* above).

² The prior of Massingham held of the Earl Marshal in 1302 in Great Massingham. *Feud. Aids*, iii, 409.

holds, 2 bordars; it is worth 18 pence. This land Aluin (of Thetford) seized (*invasit*) after that the king came into this country. The soke lies in Masingeham [Massingham, (Great)], (a manor) of the king. In PLICEHAM [Flitcham] Algar held of Stigand the archbishop for a manor 2 *f. 173b*.

ploughlands; now Ranulf son of Walter (holds them). Then 20 bordars, now 23; then 3 serfs, now 2; then 2 ploughs on the demesne, and afterwards 1, now 2; then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, 5 acres of meadow, and 1 mill; then 1 rouncey, and now; then 3 beasts, then 27 swine, now 32; then 180 sheep, now 1. Then and afterwards (it was worth) 40 shillings, now 1 shilling. The whole is 1½ miles in length and 5 furlongs in breadth, and pays 16 pence for a geld of 20 shillings, whoever may hold there. Here belongs (*jacet*) 1 sokeman (with) 5 acres of land, and is worth 2 shillings. Over this manor and over all the men who were in it Stigand used to have the soke; and it was delivered to Roger during his lifetime (*vivente eo*). The same R[obert de Vals] holds it.

APLETUNA [Appleton] was held by Aba, 2 ploughlands, for a manor, of Stigand; then as now 20 bordars and 2 serfs, 10 acres of meadow, and 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 4½ ploughs belonging to the men. Then 1 rouncey; then 6 swine, now 35; then 63 sheep, now 14; and it was worth then 40 shillings, now 50, and the same [Robert] holds it. (There is) 1 church (with) 12 acres, and it is worth 12 pence.

HUNDRET OF SMETHEDUNA [SMETHDEN]

In RINCTEDA [Ringstead, (Great)] Tovet a freeman held T.R.E.; then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 2 serfs and 5 villeins; then as now half a plough belonging to the men, and 2 acres of meadow, and the eighth part of a mill, and 1 rouncey; then 82 sheep, and now the like. And 4 sokemen (with) 10 acres of land, and 1 sokeman of St. Benet [of Ramsey] (with) 2 acres, who has been added in King William's time. The whole was then worth 10 shillings, now 20. St. Benet (has) the soke, and Ralf son of Herluin holds it.

There too (*in eadem*) 1 ploughland was held by Alstan under Stigand T.R.E.; now Ralf de Turvavilla holds it. Then and afterwards 1 plough, now 2 oxen, and 2 acres of meadow; and it is worth 5 shillings.

There too (*in eadem*) 1 sokeman (with) 6 acres; and it is worth 6 pence, and the same [Ralf] holds it. And 2 sokemen of St. Benet (with) 16 acres of land, then 1 plough; and it is worth 4 shillings. The same (holds it). And 1 freeman (with) 24 acres of land; then and afterwards 1 plough, now 1 ox, and it is worth

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2 shillings. This was delivered to him to complete (*proficiendis*) the manors. The same (holds it). HUNSTATUNA [Hunstanton] is held by Ralf son of Herluin, 2 ploughs on the demesne, and it was held by 1 freeman T.R.E. Then and afterwards 12 villeins, now 6; then as now 6 bordars; then and afterwards 3 serfs, now 2. Then and afterwards 6 ploughs belonging to the men, and 5 acres of meadow; now 5½; then 1 mill, now 2, and 1 fishery. Then as now 1 rouncey, then 1 beast; wood(land) for 40 swine. Then 16 swine, now 51. Then 80 sheep, now 50; 5 hives of bees. Here belong (*jacent*) 2 sokemen (with) 10 acres. The same (holds

f. 174.

it). Then and afterwards it was worth 3 pounds, now 4. There too (*in eadem*) Torn a freeman held T.R.E.; 1 plough on the demesne; then 3 villeins, now 2. Then 4 bordars, now 5. Then and afterwards 3 serfs, and 2½ acres of meadow; then as now half a plough belonging to the men, 1 fishery. Then 1 cow. Then 30 sheep. And 3 sokemen (with) 5 acres of land. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings. The whole is 1 league in length and 1 league in breadth, and pays 16 pence in 20 shillings of geld.

HUNDRET OF GRIMESHOU [GRIMSHOE]

In LINEFORDA [Lynford] A[lwin?] held 1 sokeman (with) 60 acres of land. Then as now half a plough and 1 serf, 3 acres of meadow, and it is worth 20 pence. This is held by Stanart.

HUNDRET OF WANELUND [WAYLAND]

WADETUNA [Watton] was held by Aldreda a freewoman T.R.E. (as) 5 ploughlands; now Ranulf son of Walter holds it. Then and afterwards 9 villeins, now none. Then and afterwards 11 bordars, now 12: then as now 3 serfs, 30 acres of meadow; then as now 4 ploughs on the demesne. Then and afterwards 4 ploughs belonging to the men, now 3; wood(land) for 400 swine; now 1 mill; then as now 3 rounceys; and 13 beasts, now 5; and 35 swine, now 30; and 17 sheep, now 62. Here belonged (*jacent*) 15 sokemen T.R.E., now 23 (with) 82 acres; then as now 4 ploughs. The same holds 1 church (with) 20 acres, and it is worth 20 pence. This vill was in 2 manors T.R.E., each one was worth 4 pounds; now the whole is worth 7 pounds. And it is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth whoever may hold there; and towards 20 shillings of geld (pays) 13 pence and 1 half-penny.

In TOTINTUNA [Tottington] Ralf son of Herluin holds 4 ploughlands which Alwi held T.R.E.; then and afterwards 15 villeins, now 4; then and afterwards 10 bordars, now

17. Then and afterwards 8 serfs, now 4; 24 acres of meadow: then as now 3 ploughs on the demesne. Then and afterwards 5 ploughs belonging to the men, now 3. Woodland for 30 swine, now 1 mill. And then as now 3 sokemen (with) 95 acres. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs, now nothing, but they could be (restored): then as now 1 rouncey; then 17 beasts, now 19. Then 32 swine, now 12. Then 140 sheep, now 140 less 3; 24 goats. Then 63 mares, now 15. Then and afterwards it was worth 80 shillings, and now 60. The whole is 2 leagues in breadth [*sic*: for length] and 1 in breadth whoever may hold there, and (it pays) 15 pence for geld.

HUNDRET OF FLECWEST [WEST FLEGG]

In SUTTUNA [Sutton] belong (*jacent*) 7 freemen, and they are in REPES [Repps] and ROTHOLFUESBEE [Rollesby] (with) 1 ploughland and 9 acres of meadow, and 3 freemen under them (with) 7 acres of land. Then as now 2 ploughs. And 1 half (man) of these 7 freemen the hundret testifies (belongs) to St. Benet of Holme; and

f. 174b.

a man of R[alf] the Earl seized (him), and this half (man) has 6 acres of land. They are valued in (*appreciati in*) the 10 pounds of Suttune [Sutton¹]. But upon them 14 shillings (are charged), and he holds in demesne.

In OELEE [Oby] Stanart holds 30 acres of land which Ringulf, 1 freeman, held T.R.E. Then as now half a plough; 6 acres of meadow. And there are under him 6 freemen (with) 30 acres of land and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now half a plough. These men R[oger] Bigot claims by gift of the king, and they are of the fee of Alwi of Thetford (*de Tetfordo*) his predecessor. Then as now it was worth 4 shillings. There too (*in eadem*) 1 freeman Godwin held 30 acres of land, now 5 bordars; the same Stanart (holds). Then as now 1 plough; and 3 freemen under him with 15 acres of land, 1 acre of meadow. Then as now half a plough. Then as now it was worth 4 shillings. These R[oger] Bigot has of the fee of Alui his predecessor. In CLEPESBEE [Clipperby] 1 freeman of St. Benet's and in OMESBEE [Ormsby] 2 of St. Benet's in commendation; and afterwards Alwi held them, now R[oger] Bigot by the king's gift, with 33 acres of land, and 5 acres of meadow and 1 bordar. Then as now half a plough. Then as now it was worth 2 shillings. The same (Stanart holds it). In THURA [Thurne] half a freeman (with) 21 acres, 4 acres of meadow. Then as now half a plough. And under him 1 freeman, 4 acres. Then as now it was worth

¹ See ff. 179b, 180, where Sutton with its freemen is valued at £10.

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4 shillings. The same (Stanart holds it). In BURC [Burgh (St. Margarets)] Ulketel a freeman of Edric's by commendation T.R.E. held 30 acres of land, and 3 freemen of Alwi's in commendation 45 acres and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough. Then it was worth 3 shillings, afterwards and now 6. In BITLAKEBEI [Billockby] 1 freeman of Alwi T.R.E. in commendation, 20 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow, and 1 bordar. Then as now half a plough. Then as now it was worth 20 pence. The same holds it.

In REPES [Repps] 7 freemen, 4 belonging to St. Benet, 2 to Alwi, 1 to Almar the bishop by commendation T.R.E., (with) 80 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow. Then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. Then as now they were worth 8 shillings. The same (holds it).

In BASTUIC [Bastwick] 2 freewomen of Edric and Ringulf (with) 13 acres of land in commendation T.R.E., 1 acre of meadow, and they plough now as then with 2 oxen. Then as now they were worth 18 pence. The same holds (them).

In OTHEBEI [Oby] 1 freeman (with) 6 acres of land, 1 acre of meadow, with 2 oxen. Then as now it was worth 8 pence.

In SOMERTUNA [Somerton, (East)] 1 freeman, 21 acres of land, 3 acres of meadow. Then as now half a plough. Then it was worth 16 pence; afterwards and now it renders 24 pence. These freemen the king gave to Alwi of Thetford with their lands as R[oger] Bigot claims. REPES [Repps] is 7 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and for geld (pays) 15 pence.

HUNDRET OF HEINSTEDE [HENSTEAD]

In SCOTESSAM [Shotesham (All Saints')] 1 freeman of Stigand's held by commendation T.R.E. f. 175
2 ploughlands for a manor; now Ranulf son of Walter holds (them). Then as now 5 villeins and 17 bordars. Then as now 2 serfs. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs on the demesne; now 3. Then as now 4 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 20 swine, and 6 acres of meadow, and half a mill. Then 1 horse, now 2; then 24 swine, now 20; then 24 goats, now none. And 6 sokemen are there with 36 acres of land. Then as now 1 plough. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, now 4 pounds. It is $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length and half in breadth; and for geld pays 16 pence; half a church (with) 15 acres is worth 15 pence. In STOKES [Stoke Holy Cross] Alwi of Thetford held 80 acres of land T.R.E.; now W. Pecche (*Peccatum*) holds it. Then as now 3 bordars, and then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and 2 acres of meadow. And in SITHINGES [Seething] 1 villein with 12 acres

belonging to this Stokes [Stoke (Holy Cross)]. Then as now it was worth 26 shillings and 6 pence; 1 church (with) 18 acres, and it is worth 2 shillings.

OF THE EXCHANGE OF THE LAND OF ISAAC

In SUTHERLINGAHAM [Surlingham] Ansger, a freeman of Godwin's, held T.R.E. 8 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow. Aitard [de Vaux] holds it.

In addition (*adhuc*) in the same (vill) 30 freemen of Ulketel (with) 150 acres of land, and 10 freemen of Stigand's (with) 50 acres of land; under these 30, 1 bordar, and under the 10 freemen 2 bordars. Among them all 32 acres of meadow. Then the 30 had 4 ploughs, afterwards $2\frac{1}{2}$, now 4. Then they used to have among the 10 $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, afterwards and now 1. Then these 30 were worth 15 shillings, afterwards and now 22 shillings and 6 pence. Then these 10 were worth 5 shillings, afterwards and now 18 shillings and 6 pence; and it is 1 league in length and a half in breadth; and for geld (pays) 19 pence. But more (tenants) hold there. The same holds it.

In ROKELUNDA [Rockland (St. Mary)] (were) 14 whole freemen of Ulketel's in commendation T.R.E. and 6 half (freemen). Among the men 90 acres of land and 10 acres of meadow. Then as now $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. Then and afterwards they were worth 10 shillings, now they render 20 shillings. Rokelunda [Rockland (St. Mary)] is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and for geld (pays) 16 pence; 1 church (with) 12 acres, and it is worth 8 pence; and the same holds it.

In BRAMBETUNA [Bramerton] (are) 12 freemen, 9 Ulketel's by commendation, 1 of St. Edmund's, the other 2 of the fee of Stigand. f. 175b.

The 10 among them hold 40 acres of land. Between the 2 of the fee of Stigand T.R.E. were 33 acres of land, now 15 acres. Among the 10 then as now $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. Between the 2 then half a plough, afterwards nothing, now 1 ox. Then and afterwards they all were worth 5 shillings, now 6 shillings and 4 pence. It is 4 furlongs in length and $2\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs in breadth, and for geld (pays) 10 pence and a halfpenny; 1 church (with) 24 acres, it is worth 24 pence. The same holds it.

In KERKEBEI [Kirby (Bedon)] 6 whole freemen, 3 of Ulketel's, the third (*sic*) of Alwi of Thetford, the fourth (*sic*) of Geured's, the fifth (*sic*) of Alvred's, by commendation T.R.E., with 41 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough. Then and afterwards they were worth 5 shillings, now 3 shillings and 4 pence; 1 church (with) 10 acres, it is worth 12 pence;

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and Robert de Curcun holds (it). There, too, (*In eadem*) are 3 freemen, 1 whole, 2 halves (*sic*) belonging to Stigand by commendation (with) 46 acres of land; and under them 1 bordar and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough. Then and always it was worth 5 shillings. It is half a league in length and half in breadth; and for geld (pays) 20 pence whoever may hold there; 1 church (with) 10 acres; it is worth 12 pence. Robert de Curcun holds it. In FRAMINGHAM [Framingham (Earl)] 1 freeman belonging to Edwin by commendation, and afterwards to Godric Dapifer his successor, under Earl R[alf]; when Earl R[alf] made forfeit Almar the bishop held him, now Roger B[igot]. Turold (holds) 20 acres on which dwell 2 bordars. Then as now half a plough and half an acre of meadow. Then as now it was worth 2 shillings; 1 church with 30 acres, it is worth 3 shillings.

In WISINLINGHAM [Whitlingham] 1 free-woman Ulket held T.R.E. under Stigand the bishop (*sic*) 160 acres of land. Then as now 9 bordars; then 1½ ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1, and half a plough belonging to the men, 8 acres of meadow, and 13 whole sokemen and 3 halves, 43 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now 1½ ploughs. Then it was worth 20 shillings, afterwards and now 30. It is half a league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth; and for geld (pays) 7 pence, whoever may hold there; 1 church (with) 10 acres, and it is worth 12 pence. The whole of this land is of the fee of Bishop Almar, and the same Robert [de Curcun] holds it.

OF THE EXCHANGE OF THE LAND OF ISAAC

f. 176.

FISKELE¹ [Bixley] was held by Genret a freeman under Stigand T.R.E. for 1½ ploughlands, and Ranulf son of Walter holds it. Then as now 2 villeins. Then as now 4 bordars. Then and afterwards 1 plough on the demesne, now 2. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, and 5 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 horse on the demesne. Then 2 beasts, now 10 swine. And 13 sokemen dwell on the half ploughland aforesaid; and 1 freeman with 2 acres of free land. Among them all then as now 4 ploughs. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 (shillings), now 50 shillings. It is half a league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and for geld (pays) 10 pence and a halfpenny; 1 church (with) 24 acres is worth 2 shillings. This he received as 1½ ploughlands.

IN FRAMINGHAM [Framingham (Earl)] Ulchetel 1 freeman of Algar the Earl by commendation held 1 ploughland; now Ulchetel holds it. Then as now 24 bordars. Then as now 1

plough on the demesne, and 3 ploughs belonging to the men, and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 horses; then 2 beasts, now 3. Then 12 swine, now 16, and 4 hives of bees. And in the same (vill are) 10 freemen under him, 50 acres of land, and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, now 60 shillings, and it is half a league in length and half in breadth. And for geld (it pays) 13 pence and a halfpenny.

In KERKEBEI [Kirby (Bedon)] (are) 4 freemen of Ulketel's (with) 10 acres of land and half an acre of meadow. Then as now half a plough, and Ulchetel holds (them).

In HOLVESTUNA [Holverstone] 3 freemen of the same (Ulketel), (with) 10 acres of land. Then as now they ploughed with 2 oxen. In AILVERTUNA [Yelverton] 3 freemen of the same with 20 acres of land. Then as now half a plough; 1 church (with) 20 acres, it is worth 20 pence. And the same (Ulchetel) holds it. In PORRINKELANDA [Poringland, (Great)]² 7 whole freemen of the same (with) 30 acres. Then as now half a plough; 1 church, 12 acres, it is worth 12 pence. The same (holds it). In SCOTTËSSAM [Shotesham] 3 freemen belonging to the same (with) 16 acres of land, 1½ acres of meadow. Then as now they ploughed with 2 oxen. The same (holds it).

In STOKES [Stoke (Holy Cross)] 1 freeman belonging to the same, (he is) a half (freeman), (with) 24 acres of land. Then as now half a plough. The same (holds it). In SUTHERLINGHAM [Surlingham] 2 freemen belonging to the same, 12 acres of land. Then as now they plough with 2 oxen. The same (holds it). In ROKELUNDA [Rockland (St. Mary)] 1 freeman of Ulketel's with 6 acres of land. All these have been appraised in Framingham [Framingham (Earl)]. The same holds them.

In BISKELE [Bixley] 1 freeman of Ulketel's in commendation and half a freeman under him with 17 acres of land, and 1 villein and 1 bordar and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now half a plough. Then it was worth 30 pence, now 4 shillings. The same holds it. This land Godric Dapifer claims by his man, Ralf to wit, by ordeal (*judicium*) or battle, that he held it as of f. 176b.

(*ad*) the fee of Earl [Ralf], and the hundret testifies (that it is) of the fee of [Roger] Bigot. But Godric reclaims this with the moiety which is (mentioned) in the king's return (*breve*).³ This Godric received for half a ploughland.

² The Bigot manor was Great Poringland. *Feud. Aids*, iii, 429, 499.

³ Cf. f. 227b, where this entry seems to be referred to, as also f. 124b.

¹ Apparently an error for 'Biskele'; see below.

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In SUTHERLINGAHAM [Surlingham] 2 whole freemen and a half of Godwin's under Stigand with 20 acres of land. The same holds it. In ROKELUNDA [Rockland (St. Mary)] 1 whole freeman and 2 halves of (free)men of Godwin's under Stigand with 20 acres. The same holds (them).

In BRAMRETUNA [Bramerton] Ranulf son of Walter holds 3 freemen and 2 half men belonging to the same, with 20 acres. Among them all 5 acres, and half an acre of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs. Then they were worth 8 shillings, now 10. These were delivered to complete (*ad proficiendum*) the manor of Biskele [Bixley].

HALF HUNDRET OF DICE [DISS]

SIMPLINGAHAM [Shimpling] is held by Robert de Vais¹ for a manor and for 40 acres of land, which Torbert a freeman of Stigand's held T.R.E. Then 9 bordars, afterwards and now 7. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, afterwards and now half (a plough). Wood(land) for 7 swine and 6 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 horse, now 3 beasts. Then 5 swine, now 23. Then as now 9 sheep, and 4 freemen delivered to complete this manor, (with) 16 acres of land. Then 1 plough, afterwards and now a half. Then as now it is worth 20 shillings. It is 5 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and for geld (pays) 5 pence, whoever may hold there: 1 church (with) 10 acres is worth 12 pence. GESSINGA [Gissing] was held by 1 freeman under Stigand T.R.E.; 42 acres, and then as now 6 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then as now the men ploughed with 2 oxen. Wood(land) for 8 swine and 4 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards it was worth 5 shillings, now 10; and the same holds it.

OSMUNDESTUNA [Osmondiston]² was held by Algar Trec under Edric T.R.E. (as) half a ploughland, and Hugh de Corbun holds it. Then as now 2 villeins and 6 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne, but 2 could be employed. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 2½. Wood(land) for 15 swine, and 6 acres of meadow; and 1 freeman and a half with 16 acres was delivered to make up this manor. Then half a plough, now nothing. Then as now it was worth 50 shillings.

HUNDRET OF LOTHNINGA [LODDON]

In MUNDAHAM [Mundham] Alvrice a freeman under Stigand held T.R.E. 30 acres of land, and there is half a bordar, now 1 plough. Wood(land) for 4 swine, and half an acre of

meadow. Then as now it was worth 5 shillings. This Alvrice was outlawed (*utlagavit*), and Ulketel the king's reeve seized the land into the king's hand, and Roger Bigot asked it of the king, and he granted it to him. This Count Alan f. 177.

claims because Earl R[alf] held it as of (*ad*) Romborc [Rumburgh (in Suffolk)] his manor. And the men of the hundret heard this Ulketel acknowledge on one occasion during (*per*) 1 year before R[alf] made forfeiture, and similarly after he had made forfeiture on one occasion, that he, Ulketel, was doing service (*deserviebat*) in Romborc [Rumburgh]; and at last this hundret heard the same (Ulketel) say that he was doing service to Roger Bigot. The men of Count Alan each year had therefrom 10 shillings except for the last 4 years, and this they are willing to prove by any means. And Ulketel holds (it).

In MUNDAHAM [Mundham] 8 freemen of Ulketel's (with) 60 acres of land and 3 bordars, and Ulketel holds them. Then as now 3 ploughs among them all. Then it was worth 8 shillings, now 10. This Roger has as part of (*in*) 5 carucates which the king gave him. The same Ulketel (holds it). In SITHINGA [Seething] 5 bordars with 10 acres, and they belong in Framingham [Framingham (Earl)]; 2 churches (with) 16 acres are worth 2 shillings; and 3 oxen. In ALGAMUNDESTUNA []³ 13 freemen of Ulketel's with 50 acres of land, and 7 bordars with 12 acres of land. Then as now among them all 4 ploughs and 2 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 8 shillings, now 10. The same (holds it). In CLAKESTONA⁴ [Claxton] 4 freemen belonging to the same and 3 bordars with 14 acres. Then as now half a plough. Then as now it was worth 2 shillings. This is held by Robert de Vals. In WODETONA [Woodton] 1 freeman belonging to the same with 20 acres, and under him 1 freeman and 1 bordar with 4 acres, and then as now half a plough. Then as now it was worth 32 pence; 1 church (with) 12 acres, it is worth 12 pence. In NORFEN [Norton Marsh] Ulketel holds 1 freewoman with 8 acres, and she is worth 8 pence. The soke and sac of Mundaham [Mundham] is in the hundret. CLARESTONA⁵ [] was held by Fuetman (*sic*), a freeman under Stigand T.R.E. for 30 acres of land. Robert de Vals (now holds it). Then as now 7 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then as now the men ploughed with 2 oxen; and 5 acres of meadow; 1 church (with) 30 acres; it is worth 3 shillings. And there too (*Et in eadem*) 15 freemen of Suetman's with 30 acres. Then as now among them

³ Identified by Blomefield with Mundham. *Hist. of Norf.* x, 166.

⁴ In the facsimile this looks like Clarestonea.

⁵ *Sic*, but probably Clakestonea [Claxton]; see next page (f. 177b below).

¹ *Rectius*—Vals.

² i.e. Scole.

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all 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow. There too 13 half freemen belonging to the same (with) 50 acres. Then as now 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow. In ASEBI [Ashby] 10 freemen belonging to the same with 30 acres; then as now 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow. There too 7 half freemen with 27 acres. Then as now 1 plough. The same (holds them). In HALGATONA [Hillington] half a freeman with 8 acres. Then as now (he ploughed) with 2 oxen. In CARLETUNA [Carleton (St. Peter)] 1 freeman of the same (man's) (with) 5 acres. Then as now 1 horse at (*in*) the hall, and 3 beasts, and 90 sheep, and 14 swine. This Roger Bigot holds of the king's f. 177b.

livery. The whole of this then as now was worth 60 shillings. Clakestona [Claxton] is 6 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and for geld (pays) 9 pence and a halfpenny. But more (men) hold there. In MUNDAHAM [Mundham] 1 freeman in commendation of Alwi of Thetford (with) 30 acres of land which Turolde holds, but he could neither give nor sell it without licence. Then as now 1 villein and 1 bordar. Then 1 plough, now half; and under him 2 freeman and a half with 8 acres and 2 serfs and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough among them all. Then it was worth 5 shillings, now 8.

In ASSEBEI [Ashby] 1 sokeman with 4 acres of land and 2 oxen, and it is worth 6 pence. Robert (de Vals holds it).

In SITHINGA [Seething] 1 freeman of Alwi's in commendation with 16 acres, and it is worth 24 pence, and Turolde holds it.

PIRENHOE [Pirnough]¹ was held by Algar a freeman under Stigand T.R.E. for half a ploughland. This Godwin holds. Then as now 6 bordars. Then half a plough on the demesne, and now 2, and half a plough belonging to the men; now 1 mill, now 2 horses at (*in*) the hall, and 5 beasts; now 60 sheep. And 1 sokeman with 4 acres. Then it was worth 10 shillings, now 20. It is 8 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth, and (pays) 8 pence for geld, whoever may hold there. The soke is in Hersam [Earsham].

In TORTUNA [Thurton] Almar, a freeman under Stigand T.R.E., held for 30 acres. This Robert de Vals holds. Then as now 2 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 4 acres of meadow and 17 freemen and a half of Almar's by commendation, with 80 acres. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs, now 1½. There, too (*In eadem*), half a freeman with 15 acres. Then as now half a plough, 1 acre of meadow. In ASEBEI [Ashby] 2 freemen of the same (Almar) (with) 9 acres. Then as now they ploughed with 2 oxen. The same (holds it). In KARLENTONA

[Carlton (St. Peter)] 2 freemen with 5 acres of land. In MUNDAHAM [Mundham] 9 acres in demesne. And 5 freemen of the same with 19 acres. Then as now half a plough. The same (holds it).

In APPLETONA [Alpington²] 30 acres of land in demesne, and 1 bordar. The whole then as now was worth 30 shillings. The soke is in the hundret. Tortuna [Thurton] is 10 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and for geld (pays) 7 pence and a halfpenny. In SITHINGA [Seething] 1 freeman of Ulketel's with 6 acres, and it is worth 6 pence.

ASEBEI [Ashby] is 9 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth and (pays) for geld 9 pence.

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOU [GREENHOE, (SOUTH)]

NEREBURGH [Narburgh] was held by Ælwi T.R.E., now R[oger] (holds) 6 ploughlands for a manor. Then 33 villeins, and afterwards 28, now the same. Then and always 10 bordars. Then 4 serfs, now 3. Then and afterwards on the demesne 3 ploughs, now 2. Then and afterwards among the men 11 ploughs, f. 178.

now 7, 16 acres of meadow, 3 mills. When he received it 2 rounceys, and now. Then as now 13 beasts and 25 swine and 200 sheep and 3 hives of bees. And it is in length 1 mile, and 10 furlongs in breadth; and when this (hundret) pays 20 shillings, then it pays 12 pence. Then it was worth 8 pounds, and (so) always.

HUNDRET OF SCEREPHAM [SHROPHAM]

HOCHAM [Hockham] was held by Edric a thegn T.R.E. (as) 5 ploughlands. Then and afterwards 13 villeins, now 7. When he received it 11 bordars, and now the same (*similiter*). Then and afterwards 7 shillings, now 3; 37 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 100 swine. Then and afterwards 3 ploughs on the demesne, now 2; then 3 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 2, and 2 ploughs could be restored; and 4 sokemen (with) 3½ acres. Then 220 unbroken (*silvaticæ*) mares,³ now none; then 5 rounceys, now 2. Then 12 beasts, now 2; then 12 swine, now 8. Then as now 220 sheep; now 2 hives of bees. Then and afterwards it was worth 4 pounds, and now the same. The whole is 1½ leagues in length, and half a league in breadth, whoever may hold there, and (pays) 15 pence for geld. In PARVO HOCHAM [Little Hockham] Ailwin held half a ploughland; then as now 3 villeins and 3 bordars and 2 serfs, and 3 acres of meadow; then as now 1 plough

² Or possibly (Burgh) Apton, which adjoins Thurton, but is in the hundred of Clavering.

³ This large number of mares is improbable, and may be due to confusion with the number of sheep.

¹ In Ditchingham, but now lost.

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on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men; and 1 sokeman (with) $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Then as now it was worth 13 shillings and 4 pence, and Tuold holds it. In SNETRETUNA [Snetterton] the same held (an estate) for 1 ploughland, and for a manor. And Ralf son of Herluin holds (the same). Then as now 2 villeins and 3 bordars and 1 serf, 8 acres of meadow; then as now 1 plough on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men. Then 3 beasts, now 7, and 9 swine; then 60 sheep, now 160, and 14 goats and 2 hives of bees. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings; and it is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, whoever may hold there, and (pays) 17 pence and 1 farthing for geld.

HUNDRET OF GILDEGROS [GUILTCROSS]

In SNARESHILLA [Snarehill, (? Great)] Turstin a freeman T.R.E. held 2 ploughlands; then as now 6 bordars and 1 serf and 3 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1, and another could be restored; then as now half a plough belonging to the men, and half a fishery. Then 4 rounceys, now 1; then 3 beasts, now 2; then 12 swine. Then 80 sheep, now 60. Then it was worth 16 shillings, now 20. In the other SNARSHILLA [Snarehill (? Little)] Ailwin holds 1 ploughland and 60 acres. This Alestan the Englishman held. Then 2 serfs, now 1, and 6 sokemen with all custom; but each one paid then as now 4 pence in the king's (manor of) Keninchala [Kenninghall] for average¹ (*ex summagio*), and the king has the 6 forfeitures from them. On the demesne then as now 1 plough, and half a plough could be added (*restaurari*); half a plough belonging to the men. Then 1 rouncey; then as now 4 beasts, then 7 swine, now 5; then 100 sheep, now 300, and 5 hives of bees, and it is worth 20 shillings. The whole

f. 178b.

is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (pays) 11 pence and 1 halfpenny for geld. LOPHAM [Lopham (? North)] was held by Off, a freeman T.R.E., 3 ploughlands, as a manor; then as now 2 villeins and 13 bordars and 4 serfs and 12 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 3; then as now 2 ploughs belonging to the men, and wood(land) for 100 swine. And 18 sokemen (with) 1 ploughland with all custom, and 12 acres and 2 ploughs. Then 1 rouncey, now 1 rouncey (*sic*), now 2; then 1 beast, now 13; now 40 swine; then 100 sheep, now 60. Then and afterwards it was worth 60 shillings, now 112 shillings. In the other LOPHAM [Lopham (? South)]² Alsi, a freeman, held T.R.E. 2 ploughlands; then as now 2 villeins and 7 bordars and 4 serfs, and 11 acres of meadow; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne,

and half a plough belonging to the men and 1 plough could be restored; wood(land) for 80 swine. And 4 sokemen (with) 13 acres of land, and 2 oxen, and 1 freeman (with) 40 acres of land, 1 bordar, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow. Then as now half a plough. Then as now 1 rouncey. Then 1 beast, now 3; then as now 40 swine; then 100 sheep, now 60, and 10 hives of bees. The soke of the freeman (is) in Kenichala [Kenninghall]. In NORTUNA [Norton, (Blo)] 1 ploughland was held by the same for a manor T.R.E., now Alvred the Englishman holds it. Then as now 4 villeins and 4 bordars and 1 acre of meadow. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1, and the other could be restored; then as now half a plough belonging to the men. And 7 sokemen (with) 60 acres of land and 2 bordars and 1 acre of meadow; then as now 1 plough. This land Alsi added to (*in*) Lopham for an outlying estate in the time of King William, and [blank] had it for a manor T.R.E. On it (are) 20 sheep. Lopham [Lopham] T.R.E. was worth 60 shillings and Nortuna [Norton] 20 shillings. Now the whole is worth—Lopham [Lopham] 70 shillings, Nortun [Norton] 30 shillings. The whole of Lopham is 1 league in length and 1 league in breadth, and (pays for geld) 34 pence and 1 halfpenny. In BENHAM³ [Banham] (is) 1 sokeman with all his custom belonging to St. Aldreda T.R.E., whom after King W[illiam] came into England the predecessor of R[oger] Bigot had in⁴ commendation only; and he has 10 acres of land, and is worth 2 shillings. Now Berard holds (him).

HUNDRET OF LAWENDIC [LAUNDITCH]

In WITCINGKESETA [Whissonsett] Ranulf son of Walter holds for a manor 3 ploughlands, which 9 freemen held. Then and afterwards 8 villeins, now 5. Then and after 6 bordars, now 10. Then 4 serfs, 15 acres of meadow then as now. Then 4 ploughs among the whole, of which 2 are now on the demesne and 2 belong to the men; wood(land) for 100 swine. The fourth part of a fishpond (*piscine*). Then as now 2 rounceys, now 12 beasts. Then 9 swine, now

f. 179.

25. Then 60 sheep, now 67; now 36 goats, and 7 hives of bees. Then it was worth 40 shillings, now 60. Of 3 freemen the soke is in the king's (manor of) MULEHAM [Mileham]. The whole is half a league in length and half in breadth, and (pays) 10 pence of geld whoever may hold there.

HUNDRET OF FEORHOU [FOREHOE]

AHINCHAM [Hingham] Stanart an Englishman holds half a ploughland for a manor which

¹ See Introduction p. 34.

² South Lopham adjoins Blo Norton which Alsi added to his Lopham.

³ Cf. *Inq. El.* (Hamilton, *Inq. Com. Cant.*), 140, 178.

⁴ *Inq. El.* 'with.'

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Alwin held T.R.E. Then 5 bordars, now 6; then as now 2 serfs, wood(land) for 12 swine and 4 acres of meadow; then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men; then as now 2 rounceys and 8 beasts and 6 swine and 20 sheep and 16 goats and 2 hives of bees. And 1 sokeman and a half (with) 27 acres. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 25.

HUNDRET AND HALF OF MITTEFORD [MIDFORD]

In JACHESHAM [Yaxham] Ranulf son of Walter holds 30 acres of land which Aldui the priest a freeman held T.R.E., and 8 bordars, then as now 1 plough, wood(land) for 5 swine, and 4 acres of meadow, and it is worth 10 shillings; and it is 7 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth and (pays) 20 pence for geld.

HUNDRET OF GALGOU [GALLOW]

KREICH [Creake, (North)] is held by Turstin son of Guy (as) 4 ploughlands which Kochaga held T.R.E. Then as now 6 villeins and 14 bordars and 10 serfs. Then 4 ploughs on the demesne, and afterwards; now 3. Then 3 ploughs belonging to the men, now 2, and they could (*possent*) be restored. Wood(land) for 20 swine, 6 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 rouncey. Then 18 swine, now 13. Then 320 sheep, now 264; and 25 sokemen with one ploughland. Then 7 ploughs, now 5. Then it was worth 4 pounds, now 6.

HUNDRET OF BRODERCROS [BROTHERCROSS]

In BRUNEHAM [Burnham (Thorpe¹)] Humfrey de Cuelai holds 1 ploughland which Kochagana held T.R.E. Then 2 villeins and now (the same). Then as now 10 bordars. Then 2 serfs, now 1. Then as now on the demesne 1 plough. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1, but (the other) can be restored. Now 40 sheep. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 16 shillings.

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOGA [GREENHOE, (NORTH)]

In GUERVELEI [Quarles] Turstin son of Guy holds 1 outlying estate which belongs to 1 ploughland at Creic [Creake, (North)]: 5 bordars, then as now 1 plough; and it is in the valuation of Crehic [Creake, (North)]. DALLIGA [Dalling, (Field)] was held by Alsī and Lefstan a freeman, T.R.E., (then by) God' and Rob[ert],² now by R[oger] the sheriff; 2 ploughlands; and this the same (*ipse*) Roger reclaims in exchange for that land which the king gave to Isaac; 1 villein and 3 bordars; 6 sokemen (with) 18 acres of land, 7 acres of meadow.

¹ Burnham Thorpe was held with North Creake of the Earl Marshal in 1302. *Feud. Aids*, iii, 405.

² God' and Rob' interlined above Alsī, probably signifying later tenants.

On the whole, then as now 3 ploughs, and *f. 179b.* then it was worth 30 shillings, now 40 shillings.

HUNDRET OF NORTH ERPINGEHAM [NORTH ERPINGHAM]

HAGANWORDA [Hanworth] was held by 1 free-man, Withri, T.R.E.; now R[oger] Bigot holds it: 4 ploughlands; then as now 11 villeins and 30 bordars. Then and afterwards 2 serfs, and now 1. Then 4 ploughs on the demesne, and afterwards 2, and now 3, and then as now 5 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 60 swine, 6 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 1 mill; now 2. Then 1 rouncey and now 5. Then 14 beasts and now 24. Then 7 swine, then 7 swine (*sic*), and now 40. Then 11 sheep, now 105. Then 30 goats, now 26. Then 7 hives of bees, and now 8. To this belongs (*adjacet*) 1 outlying estate, ROFTUNA [Roughton], 1 ploughland; then as now 2 villeins and 8 bordars and 1 serf; then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and 1½ ploughs belonging to the men, 3 acres of meadow.

In ALABEI [Alby] 1 villein, and 3 in SUTSTEDE [Sustead] and 1 bordar belonging to (*de*) the manor aforesaid. In INGEWRDA [Ingworth] 1 villein whom Tocho of Winterton held; and this the predecessor of R[oger] added to this manor.

In ALDEBURC [Aldborough] 1 bordar whom Ustan held T.R.E. was added in like manner.

In TURGATUNE [Thurgarton] (are) 2 bordars belonging to the manor. In CILATORP [Calthorpe] 1 villein whom Godwin of Scotthou [Scottow] held was added in like manner: and these three that were added hold 36 acres of land. The whole of this was worth T.R.E. 4 pounds, and afterwards 60 shillings, and now 6 pounds: and the manor is 8 furlongs in length and 5½ in breadth, and (pays) for geld 9 pence and a halfpenny. And that Withri had sac and soke upon this land, and the king and earl the 6 forfeitures.

HUNDRET OF HAPINGA [HAPPING]

SUTTUNA [Sutton] was held by Edric de Laxefeldā T.R.E.; 3½ ploughlands; then as now 6 villeins and 17 bordars, and 2 ploughs on the demesne and 3 ploughs belonging to the men, wood(land) for 60 swine, 39 acres of meadow, half a saltpan, and 2 rounceys. Then 23 unbroken (*silvaticæ*) mares, now 7. Then 13 beasts, now 22; then 9 swine, now 23. Then 180 sheep, now 200; and 4 hives of bees. And 2 sokemen with 12½ acres; 1 church and 10 acres. To this manor belongs 1 outlying estate, CATEFELDA [Catfield] (of) 1 ploughland,

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then as now 2 bordars, and 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men, and 18 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 10 swine. And 14 sokemen (with) 75 acres; then as now 2½ ploughs, and half an acre of meadow; 1 church (with) 20 acres. And 24 freemen in commendation only (with) 2 ploughlands; then as now 4 ploughs, and 14 acres of meadow. The king and earl (have) the soke. To this manor also belongs BRUMESTADA [Brumstead]. Robert holds what Edric held (as) 2 ploughlands; then as now 2 villeins, and 4 bordars; then and afterwards 1 plough
f. 120.

on the demesne, now 2; then as now 1 plough belonging to the men; 1 church (with) 9 acres. Wood(land) for 16 swine, and 8 acres of meadow; now 1 mill, and 1 beast, now 10 swine, and 40 sheep, and 30 goats. And 17 freemen (with) 110 acres in commendation only, and St. Benet has the commendation of 1; then as now 2 bordars, and 2 ploughs and 2 acres of meadow. And the same holds it.

In STALHAM [Stalham] of 9 freemen the commendation only (belonged to) Edric, and half the soke; the king and earl (have) the other moiety: and they have 60 acres of land and 1½ ploughs and 3 acres of meadow. In HORSHEIA [Horsey] 4 freemen in commendation only, the king and earl (have) the soke; and they have 50 acres and 1 plough and 6 acres of meadow. All these freemen were then worth 40 shillings, now 68 shillings and 8 pence. And the whole manor with the outlying estate was then worth 90 shillings, now 6 pounds and 11 shillings and 4 pence. Now the whole together, with the freemen, is worth 10 pounds. This was of the manors of Earl Ralf, and was farmed (*ad censatum*) at 10 pounds, and as such (*sic*) the king gave it to Roger Bigot, as he himself says, when his brother William came from Apulia with Geoffrey Ridel.

EAST HUNDRET OF FLEC [HUNDRET OF EAST FLEGG]

In TRIKEBEI [Thrigby] half (d') 3 freemen of A[ilwin's] (with) 31 acres, of 2 Ailwin had commendation only, and of the other Guerd; and then as now 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow, and they are worth 4 shillings. In RONHAM [Runham] half (d') 3 freemen of Ailwin's by commendation only (with) 13½ acres, and half an acre of meadow; then as now half a plough and 2½ salt pans, and it is worth 18 pence. In FILEBEY [Filby] 4 freemen of the same, together with 118 acres of land and 1 bordar; then as now 2 ploughs and 4 acres of meadow and 2½ salt pans; and it is worth 5 shillings. This Stanhart holds.

In NESSA [Ness (in Winterton¹)] 1 freeman (with) 15 acres which Ailwin took possession of (*invasit*) in the time of King William, and Roger [Bigot] reclaims it to his fee of the king's gift; then as now 2 oxen and 1 acre of meadow and 3 parts of a salt pan, and it is worth 16 pence; and the same holds it. In MALTEBEY [Mautby] 1 freeman under Ailwin by commendation only (with) 20½ acres of land; then as now 3½ bordars and 2 oxen and 1 acre of meadow and 1 salt pan, and it is worth 8 pence.

HUNDRET OF HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD]

HETHELLA [Hethel] was held by Olf, a thegn T.R.E. (for) 2 ploughlands and 35 acres. Then 12 villeins, afterwards 10, now 12. Then and afterwards 7 bordars, now 11, then as now 2 serfs. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards 1, now 2, and 1 church (with) 30 acres. Then 5 ploughs, afterwards and now 3, 12 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 60 swine, now 1 mill. Then 2 rounceys, now 5. Then 5 beasts, now 8, and 3 wild mares. Then 18 swine, now 25; then 1 sheep, now 80; then 2 hives of bees.
f. 180b:

And 8 sokemen (with) 30 acres of land; then and afterwards 1 plough, now a half, and 1 acre of meadow. And then as now 1 outlying estate, CHESEWIC [Keswick], of 1 ploughland and 20 acres. Then 2 villeins, afterwards and now 1; then as now 1 serf. Then and afterwards 1 plough on the demesne, now 2, and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 mill. Then it was worth 106 shillings and 6 pence; afterwards 6 pounds, now 8. And it is 1 league in length and 6 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 6 pence and 3 farthings for geld. And Chesewic [Keswick] is 6 furlongs in length and 5 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 6 pence and a halfpenny for geld. And Aitard [de Vals] holds it. KITRINCHAM [Ketteringham] the same Olf held T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands; now Ranulf son of Walter; then as now 4 villeins and 12 bordars. Then 3 serfs, now 1; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1½ ploughs belonging to the men, 8 acres of meadow; then as now 2 rounceys; 1 church, 40 acres. Then 1 mill, now none, but it is in HETELLA [Hethel]; then 1 beast, now 3; now 20 swine and 80 sheep. And 8 sokemen with 60 acres; then as now 1½ ploughs. Then and afterwards it was worth 50 shillings, now 60. And it is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (pays) 16 pence and a halfpenny for geld whoever may hold there. KARLETUNA [Carlton, (East)] is held by Walter, which Olf held (as) 1 ploughland for a manor; then as now 2 bordars, and 1 plough on the demesne, 4 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 2 swine, then 1 rouncey, and it is worth 10 shillings. Two churches (with) 38 acres. In FLORENDUNA

¹ Blomefield, op. cit. xi, 199.

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[Flordon] 10 acres, and in NIWETUNA [Newton (Flotman)] 15 acres of the demesne of Hathella [Hethel]; then as now 1 plough and 1 mill, and it is worth 5 shillings. And Florenduna [Flordon] is 8 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (pays) 9 pence and 3 farthings for geld.

HUNDRET OF DEPWADE

FORNESSETA [Forncett] was held by Coleman, a freeman under Stigand; 1 ploughland. Then 1 villein, afterwards and now 2, and 1 church (with) 15 acres. Then 8 bordars, afterwards 10, and now 14; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men, 12 acres of meadow. Then 2 rounceys, now 5; then 10 beasts, now 12; then 1 sheep, now 80. Then 1 swine, now 18; and 3 sokemen (with) 27 acres; then 1 plough, now half (a plough). And 1 outlying estate, OSLACTUNA [Aslacton], (of) 80 acres; then as now 6 bordars, then 2 ploughs on the demesne, and now the like. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, 6 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 4 swine; then 1 rouncey. Then 5 beasts, now 1, and 1 swine. And 3 sokemen (with) 6 acres; then half a plough. And another outlying estate William holds, TUANATUNA [Swanton],¹ of 40 acres; then as now 3 bordars, then as now 1 plough on the demesne; and half a plough belonging to the men, and 4 acres of meadow and 3 beasts. And 1 sokeman (with) 3 acres. In KEKELINGETUNA [Kettleton]² 2 sokemen, 7 acres; then half a plough, now 2 oxen. In HALAS³ 3 sokemen, 12 acres; then 1 plough, now half (a plough). Then the whole was worth f. 18r.

60 shillings, now 6 pounds. The whole of Hala is half a league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 4 pence for geld. Fornes-seta [Forncett] is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (pays) 6 pence and a halfpenny for geld. And Oslactuna [Aslacton] (is) 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (pays) 9 pence for geld. And Tuanatuna [Swanton] (is) 11 furlongs in length and 6 (furlongs) and 10 perches in breadth, and pays 11 pence and a halfpenny for geld. In Fornesseta [Forncett] Olf held 30 acres T.R.E.; then as now 1 villein, 3 bordars, and 1 serf. Then and afterwards 1 plough on the demesne, now none; then as now half a plough belonging to the men, 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 8 swine; then 1 rouncey, then 3 beasts.

In KEKILINGETUNA [Kettleton] 2 sokemen, 6 acres. And in TUANATUNA [Swanton] 2 sokemen, 6 acres.

¹ In Forncett St. Peter. Occurs in 1316 as 'Thwanton.' *Feud. Aids*, iii, 476.

² In Forncett St. Peter. Occurs in 1316 as 'Kitelynton.' *Ibid*.

³ Not known.

In WAKETUNA [Wacton (Magna)] 1 sokeman, 4 acres. In MULETUNA [Moulton (St. Michael)] 1 sokeman, 10 acres. In ASLAKETUNA [Aslacton] 1 sokeman, 30 acres; then as now 1 plough and 2 bordars and 3 acres of meadow. In TIBHAM [Tibbenham] 2 sokemen, 66 acres, and 8 bordars. Then 2 ploughs, now 1½ ploughs, 3 acres of meadow. In THERSTUNA [Tharston] 2 sokemen, 45 acres. Then 1 plough, now half (a plough), and 1 acre of meadow. In STRETUNA [Stratton, (Long)] 1 sokeman, 12 acres. In SCLETUNA [Shelton] 1 sokeman, 60 acres, and 14 bordars and 6 villeins and 1 serf, and 1½ ploughs on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men and 3 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 8 swine. In HIERDUIC [Hardwick] 2 sokemen, 35 acres, and 5 bordars; then as now 2 ploughs and 2 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 2 swine. In FREDETUNA [Fritton] 1 sokeman, 8 acres and 2 oxen. Then the whole was worth 80 shillings, now 100 (shillings) and 10 pence. The king and the earl (have) the soke. STERESTUNA [Tharston⁴] is held by Robert de Vals, which Ulvic held under Stigand; 2 ploughlands; then as now 1 villein; then and afterwards 26 bordars; now 24; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne; 1 church (with) 40 acres, and it is worth 3 shillings. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1, and 1 plough could be restored; 12 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 10 swine, and 2 mills. Then 4 rounceys, now 4 beasts. Then 40 swine, now 20. Then 40 sheep, now 80, and 1 hive of bees. And 33 sokemen (with) 1 ploughland. Then 8 ploughs, afterwards and now 4, and 2 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 5 pounds and 6 shillings, and now the like: and it is 1½ leagues in length, and 1½ furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 15 pence and a halfpenny for geld. To this manor Robert de Vals added 7 freemen and a half; of all his predecessor had commendation only except of f. 181b.

one who was a sokeman of Stigand's; and they have 82 acres. Then and afterwards 3 ploughs, now 2, and 3 acres of meadow, and they are worth 14 shillings. HADESTUNA [Bunwell]⁵ was held by Ailuin of Thetford (as) 2 ploughlands; now Robert de Curcun holds it; then as now 1 villein and 21 bordars and 2 serfs: then 1 plough on the demesne, now 2. Then and afterwards 3 ploughs belonging to the men, now 2; 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 6 swine. Then as now 1 mill, and 1 rouncey, and 3 beasts, and 46 swine. And 11 men in the soke of the fold and commendation T.R.E.,

⁴ This so identified by Blomefield, v, 203. But there is a 'Starston' in Ersham hundred, held of the manor of Forncett in 1302. *Feud. Aids*, iii, 395. Blomefield is probably right.

⁵ Said to be Bunwell (Blomefield, op. cit. v, 131), where the Earl Marshal held a fee in 1302. *Feud. Aids*, iii, 412.

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and they could sell the land, but the dues (*consuetudo*) remained in the manor; and they have 26 acres; then $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, now 1, and 1 church (with) 30 acres, and 2 acres of meadow and half a plough. The king and earl (have) the soke. Then it was worth 40 shillings, now 71 shillings. And (there are) 5 freemen, of 2 and 1 bordar Aluin had commendation only; and of the third the predecessor of [Robert] Malet, and of the fourth the predecessor of Ralf 'B[er]lang,'¹ and of the fifth the predecessor of Eudo son of Spiruic; and they have 42 acres, then as now 1 plough, and 3 acres of meadow: and they are worth 6 shillings. The king and earl (have the soke). And in HEMENHALA [Hempnall] 1 freeman of Alui by commendation only (with) 30 acres, and 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow; wood (land) for 8 swine; and it is worth 10 shillings, and Tuold holds it.

In TUANATUNA [Swanton] 30 acres were held by Hardekinc a freeman T.R.E.; then as now 4 bordars; then 3 serfs, now 2; then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men, and 1 mill and 3 acres of meadow. And 11 freemen under him T.R.E. in commendation (with) 20 acres. Then $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, now 1. Then it was worth 15 shillings, now 23 (shillings) and 7 pence. This he (Roger Bigot) reclaims of the king's gift. This Walter holds.

HUNDRET OF GLAVELINGA [CLAVERING]

HATESCOU [Haddiscoe]; 9 freemen of Stigand's; 120 acres and 1 bordar; then as now 2 ploughs; pasture for 80 sheep; 9 acres of meadow, and it is worth 15 shillings. And it is 1 league in length and 8 furlongs in breadth and (pays) 9 pence and 1 farthing for geld. Robert holds it.

HALS [Hales] was held by Alestan, a thegn of Harold's, T.R.E.; 1 ploughland and 40 acres; then as now 9 bordars and 2 ploughs on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 5 acres of meadow; wood (land) for 3 swine. Then 1 rouncey, now 2. Then 1 beast, now 2. Then 14 swine, now 27. Then 10 sheep. And 13 freemen in the soke of the fold and commendation (with) 40 acres. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 40. This Alestan commended himself to Alwin of Thetford in the time of King William, and (Alwin) was seised of him when King William gave his (Alwin's) land to Roger; but the hundret has not seen (any) grant (*breve*) or feoffor (*deliberatorem*) that gave (him) to Aluin. The whole of Hals [Hales] is 15 furlongs and 13 perches (in length) and 6 furlongs in breadth, and pays 8 pence for geld.

In HADESCOU [Haddiscoe] 1 sokeman of Edric de Laxsefelda (has) 30 acres and 3 bordars, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, 6 acres of meadow, and 4 freemen under him (with) 19 acres. Then it was worth 10 shillings, now 13 (shillings) and 4 pence. There is also pasture for 50 sheep.

This sokeman commended himself to Alwin in King William's time, and he was thereof seised when the king gave the land to Roger Bigot.

HECHINGHEAM [Heckingham] is held by Tuold of Roger, which a freeman held T.[R.]E.; 26 acres and 1 bordar and 1 acre of meadow. Then half a plough, now none, but it could be restored. And it is worth 16 pence.

In HATESCOU [Haddiscoe] 1 freeman held $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres and 1 bordar, and is worth 3 pence. Robert holds him of Roger [Bigot].

In RAVINGRINGHAM [Raveningham] 1 freeman held 12 acres T.R.E., of whom Alwin was seised when Roger received his land. This is in the valuation of Hatescou [Haddiscoe]. The same R[obert] holds it.

f. 182b.

In NORTUNA [Norton (Subcourse)] Ulchetel a freeman held 30 acres, now 2 men hold them of the fee of Ulchetel. Then as now 1 bordar and half a plough and 1 acre of meadow; and 1 freeman under him (with) 1 acre. The whole is 1 league in length and half in breadth, and (pays) 12 pence for geld.

In TURVERTUNA [Thurlton] 2 freemen (with) 22 acres and 1 acre of meadow, and half a plough. This Robert holds of Roger [Bigot].

In HETHINGHAM [Heckingham] 1 freeman, Bondo, (with) 30 acres of land, whom Roger holds as part of (*ad*) the fee of Ulchetel: but Ulchetel himself had half the commendation of him T.R.E. and of his wife the whole commendation. And Godric Dapifer claims him because he held him when Ralph the earl made forfeiture. And the hundret testifies that he used to do service to Godric, but they know not on what terms (*quo modo*). And he had then as now 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow. He is worth 4 shillings.

In the HUNDRET OF ERPINCHAM NORD [NORTH ERPINGHAM] Roger [Bigot] has 2 bordars with 15 acres.

[HENSTEAD HUNDRET]

In FRAMINCHAM [Framingham] 8 bordars (with) 16 acres of land. In BISCHELAI [Bixley] Alvrice a freeman, 24 acres. In PORRINGHELANDA [Poringland] 1 freeman, 24 acres and $2\frac{1}{2}$ bordars. And it is worth 8 shillings.

The whole is in the HUNDRET OF HAINESTEDA [HENSTEAD].

¹ Probably an error for Ralf Baignard, see f. 259.

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f. 183.

These are the freemen belonging to Roger Bigot in FREDREBRUGE HUNDRET AND HALF [FREEBRIDGE]. In ERIMESTUNA [Grimstone] 1 freeman (with) 60 acres of land whom Robert de Vals holds, 3 bordars, and 8 acres of meadow; then as now half a plough, and it is worth 5 shillings. There too (*In eadem*) the same holds 4 freemen (with) 40 acres and 2 acres of meadow; T.R.E. 1 plough, now a half, and it is worth 5 shillings.

HUNDRET OF CHINGA [DOCKING]

In TIGIWELLA [Tichwell] Tove a freeman under Harold T.R.E. held 1 ploughland; now Ralf holds it. Then 1 plough on the demesne, and now; then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, and 6 villeins and 1 bordar, and 2½ acres of meadow. Then it was worth 13 shillings and 4 pence, now 12 (shillings).

HUNDRET OF SMETHEDUNA [SMETHDON]

In HUNESTUNA [Hunstanton] 4 freemen T.R.E. (with) 65 acres whom Ralf son of H[erluin] holds. Then 1 plough, now 2 oxen. Then they were worth 16 shillings, now 4 (shillings).

HUNDRET OF GRIMESHOU [GRIMSHOE]

In MUNDEFORDA [Mundford] 60 acres of land which 1 freeman holds; then as now 1 plough and 2 bordars and 2 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 5 swine. Then it was worth 2 shillings, and now (the same). In ESTERESTUNA [Sturston] 1 freeman with 60 acres whom R[alf] son of H[erluin] holds. Then half a plough. Then he was worth 30 pence, now 8 pence.

In STANFORDA [Stanford] 1 freeman (with) 60 acres of land. Now Stanard holds him. Then and afterwards half a plough and 2 acres of meadow, and he is worth 2 shillings and 8 pence.

HUNDRET OF WENELUNT [WAYLAND]

In GRESTUNA [Griston] 1 freeman (with) 28 acres of land, half a plough and 3 acres of meadow, and he is worth 4 shillings.

In BRECES [Breckles] 9 freemen with 110 acres, and 1 villein and 1 bordar and 10 acres of meadow; then as now 2 ploughs; and they are worth 10 shillings.

In SAHAM [Saham] 1 freeman (with) 60 acres of lands, whom Robert holds; 1 plough and 5 bordars and 8 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 15 swine; and it is worth 30 shillings.

In TOMESTUNA [Thompson] 40 acres of land and half a plough, and it is worth 3 shillings.

HUNDRET OF SCEREPHAM [SHROPHAM]

In HOCHAM [Hockham] 4 freemen, and in SERPHAM [Shropham] 5, and in WILEBY [Wilby] 1, and in BESETHORP [Besthorpe] 1; among them all (*inter totum*) 3 ploughlands and f. 183b.

2½ acres, and 6 bordars, and 17 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 8 swine; then as now 5 ploughs. The whole is worth 68 shillings. The soke is in the king's (manor of) Bucham [Buckenham, (Old)]. In SCERPHAM [Shropham] 1 freeman (with) 30 acres of land; then as now 1 bordar, and 3 acres of meadow, and half a plough, and it is worth 4 shillings. The soke is in the same Bucham [Buckenham, (Old)]. In SCERPHAM [Shropham] 1 freeman, 8 acres of land and 1½ acres of meadow, and 2 oxen; and it is worth 16 pence. In BESETHORP [Besthorpe] 1 freeman (with) 1 half plough land, 1 villein and 7 bordars and 6 acres of meadow; then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then and afterwards 1 plough belonging to the men, now 2 oxen; wood(land) for 8 (swine). Then it was worth 10 shillings, now 20. The soke is in Bucham [Buckenham]. In ROCHELANT [Rockland All Saints] half a ploughland, 1 freeman whom Pagan holds, 2 bordars, and 3 acres of meadow; then as now half a plough, and it is worth 5 shillings. The soke (is) in Bucham [Buckenham]. In BRETHAM [Brettenham] 3 freemen (with) 1 ploughland whom William de Burneville holds, and 3 bordars and 4 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 1½ ploughs, now 1, and it is worth 23 shillings and 8 pence. The soke (is) in Bucham [Buckenham].

HUNDRET OF GILLETROS [GUILTCROSS]

In LOPHAM, [Lopham (?South)]¹ 5 freemen, 1 ploughland and 20 acres, and 5 bordars and 5 acres of meadow; then as now 2½ ploughs; wood(land) for 40 swine. The whole is worth 48 shillings and 4 pence. The soke (is) in Kenichala [Kenninghall].

In GUIDENHAM [Quiddenham] 1 freeman (with) 24 (acres) T.R.E., now 3 freemen, 2 acres of meadow. Then half a plough, and it is worth 2 shillings. The soke (is) in Keninchala [Kenninghall].

HUNDRET AND HALF OF MITTEFORD [MIDFORD]

In THURSTUNA [Thuxton] 20 acres of land, 1 freeman whom Robert holds, 1 plough, and 4 acres of meadow, and 4 sokemen and a half, 10 acres, and it is worth 4 shillings; 1 church (with) 16 acres, and it is worth 16 pence.

HUNDRET OF GALGOU [GALLOW]

In CREICH [Creak, (North)] 4 freemen with half a ploughland whom Turstin son of Guy (*Wido*) holds. Then 1½ ploughs, now 2 oxen, and it is worth 3 shillings.

¹ See above, p. 101.

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HUNDRET OF BRODERCROSS [BROTHERCROSS]

In BRUNEHAM [Burnham (Thorpe)] the same holds 2 freemen with 1 ploughland. Then and now 10 bordars; then and now 1 plough on the demesne. Then belonging to the men 1 plough, now a half, and 2 parts of a mill, half an acre of meadow. Then it was worth 8 shillings, now 18 shillings. There too (*In eadem villa*) f. 184.

the same holds 2 freemen with half a ploughland. Then as now 2 bordars. Then as now half a plough. Then it was worth 2 shillings, now 12 pence.

In DEPEDALA [Deepdale, (Burnham)] 1 freeman with half a ploughland is held by the same. Then as now 3 bordars. Then as now 1 plough. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 10.

In REINEHAM [Rainham] of the fee of Stigand the bishop 1 freeman holds half a ploughland. Now Edwin holds him. Then as now 4 serfs. Then 1 plough, now a half, 2 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 10 shillings, now 5 shillings.

In SUT REINHAM [South Rainham] 1 freeman with 20 acres of land, whom Aitard holds, and 1 bordar. Then as now half a plough, 1 acre of meadow. Then it was worth 5 shillings, now 3 shillings.

HUNDRET OF HOLT

In MARSTUNA [Morston] 1 freeman with half a ploughland whom Turald holds, and 4 bordars, and 1 plough, and it is worth 20 shillings.

HUNDRET OF NORTH ERPINGEHAM [NORTH ERPINGHAM]

In HAGANAWORDA [Hanworth] Withri held 3 freemen, now R[oger] Bigot (holds them). Now they have 1 bordar and 60 acres of land. Then 1½ ploughs, and always, and 3 roods of meadow. Then and afterwards they were worth 10 shillings, now 18.

In HAMETUNA [Metton] Withri T.R.E. held 3 freemen, and Harold 1; now R[oger] Bigot (holds them). Then as now 1 ploughland and 1 villein and 3 bordars and a half, and 2 ploughs, 3 acres of meadow, and 1 mill. Then and afterwards they were worth 20 shillings, now 30 (shillings) and 8 pence.

In SUTSTEDE [Sustead] Withri held 1 freeman and Ulstan 1 T.R.E., now R[oger] (holds them). And they have 30 acres of land and 1 bordar and a half, then as now, and 1 plough, 1½ acres of meadow; and now 1 mill. Then and afterwards they were worth 8 shillings, and now 12 (shillings).

In ALMERTUNA [Aylmerton] 1 freeman of Elwin's, now Roger's; and he has 1 ploughland;

then as now 7 villeins and 7 bordars, and 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men. And under him 2 sokemen (with) 16 acres of land; and then as now half a plough and wood(land) for 4 swine, 1½ acres of meadow. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, and now 40 (shillings). In FELEBRUGE [Felbrigg] 2 freemen of Gert's, and they have 2 ploughlands; then as now 1 villein and 7 bordars and 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 60 swine, 4 acres of meadow. And he (*iste*) has 8 sokemen with 73 acres of land, and then as now 1½ ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 6 swine. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, and now 4 pounds. It is half a league in length and 4 furlongs and 3 perches in f. 184b.

breadth, and (pays) for geld 3 pence and 1 halfpenny. And METUNE [Metton] is 5 furlongs in length and 4 (furlongs) and 6 perches in breadth, and (pays) for geld 5 pence.

In GRESSAM [Gresham] Alward holds 4 sokemen with 13 acres of land, then as now half a plough, 1 acre of meadow; they are valued with the 4 freemen. There, too (*In eadem villa*) 1 freeman with 30 acres of land; and then as now 2 bordars, and half a plough. In SUTSTEDE [Sustead] Alward holds 3 bordars, and they have half a plough.

In BERINGEHAM [Barningham (Norwood)] 1 sokeman with 12 acres of land. Then he used to plough with 2 oxen, now with half a plough (i.e. plough team). In ALDEBUR [Aldborough] 1 freeman with 30 acres of land whom Ketel held T.R.E.; half an acre of meadow.

In ALMERTUNA [Aylmerton] 2 sokemen whom Alward holds, with 12 acres of land and 3 bordars. Then as now they ploughed with half a plough (team); and the whole of this is in the valuation of Felebruge [Felbrigg].

In RUNETUNE [Runton] Bundo held 1 freeman T.R.E. with 30 acres of land; he was delivered for 1 freeman, but now 2 freemen hold it; 5 villeins and 2 bordars; then as now 1 plough. Wood(land) for 4 swine, 1 acre of meadow. Then and afterwards it was worth 8 shillings; it stood (*fuit*) at 20 shillings, but could not pay it; and therefore it now stands (*est*) for 15 (shillings).

In RUSTUNA [Roughton] T.R.E. Withri held 2 freemen with 30 acres of land. Wood(land) for 2 swine, half an acre of meadow. Then and afterwards it was worth 5 shillings, now 10 shillings and 4 pence. Here Edric held 1 freeman (with) 3 acres who could not go away without Edric's leave; but Robert Malet claims the men.¹

¹ Or possibly 'Robert Malet's men claim (*calumpniatur*) him.'

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In SUTFELLE [Suffield] 4 freemen, and 1 of them Withri held and the king another, and Harold the 2 others; 2 ploughlands. Then as now 10 villeins and 11 bordars. Then and always 4 ploughs on the demesne and 3 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 12 swine, 4 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 2 mills, now 4. Then and afterwards it was worth 4 pounds, and now 6 pounds and 15 shillings. And it is 8 furlongs in length and $5\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth, and (pays) 13 pence and 1 halfpenny for geld.

In BERNINGEHAM [Barningham (Norwood)] 16 acres of land of the demesne aforesaid. Wood(land) for 4 swine.

In ANTIGEAM [Antingham] 2 bordars have half a plough. They are valued in Sutfelle [Suffield].

In this ANTIGEAM [Antingham] 3 freemen—I was Almar's, another Alwold's, the third f. 185.

Unspat's—hold $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands, and Torstin son of Wd.' holds them; then as now 4 villeins and 4 bordars. Then and afterwards $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and now $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, 3 acres of meadow and 2 ploughs belonging to the men then as now. Then and afterwards it was worth 25 shillings, now 32 shillings.

In ALDEBURC [Aldborough] 4 freemen whom Harold held T.R.E., with half a ploughland. Then as now 6 bordars. Then as now 3 ploughs, 1 acre of meadow, $1\frac{1}{2}$ mills. Then and afterwards (they were worth) 15 shillings, now 30 (shillings), but they were (valued) at 40 shillings, but could not pay it. In TURGARTUNA [Thurgarton] 1 freeman whom Ilving holds, with 12 acres of land; then as now he ploughed with half a plough (team). Then and afterwards he was worth 2 shillings, now 5.

In SCEPEDANE [Shipden],¹ 1 freeman (whom) Osbern held T.R.E., with 40 acres of land; now Torstin holds him. Then 3 bordars, now 5; then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men; 1 acre of meadow. Wood(land) for 30 swine, and 1 sokeman with 3 acres of land. Then and afterwards he was worth 8 shillings, now 10.

In BERNINGEHAM [Barningham (Norwood)] Osfert holds 3 freemen with half a ploughland. Then as now 5 bordars. Then and afterwards $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, now $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs; 1 acre of meadow. Then and afterwards it was worth 10 shillings, now 50. And it is 10 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth, and (pays) 16 pence for geld.

In BETHAM [Beckham (East)] 1 freeman with 60 acres of land. Then as now 1 villein, and 3 bordars; and 1 plough on the demesne, and half (a plough) belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 5 swine; 1 acre of meadow; and 1 sokeman with

4 acres of land. Then and afterwards it was worth 5 shillings and 4 pence, now 10 shillings.

In BERNINGEHAM [Barningham (Norwood)] 1 freeman with 3 acres of land, with 2 oxen for ploughing. Then and afterwards he was worth 16 pence, now 3 shillings. Over all the freemen of this hundret the king has sac and soke.

HUNDRETT OF FLEC WEST [WEST FLEGG]

In BURC [Burgh (St. Margaret)] Alwi held 1 freeman by commendation only T.R.E. with 6 acres of land; now Stanhard holds (him); 12 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 villein, 8 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men. And under them (*sic*) 17 freemen (with) 89 acres of land, 12 acres of meadow. Then as now 3 ploughs. Then f. 185b. and always it was worth 20 shillings. This the same holds.

In WINTRETUNA [Winterton] 1 freeman with 21 acres of land and half an acre of meadow. Then as now half a plough, and he is in the valuation of Ailward of Felebruge [Felbrigg].² This the same holds.

HUNDRET OF HEINESTE [HENSTEAD]

In SCOTESAM [Shotesham] 4 freemen belonging to St. Benet, 1 belonging to Ulf, the fourth to Gert by commendation T.R.E. (with) 60 acres of land and 1 acre of meadow and 3 bordars. Then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. Then it was worth 2 oras, afterwards and now 10 shillings. This the same holds.

In STOKES [Stoke (Holy Cross)] 1 freeman of Gert's by commendation T.R.E. with 24 acres of land, whom R[alf] the earl held when he made forfeiture with half the land and Ro[bert] Baig[nard] (*sic*)³ the other (half), as the hundred testifies. Now Ro[ger] Bigot holds it, and claims it as part of the fee (*revocat ad feudum*) of his freemen by the king's gift; and Aitard contradicts the hundret that testifies this, but Meinard affirms it with the hundret. Under him then as now 3 bordars, and then as now 1 plough; and in addition (*adhuc*) under him 3 sokemen with 9 acres of land, and 3 parts of 1 mill and 3 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 5 shillings, and (so) always. And this R[oger] Bigot acknowledges to have received, after that R[alf] made forfeiture, to be kept in the king's hand, and he still keeps it. In FRIESTUNA [Fritton] 1 freeman of Ulf's by commendation. This Ranulf holds.

In FRAMINGAHAM [Framingham (Earl)] 1 freeman of Ulf's by commendation. In AILVERTUNA

² See ff. 184, 184b.

³ This looks like a mistake for 'Roger Bigot.'

¹ Now Cromer.

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[Yelverton] 1 freeman of Stigand's. This the same holds. In ROKELUNDA [Rockland (St. Mary)] 3 freemen of Ulf's. This the same holds.

In SCUTHERLINGAHAM [Surlingham] 2 half freemen of Ulf's. This the same holds. In BRAMBRETUNA [Bramerton] 1 freeman of Ulf's by commendation. This the same holds. Among them all 68 acres of land and 4 bordars and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now 1½ ploughs. Then it was worth 16 shillings, now 20 shillings. In TREUS [Trowse] 1 freeman, Ansgot's, by commendation T.R.E., 40 acres of land and 4 bordars; this the same holds; and 1 freeman and a half under him (with) 4 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 1 plough among them all, now 2. Then and afterwards (it was worth) 5 shillings, now 7 shillings. It is 3 furlongs in length and 3 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) for geld 9 pence and a halfpenny. In SCOTESSAM [Shotesham] 1 freeman of Ulf's by commendation, 10 acres of land, and half an acre of meadow. Then 2 oxen, now half a plough (team). Then as now it was worth 16 pence. The same holds (it).

In SASILINGAHAM [Saxlingham (Nethergate)] 1 freeman of Ulf's by commendation T.R.E.,
f. 186.
(with) 24 acres of land, and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now half a plough. Then as now it was worth 3 shillings. This the same holds.

In AILV(ER)TUNA¹ [Yelverton] 1 freeman of Stigand's with the soke by commendation T.R.E. with 20 acres of land. Now Aitard holds (him); 3 bordars, 1½ acres of meadow. Then as now 1½ ploughs, and under him 3 sokemen and a half with 10 acres of land. Then and afterwards it was worth 5 shillings, now 20. In PORRINGALANDA [Poringland, (Great)] 1 freeman of Edric's with 12 acres of land and half an acre of meadow. Then as now they plough with 3 oxen. Then and always it was worth 12 pence. *Hunt*² Ailumtuna [Yelverton] is 4 furlongs in length and 3 furlongs in breadth, and for geld (pays) 10 pence and a halfpenny. This the same holds. Poringalanda [Poringland, (Great)] is 5 furlongs in length and 4½ in breadth, and for geld (pays) 12 pence.

HALF HUNDRET OF HERSAM [EARSHAM]

In STERESTUNA³ [Starston] 1 freeman belonging to St. Aldreda⁴ and to Stigand⁴ T.R.E. held half a ploughland; the soke and sac was in Hersam [Earsham], but he could neither give nor sell his

¹ The mark of contraction over the v is no doubt intended to denote ER; it is, however, expanded by the scribe lower in this entry as m.

² The meaning, or origin, of this word *Hunt*, with which this sentence begins, is not evident. It should probably have been deleted.

³ Compare *Inq. El.* (Hamilton, *Inq. Com. Cant.*), 141.

⁴ I.E. omits.

land⁵ without leave of St. Aldreda and Stigand.⁵ Now Godwin holds it, and under him 3 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. And 8 freemen under him with 20 acres. Then as now 3 ploughs. Then as now it was worth 10 shillings. Now R[oger] Bigot claims it as part of (*revocat ad*)⁶ the fee of⁶ his freemen by gift of the king.³ But the hundret testifies that when Richard Punnant was reeve (*prepositus*) in Hersam [Earsham] it used to belong in Hersam [Earsham], but he who now holds it, then Richard's under-reeve in Ersam [Earsham], has withdrawn it, and by the testimony of the hundret he paid rent (*censum*) in Ersam [Earsham] of twenty shillings and 6 pence each year, expressly (*nominatim*) for this and other land; but this year he has not paid. And W. de Noiers has hitherto had the rent.⁷

HUNDRET OF LOTNINGA [LODDON]

In BETHINGAHAM [Bedingham] Offo a thegn of Stigand's held for a manor 1 ploughland T.R.E.; now the same holds it. Then as now 12 bordars and 2 serfs. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 3 ploughs belonging to the men, and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 horses on the demesne and 9 swine. Then as now 20 goats. Then it was worth 10 shillings, now 30.

In SITHINGA [Seething] 1 freeman under Gert held T.R.E. 30 acres of land and 2 serfs. Then half a plough, now 1, on the demesne; the same holds (this), and under him the same holds 6 freemen (with) 30 acres of land; (they are) in Stigand's soke. Then as now 2 ploughs among them.

f. 186b.

There too (*In eadem*) 1 freeman of Stigand's in commendation T.R.E. (with) 1 ploughland. Now the same holds it. Then as now 1 villen and 7 bordars. Wood(land) for 12 swine. Then half a plough on the demesne, now 1 plough. Then as now half a plough belonging to the men and 3 acres of meadow and 1 mill. And under him 8 freemen in commendation in the soke of Stigand, (with) 20 acres of land and 2 serfs. Then as now 1 plough. Then the whole was worth 20 shillings, now 40.

In MUNDAHAM [Mundham] 1 freeman of Godwin's under Gert T.R.E. (with) 30 acres of land. Now the same holds it. Then as now 5 bordars. Then as now half a plough. It is valued in the 40 shillings. There too are 3 freemen of the same under Gert; 16 acres of land. Then as now 1 plough. Then as now it was worth 5 shillings. The same holds this.

In SITHINGA [Seething] 1 freeman of Stigand's in commendation (with) 16 acres. Then half a

⁵ I.E. 'outside the church.'

⁶ I.E. omits.

⁷ See f. 139.

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plough, now 1. Then as now it was worth 32 pence. This the same holds.

In BRON [Broome] Toka, 1 freeman of Harold's by commendation, held T.R.E. 30 acres and 6 acres of meadow. Then one plough, now a half. The soke is in the hundret. Then as now it was worth 10 shillings.

In KARLENTONA [Carleton] 1 freeman of Godwin's (with) 20 acres and 2 bordars. Then as now half a plough. Then as now it was worth 20 pence.

HUNDRET OF ERPINCHAM SUD [SOUTH ERPINGHAM]

ALEBEI [Alby]. One ploughland was held by 1 freeman Offort for a manor under Harold; now his 4 sons hold it. Then as now 3 villeins and 5 bordars. Then and afterwards 1 plough on the demesne. Then and afterwards 2 (ploughs) belonging to the men; now among the whole 4 (ploughs), and 1 mill. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, now 40; and it is 6 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, whoever may hold there, and (pays) 3 pence and a halfpenny for geld. In BUC [? Burgh (next Aylsham)] 2 freemen (with) 90 acres of land; then as now 2 bordars and 1½ ploughs, and half an acre of meadow; now half a mill. Then and afterwards it was worth 15 shillings, now 25 shillings and 4 pence. And it is 3 furlongs in length and 2 in breadth, and (pays) 2 pence for geld. In ERPINCHAM [Erpingham] 1 freeman of Harold's (with) 30 acres of land. Then as now 1 bordar and half a plough and half an acre of meadow. Then and afterwards it was worth 4 shillings, now 5 (shillings) and 4 pence. In TORP [Thorpe] 1 freeman of the same (Harold's) (with) 60 acres of land; now Turolde holds him. Then and afterwards 5 bordars, now 2; then as f. 187.

now 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 5 swine, and 1 sokeman (with) 1 acre. Then it was worth 10 shillings, now 20.

In WICMERA [Wickmere] 9 freemen of the same (Harold's) (with) 1 ploughland; now Robert de Curcon holds (them): then as now 5 bordars and 2 serfs and 2 ploughs and 1 acre of meadow, wood(land) for 10 swine. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 30; and (it is) 6 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (pays) 8 pence for geld. There too (*In eadem*) 2 freemen of Harold's and Bishop Almar's (with) 30 acres, then as now 2 bordars, and half a plough, and half an acre of meadow. Then 3 parts of 1 mill. Then it was worth 8 shillings, now 12.

HUNDRET OF TONSTEDA [TUNSTEAD]

In FELMICHAM (Felmingham) 1 ploughland which belongs (*pertinent*) to the 4 men of Sudfelda

¹ Probably either Calthorpe or Baconsthorpe.

[Suffield]; ² then as now 7 bordars and 4 sokemen on the same land, then as now 2 ploughs and 1½ acres of meadow. And this is in the valuation of Sudfelda [Suffield].

There too (*In eadem*) (are) 4 freemen (with) 80 acres, then as now 4 bordars, and 2 ploughs, and 2 acres of meadow, and 1 mill. Then it was worth 10 shillings, now 16 (shillings) and 4 pence. And it is 1 league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 18 pence for geld. One of those 4 was the man of the predecessor of R[obert] Malet.

In SMALEBERGA [Smallburgh] 3 freemen (with) 1 ploughland; then as now 12 bordars and 3 sokemen. Then and afterwards 3 ploughs, now 4, and 2 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 6 swine. Two of these are in the valuation of Antingham [Antingham] ³ and the third is worth 10 shillings. One of them was the man of the predecessor of Robert Malet, and the others belonged to St. Benet: ⁴ St. Benet itself (has) the soke. In DILLAM [Dilham] 1 freeman of Edric (with) 60 acres of land; then as now 5 bordars and 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow. This is in the valuation of Sudfelda [Suffield].

HUNDRET OF HAPINGA [HAPPING]

In PALINGA [Palling] 1 freeman of Guerd (with) 1 ploughland; then as now 5 bordars, and 1 plough on the demesne, and 24 acres of meadow and 1 plough belonging to the men. There too (*In eadem*) 5 men (with) 23 acres whom Hugh de Hosdenc holds; then as now 1 plough. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 40. Of those 4 were free, but they could not withdraw (*recedere*) except on giving 2 shillings.

In WACSTENESHAM [Waxham] half a freeman (with) 7 acres of land; and he is in the same valuation.

f. 187b.

In STALHAM [Stalham] 1 freeman (with) 15 acres. This the same holds. In BRUNESTADA [Brimstead] 1 freeman (with) 15 acres, and in HORSEIA [Horsey] 1 freeman (with) 12 acres. Of these Ailwin, his predecessor, had not even the commendation T.R.E., and yet he claims them as part of (*revocat ad*) his fee by the king's gift, because the said (*ille*) Ailwin had commendation of them in the time of King William. Then as now 1 plough and 4 acres of meadow, and it is worth 4 shillings. The king and the earl (have) the soke.

HUNDRET OF HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD]

In CARLETUNA [Carleton, (East)] 27 freemen and a half under Olf by commendation only and soke of the fold T.R.E., and they have

² See f. 184b.

³ See ff. 184b, 185.

⁴ St. Benet of Holm.

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1½ ploughlands, and 10 acres; and 4 freemen, and of 2 the predecessor of Ranulf Peverel (*Piperelli*) had commendation and of a moiety of a third; and the predecessor of Eudo Dapifer in like manner of 1 and of the moiety of the other, and of these (*e quibus*) his predecessor had nothing; and they have 50 acres. Between them all (*inter totum*) they have 4 ploughs and 5 acres of meadow. In SUERDESTUNA [Swardeston] 1 freeman (with) 8 acres. In (*sic*) Suerdestuna [Swardeston] is 6 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (paid) 13 pence for geld T.R.E.

FLORENDUNA [Flordon]; 15 freemen under Olf by soke of the fold and commendation only. In BRACCLLES [Bacon (Ash)] 1 freeman in the same way. Among them all they have 100 acres less 2, and 5 bordars, and 1 acre of meadow; then as now 2 ploughs. In NEILANDA [Nayland]¹ and in URNINCHAM [Wreningham] 9 freemen: of 8 and a half of these the predecessor of R[oger] had the commendation only and soke of the fold, and the predecessor of Hermer the moiety of 1 by soke of the fold and commendation only.

In WASINCHAM [2] 6 freemen under the predecessor of Roger by soke of the fold and commendation only. Among them all (*inter totum*) they have 130 acres; then as now 3 ploughs and 1 mill and 1 bordar. In BRACCAS [Bacon Ash] 5 freemen; of 4 the predecessor of Roger Bigot had half commendation and of the fifth the whole, and the predecessor of Ranulf Peverel (*Piperelli*) of the four likewise (the half): and they have 150 acres of land. Then as now 2½ ploughs and 6 acres of meadow. In FLORENDUNA [Flordon] 5 freemen; of these R[oger]'s predecessor had half commendation only, and the predecessor of Codric (*sic*) Dapifer f. 188.

likewise, and they had 1 ploughland and 30 acres and 2 bordars and 2 acres of meadow; then as now 2 ploughs. In EILANDA [Nayland] 4 freemen, (with) 1 ploughland and 4 bordars; then as now 2 ploughs, and 4 acres of meadow. Of 2 freemen and a half Roger's predecessor had commendation T.R.E. and Stigand of 1 and the predecessor of Hermer (de Ferrières) of a half.

In DUNESTUNA [Dunston] 3 freemen and a half (with) 49 acres in commendation only T.R.E.; then as now 3 bordars and 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow. In MANEGRENA [Mangreen]² 1 freeman and a half. Of this the predecessor of Roger had half the commendation and the predecessor of Godric (half) in like manner: and he has 33 acres.

In SUEDESTUNA [Swardeston] 8 freemen; of 3 and a half his⁴ predecessor had commendation

only T.R.E. and of 4 the predecessor of Godric in like manner, and of the (other) half the predecessor of R[anulf] Peverel (*Piperelli*) in like manner. Among the whole they have 45 acres of land and 2 bordars; then as now 1½ ploughs, 2 acres of meadow.

In TORP [Swainsthorpe] 1 freeman in commendation only with 15 acres, and 2 freemen with 4 acres, half an acre of meadow, and half a plough. In MOLKEBERTESTUNA [Mulbarton] 1 freeman with 30 acres under the predecessor of Godric by commendation only T.R.E.; then as now 2 bordars, then half a plough, now 1. There too (*In eadem*) (was) 1 freewoman under the predecessor of Godric in commendation only T.R.E. (with) 30 acres of land, and of this Godric was seised when R[alf] made forfeiture, and as was due (*ex debito*) he used to pay him (Godric) 5 shillings; and a certain man of Roger's by commendation only, son of the same woman, used to live on the same land with his mother, and therefore R[oger] reclaims half the land; and the father of the same man had in another place other free land under the predecessor of R[oger] by commendation only, and all that land Roger holds. On those former 30 acres then (there were) 1½ ploughs, now 1, and 4 bordars and 2 acres of meadow; and under those 2 (*sub se ii*) 2 freemen and a half in commendation only, with 17½ acres, then as now f. 188b.

half a plough. All these freemen were worth T.R.E. 8 pounds, afterwards 10, now 15 pounds and 5 shillings and 5 pence and a halfpenny.

In KETRINCHAM [Ketteringham] 5 freemen by half commendation only under the predecessor of Roger and by half commendation under the predecessor of Godric, and they have 1 ploughland and 16 acres: now Ranulf son of G. [Walter] holds them. Then as now 1 bordar. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs, now 1½ ploughs, and 4 acres of meadow; and they are worth 10 shillings.

In KESEWIC [Keswick] 14 freemen whom Aitard holds; 4 under the predecessor of Roger by commendation only, and 5 by soke of the fold and commendation, and 5 under the predecessor of Godric by commendation only; and they have 60 acres. Then 1½ ploughs, afterwards and now 1, and half an acre of meadow.

There too (*In eadem*) 4 freemen; 2 in commendation only, and 1 under Godric's predecessor in like manner, and the fourth belonged to Stigand in the same way. And they have 1 ploughland. Of 30 acres of land Godric was seised when R[alf] made forfeiture, and 2 women of his used to live there; now Aitard holds it of Roger. Two bordars, then as now 2 ploughs, and 6 acres of meadow. Then it was worth as a whole (*inter totum*) 15 shillings,

¹ In Wreningham, now lost.

² In East Carleton, now lost.

³ In Swardeston.

⁴ i.e. Roger's.

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now 25. The king and the earl have the soke of all these freemen.

In COLENEN [Colney] 1 freeman of Stigand's by commendation only (with) 1 ploughland, whom Wareger holds; then as now 2 villeins; and 9 freemen under him by commendation only, (with) 24 acres (of land). Then 4 ploughs, afterwards $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, now 1 plough and 2 oxen, and 6 acres of meadow, and 1 mill. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 30.

In FLORENDUNA [Flordon] 5 freemen; of 4 Roger's predecessor had commendation only, and the predecessor of Roger de Ramis (had commendation) of the fifth; and they have 15 acres and half a plough, and are worth 16 pence. There too (*In eadem*) (are) 2 freemen; of 1 and of a moiety of the other Stigand had commendation T.R.E. and of the other moiety the predecessor of Roger Bigot had commendation only T.R.E. And they have 30 acres and 2 bordars and half a plough and 1 acre of meadow, and are worth 4 shillings. Of half this land Godric was seised as of (*ad*) his fee when R[alf] made forfeiture.¹ In CRINGAFORDA [Cringleford] 1 freeman of Stigand's, 15 acres and 2 bordars; and 2 freemen (with) $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres; then as now half a plough, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow, and the eighth part of a mill; and they are worth 3 shillings. In RAINESTORP [Rainthorpe]² half a freeman in commendation T.R.E. (with) 30 acres of land; now Wareger holds (it). Then 2 villeins, now 1; then as now half a plough and 1 acre of meadow; and it is worth 5 shillings. In NIWESTUNA [Newton (Flotman)] 1 freeman, 15 acres, and 2 bordars, and it is worth 16 pence. In FLORENDUNA [Flordon] 1 freeman (with) 30 acres; then half a plough. Of him Godric's predecessor had commendation, and he is worth 3 shillings.

DEPWADE HUNDRET

In FORNESSETA [Forncett] 6 freemen in commendation (with) 85 acres; then 3 ploughs, now 25 acres of meadow. And in HALSA [] 4 freemen (with) 36 acres, then as now 2 ploughs and 3 acres of meadow. In CARLETUNA [Carlton (Rode)] 3 freemen, 12 acres and half a plough, and 1 acre of meadow. In FREDETUNA [Fritton] 3 freemen and a half, 80 acres and 13 bordars, then as now 2 ploughs, and half a plough belonging to the men, and 3 acres of meadow, and 1 church (with) 40 acres, and 1 sokeman and a half under it (*sub ill'*) (with) 5 acres.

In CARLETUNA [Carlton (Rode)] 16 freemen and a half and 1 ploughland, and 6 acres and 10 bordars. Then 3 ploughs, now 2, and 5 acres

of meadow, and 2 churches (with) 30 acres. In KIKELINGATUNA [Kettleton]³ 3 freemen, 48 acres, and 1 plough and 3 acres of meadow.

In OSLACTUNA [Aslacton] 11 freemen (with) 54 acres. Then 2 ploughs, now 1, 4 acres of meadow. Of 3 of these 11 the predecessor of Robert Malet had commendation T.R.E.; and on the day on which William Malet died he was seised of 2. This Hugh holds.

In MULETUNA [Moulton (St. Michael)] 9 freemen and a half (with) 140 acres—now Malger holds them—and 15 bordars. Then and afterwards 4 ploughs, now 3; and 2 freemen and a half under them (with) 15 acres and 8 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 5 swine. In MULETUNA [Moulton] 1 freeman (with) 60 acres (the same holds him) and 7 bordars and f. 189b.

2 ploughs and 6 acres of meadow; and 1 church with 15 acres. Wood(land) for 8 swine. Then 1 mill. And under him 14 freemen with 20 acres, then as now 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow.

There too (*In eadem*) 4 freemen (with) 6 acres. The whole of Muletuna [Moulton (St. Michael)] is $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length, and half (a league) in breadth, and (pays) 13 pence and a halfpenny for geld.

In TUANESTUNA [?Swanton]⁴ 12 freemen (with) 140 acres, and 3 bordars. Now William holds them. Then 5 ploughs, afterwards 4, now 3, and 8 acres of meadow. There too (*In eadem*) under them 4 freemen and a half (with) 6 acres and half a plough.

In WAKETUNA [Wacton] 6 freemen and a half (with) 86 acres and 5 bordars. Then 3 ploughs, and afterwards, now 2, and 4 acres of meadow. There too under these 4 freemen (with) 15 acres. In STRATUNA [Stratton, (Long)] 7 freemen (with) 60 acres. Then and afterwards 3 ploughs, now 1, and 2 acres of meadow and half a mill. In SCLTUNA [Shelton] 9 freemen and a half and 3 bordars, and 1 church (with) 16 acres; and under these 4 freemen; between them all 59 acres; then as now 2 ploughs, and 2 acres of meadow. And the whole of Sceltuna [Shelton] is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (pays) 9 pence for geld. This Durand holds, and Waketuna [Wacton] also (*similiter*).

In TIBHAM [Tibenham] 3 freemen (with) 69 acres and 7 bordars. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs, now $1\frac{1}{2}$, and 2 acres of meadow. In HABITUNA [Hapton] 1 freeman of Stigand's T.R.E. (with) 30 acres. Then 1 villein, then as now 2 bordars, and 1 plough on the demesne. Then half a plough. There too (*In eadem*)

¹ Compare f. 205.

² In Newton-Flotman.

³ In Forncett; see above, p. 104.

⁴ See above, p. 104.

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4 freemen (with) 36 acres and half a plough and 3 acres of meadow. In TASEBURC [Tasburgh] 7 freemen (with) 110 acres, now Berard and Aselin hold them; then as now 2 ploughs, and 7 acres of meadow; and they are worth 24 shillings.

In FUNDAHALA [Fundenhall] 1 freeman, 8 acres, half a plough. In TUANATUNA [?Swanton] 1 freeman, Oslac (with) 30 acres. Then 5 bordars, now 10. Then 3 serfs, now 1. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men; 4 acres of meadow; and 4 sokemen (with) 6 acres and half a plough. And 1 church with 60 acres of free land, an almoyn from many men (*elemosina plurimorum*). In CARLETUNA [Carlton (Rode)] 2 freemen commended to Oslac only, and they have 7 acres.

In KIKELINGATUNA [Kettleton] 2 freemen, 2 acres. In FORNESSETA [Fornecett] 1 freeman, 2 acres. In TANATUNA [Swanton] 3 freemen, 4 acres. In WACHETUNA [Wacton] 2 freemen, 1½ acres. In STRATUNA [Stratton]

f. 190.

1 freeman, 4 acres. In MULETUNA [Moulton (St. Michael)] 3 freemen, 5 acres. In TIBHAM [Tibenham] 2 freemen, 7 acres. In ASLACTUNA [Aslacton] 1 freeman, 1 acre. Among the whole 2 ploughs and 2 acres of meadow. In TACOLVESTUNA [Tacolneston] 1 freeman of Stigand's (with) 25 acres and 3 bordars, 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow. In FUNDEHALA [Fundenhall] 2 freemen (with) 60 acres whom Osbert holds, and 2 bordars. Then 2 ploughs, now 1½. In TIBHAM [Tibenham] 3 freemen with 28 acres and 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow. The whole together was worth T.R.E. 10 pounds, now 22 pounds and 2 shillings and 9 pence. One of those 7 (freemen) of Taseburc [Tasburgh] Herme[r de Ferrières] claims,¹ and a certain Englishman, his man, hereupon offers the ordeal (*ex hoc offert iudicium*) that his predecessor was seised of him on the day that King Edward was alive and dead (i.e. died); and this the whole hundret disputes (*contradicit*) either by battle or ordeal. That Englishman has given pledge (to stand by) his offer (*ex hoc*).

HUNDRET OF GNAVERINC [CLAVERING]

HATESCOU [Haddiscoe]: 1 freeman of King Edward's, whom, after William came, Alwi his (i.e. Roger's) predecessor had in commendation; and he has 40 acres—now Tuold holds him—and 6 bordars; pasture for 40 sheep. Then half a plough, now 1, and 6 acres of meadow; and 6 freemen under him by commendation. Then 1 plough, now 1 plough and 4 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 10 shillings, and

¹ Perhaps as appurtenant to Wreningham. See f. 208.

now the same (*similiter*). Stigand had the soke. In EKINCHAM [Heckingham]² 1 freeman of Stigand's (with) 30 acres; now Robert de Wals holds him; and 2 bordars; and 2 freemen under him (with) 3½ acres; then as now half a plough, and it is worth 4 shillings.

HUNDRET OF CLACHESLOSA [CLACKCLOSE]

In WALINGHETUNA [Wallington] 30 acres of land were held by Husgarla, a freeman, T.R.E.; now Hugh holds it. Then as now it was worth 3 shillings. In HULINGHEIA [Hilgay] 1½ acres were held by a freeman T.R.E., and it was worth 3 pence. This the same (Hugh) holds. In BEKESWELLA [Bexwell] 1 freeman under Harold (with) 20 acres of land, now R[alf] son of Erluin holds him, and he is worth 2 shillings and 8 pence. In DUNHAM [Downham (Market)] 1 freeman, 12 acres, and he is worth 16 pence. This the same holds. In DERHAM [Dereham, (West)] 6 freemen, 9 acres of land and 3 bordars, and they are worth 10 shillings. This Hugh holds. There, too (*In eadem*), 1 freeman (with) 16 acres, and it is worth 12 pence. This the same holds. Of him his predecessor had commendation only. There, too, 60 acres of land which Godric, a freeman, held T.R.E., now the same holds it. Of this the

f. 190b.

predecessor of Roger and the predecessor of Baign(ard) had commendation only; and it is appraised above. In STRASETA [Stradsett] 1 freeman (with) 6 acres of land, and it is worth 6 pence. This the same holds. In BYCHAM [Beechamwell] Alfeih, a freeman, held T.R.E. 2 ploughlands and 2 acres of land, 14 bordars; now R[obert] de Vals holds it. Then 4 serfs, now 1; then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, 6 acres of meadow. Then 4 swine, now 12. Then 80 sheep less 1, now 100; 1 ass. To this manor then as now belonged (*jacent*) 3 freemen in commendation only (with) 60 acres. Of these Harold had the soke, and they are worth 40 shillings. Of the demesne of this land Wihenoc took 30 acres; he reclaims them (*istos*) by gift of the king; 1 church (with) 30 acres is worth 2 shillings and 6 pence.

HUNDRET AND HALF OF FREDREBRUGE

[FREEBRIDGE]

EASTWUINC [East Winch]: 1 freeman (of) Guerd T.R.E. (with) 60 acres of land and 11 acres of meadow; then as now 6 villeins and 3 bordars; then as now 2 ploughs. Then it was worth 40 shillings, now 60. This R[obert] de Vals holds.

² Compare f. 205 below.

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f. 191.

LAND OF THE BISHOP OF TEDFORD [THETFORD] BELONGING TO THE BISHOPRIC T.R.E.

LAND OF WILLIAM THE BISHOP

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOU [GREENHOE, (South)]

CRESINGHAHAM [Cressingham, (Great)] was held by the bishop in demesne for a manor and for 2 ploughlands. Then 7 villeins, now 4; now 3 bordars. Then 4 serfs, now 1. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 3. Then amongst the men 1 plough, now half. Wood(land) for 60 swine, 8 acres of meadow, 2 mills, 2 fisheries. Then as now 22 beasts, and 5 rounceys, and 17 swine, and 80 sheep. And 1 church (with) 20 acres, it is worth 20 pence; and 17 sokemen with 60 acres and 3 acres of meadow and 3 ploughs. Then it was worth 6 pounds, now 9, and it is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth; and the whole together with the tenants in it pays 14 pence (for geld) when the hundret pays 20 shillings.

(HUNDRET OF FREEBRIDGE)

GAIWDE [Gaywood]¹ was held by Ailmar the bishop T.R.E. for a manor and for 3 ploughlands; now the bishop (William) holds it in demesne. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men and 16 villeins. Then 28 bordars, now 24. Then as now 1 serf, 40 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 160 swine, 1 mill and 32 acres of land. Then 30 salt pans, now 21. And 3 sokemen with 29 acres, and 4 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 rouncey and 3 beasts and 25 swine, 190 sheep. Then it was worth 13 pounds, now 18 (pounds) and 10 shillings. The whole is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth, and pays 12 pence for geld.

HUNDRET OF SMEZEDUNA [SMETHDEN]

TORNHAM [Thornham] was held by Ailmar the bishop T.R.E. for a manor. Now the bishop (holds it) in demesne for a manor and for 3 ploughlands; and then as now 3 ploughs on the demesne, and 3 ploughs belonging to the men, and 21 villeins, 14 acres of meadow; now 1 mill; and 16 sokemen with 1½ ploughs, and 5 bordars. On the demesne 2 rounceys, 2 beasts, 30 swine and 500 sheep. Then it was worth 14 pounds, now 16. The whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and pays 2 shillings for geld.

HUNDRET OF GRENESHOU [GRIMSHOE]

STOFFAM [Tofts, (West)] was held by Ailmar the Bishop T.R.E. (for a manor) and for 6 ploughlands. Now Richard and Heli hold it of

¹ In Freebridge hundred.

the bishop (William). Then as now 3 villeins. Then 19 bordars, now 15. Then 4 serfs, now 1; 8 acres of meadow. Then 1 plough on the demesne, now 3. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1. Then as now 22 swine, 280 sheep. Then it was worth 40 shillings, now 60. The whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and pays 17 pence for geld.

HUNDRET OF LAWENDIC [LAUNDITCH]

ELMENHAM [Elmham, (North)] was held by Ailmar the bishop T.R.E. for a manor and for 8 ploughlands; now the bishop (William) holds it in demesne. Then as now 41 villeins and 63 bordars. Then 6 serfs, now 4; 24 acres of meadow; then as now 4 ploughs on the demesne, and 16 ploughs belonging to the men. Then wood(land) for 1,000 swine, now for 500. Then as now 4 mills and 3 rounceys and 32 swine, 300 sheep, 35 goats. And 24 sokemen with 1 ploughland. Stigand (had) their soke T.R.E., and now (it is) in Milham [Mileham]. Then as now 4 ploughs, 4 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 30 swine, 1 mill. Here belongs (jacet) now as then 1 outlying estate which is called BETELLEA [Beeteley] of 1 ploughland, and 7 villeins, 10 acres of meadow; then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and 2 could be employed (*restaurari*); then as now 2 ploughs belonging to the men. And here belongs 1 sokeman with 26 acres, then as now 1 plough, and 1½ acres of meadow; and 1 church is on the manor with 60 acres and 1 plough, and it is worth 5 shillings and 4 pence. Then the whole was worth 10 pounds; afterwards and now 32 (pounds). It is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and pays 20 pence for geld. And the outlying estate is 8 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth.

HUNDRET OF BRODERCROS [BROTHERCROSS]

COLECHIRCA [Colkirk] was held by Ailmar T.R.E. for a manor and for 2 ploughlands. Now the bishop (William) holds it in demesne. Then 1 villein, now none. Then as now 12 bordars. Then 4 serfs, now 2. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Wood(land) for 60 swine, 4 acres of meadow, 7 beasts, 27 swine. Then 10 sheep, now 100; 60 goats. The church (has) 40 acres; it is worth 2 shillings; and 14 sokemen with 66 acres. Then 3 ploughs, now 2½. Then it was worth 6 pounds, now 9. It is 5 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (pays) 11 pence in geld.

HUNDRET OF GALGOU [GALLOW]

SAXELINGHAM [Saxlingham]² was held by Ailmar T.R.E. for a manor and for 1 ploughland; now the bishop holds it. Then as now

f. 192.

² Afterwards in hundred of Holt.

HOLDERS OF LANDS

7 bordars, 1 serf, and 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men, 2 acres of meadow. It is appraised in TORNEDIS [Thornage], 1 church with 12 acres. Of this manor W[] holds half a ploughland and 1 plough, and it is worth 20 shillings. It is 7 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (pays) 2 shillings for geld.

HUNDRET OF HOLT

TORNEDIS [Thornage] was held by Ailmar the bishop for a manor and for 8 ploughlands T.R.E., and now the bishop (holds it) in demesne. Then as now 40 bordars and 8 serfs, and 8 ploughs on the demesne and 10 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 50 swine, 9 acres of meadow, 3 mills, 4 rounceys, 12 swine, 100 sheep. To this manor pertain 4 outlying estates, that is to say BRUNTUNA [Brinton] and SAXELINGHAM [Saxlingham] and BECHAM [Beckham]¹ and HEMESTEDA [Hempstead], and they are reckoned in TORNEDIS [Thornage]. And 16 sokemen with 36 acres. Then as now between them 4 ploughs. The whole was worth T.R.E. 13 pounds; now it renders 30 pounds. It is 1 league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and (pays) 12 pence for geld. One church (with) 32 acres is worth 32 pence.

SUANETUNAM [Swanton (Novers)] was held by A[ilmar] T.R.E. for 2 ploughlands, and it belongs to (*jacet ad*) HIDOLFESTUNA [Hindolveston]. Then as now 8 bordars and 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 3 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1, and 2 could be restored. Wood(land) for 100 swine. Then 13 swine, now 6; now 200 sheep. Then it was worth 6 pounds, now 8; and it is half a league in length and a half in breadth, and (pays) 3 pence for geld.

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOU [GREENHOE, (North)]

HINDRINGHAM [Hindringham] is held by the bishop in demesne, which Ailmar held for a manor and for 4 plough(lands) T.R.E. Then as now 11 villeins. Then 20 bordars, now 15. Then 8 serfs, now 7. Then as now 4 ploughs on the demesne. Then 5 ploughs belonging to the men, now 3. Then wood(land) for 10 swine, now for 8; then as now 1 mill, 5 acres of meadow, 17 swine, 160 sheep, 6 hives of bees. And 7 sokemen (with) half a ploughland, and T.R.E. they ploughed with 2 ploughs, now 1. Then it was worth 10 pounds, now it renders 15 pounds. It is 1 league in length and 1 in breadth, and (pays) 2 shillings for geld. And in WARHAM [Warham] is 1 man belonging to this manor with 12 acres. In GWELLA [Wells] (are) 2 men who belong to this manor with 12 acres. Pasture for 100 sheep.

f. 192b.

EDGAMERA [Egmere] was held by Ailmar the bishop for a manor and for 3 ploughlands

¹ In North Erpingham hundred.

T.R.E.; now Morel holds it of the bishop. Then 14 villeins, now 8. Then 2 serfs, now none. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 2 oxen, and 2 ploughs could be restored; then as now 1 rouncey, 1 acre of meadow, 8 swine. Then 180 sheep, now 90. And 7 sokemen belong (*jacet*) to the vill with 45 acres; then 2 ploughs, now 1. Then it was worth 70 shillings, now 45 shillings and 4 pence; and 1 sokeman who is in MURLAI [] a man of Bishop William's. Then he used to plough with 1 (full) plough team, now with 2 oxen.

In TORP [Cockthorpe] A[ilmar] held 1 sokeman and 2 bordars, and it belongs to LANGHAM [Langham].

In LOCHAM [? Holkham] W. de Noiers holds of the bishop O. 1 freeman whom A[ilmar] the bishop held T.R.E., with 23 acres of land; and he could not give or sell his land, and he was in the king's soke. Then he was worth 5 shillings, now 17 shillings and 4 pence. And in HOCHAM [Holkham] he holds 1 sokeman with 10 acres, and he belongs in Hidirgham [Hindringham].

HUNDRET OF WALESAM [WALSHAM]

In HEMELINTUNA [Hemblington] 21 sokemen with 140 acres of land and 8 acres of meadow; then 3½ ploughs, now 2. This is appraised in Blawefeldra [Blofield]. There too (*In eadem villa*) 60 acres of land in demesne.

HUNDRET OF ENSFORT [EYNESFORD]

The bishop holds HIDOLFESTUNAM [Hindolveston] in demesne for a manor and for 200 acres. Then as now 12 villeins and 22 bordars and 3 serfs, and 2 ploughs on the demesne and 5 ploughs belonging to the men; then wood(land) for 600 swine, now 300, 12 acres of meadow, 1 mill. Then as now 2 rounceys and 20 beasts and 40 swine, 40 goats, 2 hives of bees. Here belongs (*jacet*) 1 outlying estate which is called NORTUNA [Norton, (Wood)] of 200 acres. Then as now 9 villeins and 6 bordars, then 2 serfs, now 1; then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men, 8 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 30 swine. And 1 church on the manor with 26 acres, and it is worth 20 pence. And a third part of a church is in the outlying estate with 2½ acres, and it is worth 4 pence. And 8 sokemen with 51 acres of land, which Hugh holds of the bishop; 3 bordars, then as now 2 ploughs, and 4 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 10 swine. And in GEGHESTUEIT [Guestwick] 1 sokeman with 24 acres of land and

f. 193.

2 oxen. Then half a plough, now 1. And in GEGESETA [Guist] 2 sokemen with 2 acres which the same Hugh holds. Then the whole

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was worth 10 pounds, now 13 pounds and 8 shillings. And Hidolvestuna [Hindolveston] is 1 league in length and 1 in breadth, and pays 8 pence and a halfpenny for geld.

HELMINGHAM [Helmingsham]¹ was held by Ailmar the bishop T.R.E. for a manor, and for 3 ploughlands; now Gonfrid the archdeacon (holds it) of the bishop. Then 8 villeins, now 4. Then as now 9 bordars. Then 1 serf, now none; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne; then as now 1½ ploughs belonging to the men; and 8 acres of meadow and 1 mill; now 11 swine and 19 sheep. Two churches with 10 acres, and they are worth 8 pence. And 13 sokemen are held by the same with 40 acres of land. Then as now 5 ploughs and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 4 pounds.

In CORPSTY [Corpusty] 30 acres of land were held by Ailmar the bishop T.R.E.; then as now half a plough and 1 acre of meadow; woodland for 4 swine; and it is worth 2 shillings. The soke is in Caustuna [Cawston].

HUNDRET OF TONSTEDA [TUNSTEAD]

In SUAFFELDA [Swafeld] Gonfrid holds 1 sokeman, 24 acres of land, and 2 bordars and a half, and a plough, and it is worth 5 shillings and 4 pence. There too (*In eadem*) 28 acres (belong) to the church; then as now 1 bordar, and 2 acres of meadow, and it is worth 2 shillings. And the whole is 1 league in length and 4 furlongs and 1 perch in breadth, whoever may hold there, and (pays) 18 pence for geld.

HUNDRET OF DEPWADE

STRATUNA [Stratton] is held by Walter the deacon (as) 2 ploughlands (and) 30 acres, which A[ilmar] the bishop held T.R.E. Then as now 7 villeins, and 6 bordars and a half. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1, 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 6 swine, and then as now 1 mill and 1 beast and 11 swine. And 26 sokemen are held by Ranulf and Walter the deacon: the king and earl (have) half the soke; and they have 83 acres, then as now 2 ploughs. Then as now it was worth 4 pounds and 2 shillings. A certain man of Earl Alan's claims half one of these (sokemen), and he says that R[alf] held him after he had made forfeiture. Upon this he offers the ordeal.

THE FIEF OF THE SAME BISHOP

f. 193b.

SMETEDUNA [SMETHDEN] HUNDRET

SECESFORDA [Sedgeford] was held by Guert T.R.E. In demesne 3 plough(lands) and 15 acres. Then 15 villeins, afterwards and now 5. Then as now 39 bordars and 5 serfs, 8 acres of meadow.

¹ In Morton-on-the-Hill.

Then as now 5 ploughs belonging to the men, wood(land) for 60 swine, 4 mills. Then as now 1 rouncey and 45 swine and 300 sheep. To this manor belongs an outlying estate (*jacet una beruita*) called FRENGA [Fring]. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and 7 villeins and 2 sokemen holding 1½ ploughlands, and of (the holding of) 1 sokeman Bishop Aylmer (*Agelmarius*) made an outlying estate (*fecit beruitam*) and (he has) 7 bordars. And the other sokeman has 4 bordars, and 1 freeman (had) 1 plough on the demesne, of this also he made an outlying estate; then as now (there were) 6 bordars and 2 serfs. And another freeman (had) then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and of this he made an outlying estate; then as now (there were) 4 bordars and 2 serfs. And (there are) 2 freemen (holding) 2 ploughlands, of this also (he made) an outlying estate; (there are) 2 ploughs on the demesne and 5 bordars and 2 serfs and 2 acres of meadow; and T.R.E. (there was) 1 mill. This Anant the predecessor of Peter de Valognes (*Valoniis*) took away. All this T.R.E. was worth 16 pounds, afterwards and now 24 pounds.

There also (*In eadem*) Ingulf holds 1 ploughland which Guert held T.R.E.: then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and it is worth 10 shillings. The whole is 1 league in length and 1 league in breadth, and renders 4 shillings in 20 shillings geld.

To this manor belonged (*bic jacent*) then as now 8 freemen by soke and commendation (*soca et commendatione*) only (*tantum*), 4 ploughlands. Then as now 5 villeins, 4 acres of meadow. Then 4 ploughs, now 3. It was worth then 40 shillings, now 80. The whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and renders 17½ pence in 20 shillings geld.

f. 194.

SCERPHAM [SHROPHAM] HUNDRET

In ECCLES [Eccles] Earl Ralf held T.R.E. 4 ploughlands; afterwards Earl Ralf his son held them. Afterwards (*Postea*) Bishop Aylmer (*Ailmarus*) held of both (*de utroque*). Afterwards (*Postea*) Bishop Herefast (*Arf*). Now Bishop William holds them. Then as now 12 villeins and 11 bordars. Then 5 serfs, now 2. (There are) 20 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 100 swine. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 5 ploughs belonging to the men, now 4. Then as now 1 mill. Now 3 beasts (*animalia*), and 7 swine, 180 sheep. It was then worth 100 shillings, now 60. The whole is 1 league in length and 4 furlongs (*qr*) in breadth, and (renders) 7 pence geld. Bishop A[ylmer] had this land in the time of both (the elder and younger Ralf) (*in tempore utrorumque*) and the hundret does not know by what title (*quomodo*). And it never was (land) of the bishopric, as the hundret witnesses (*teste hundreto*).

HUNDRET OF HOLT

In LANGAHAM [Langham] Guert held 4 ploughlands T.R.E. Then as now (there were)

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31 villeins and 4 bordars and 5 serfs. Then as now 4 ploughs on the demesne and 8 ploughs belonging to the men : 6 acres of meadow, 1 mill. Then as now 1 rouncey and 1 beast (*animal*) and 16 swine and 60 sheep and 17 sokemen with 80 acres of land and 4 ploughs ; 12 churches (hold) 16 acres and they are worth 16 pence.¹ It was then worth 8 pounds, it now renders 20 pounds and is 1 league in length and 1 league in breadth, and (pays) 2 shillings of geld (in 20 shillings). There have been taken from this manor 60 acres ; Peter de Valognes (*Valoniis*) holds them now.

ERPINGHAM NORT' [NORTH ERPINGHAM] HUNDRET

In GUNETUNE [Gunton] which Aylmer (*Almarus*) bought T.R.E. for the bishopric (*ad episcopatum*) he held at the day of his death 2 ploughlands, 8 villeins, then as now 6 bordars. Then as now 1 plough in demesne, 2 ploughs belonging to the men, 4½ acres of meadow. Then 1 mill and now 1. Then as now 1 rouncey and 1 beast and 2 swine ; and 7 sokemen with half a ploughland and 1 bordar ; 1 mill, half an acre of meadow : then as now 2 ploughs. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 4 pounds. It is half a league in length and 6 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 6¾ pence (*et iii ferding'*) geld. Of this (*De has*) William de Nuers (holds) 1 ploughland and 1 plough upon it (*super eum*), and it is worth 12 shillings in the above valuation (*in eodem pretio*).

f. 194b.

In SCEPEDANE [Shipden²], an outlying estate (*berwita*) of Gunetune [Gunton], 1 ploughland. Then as now 3 villeins, 3 bordars. Then 1 plough on the demesne, now half (a plough). Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 6 swine, 1 acre of meadow. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 5 shillings and 4 pence, and it is half a league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth. And (it renders) 6 pence of geld (in 20 shillings).

HUNDRET OF WALESSAM [WALSHAM]

In BEGETUNA [Beighton] Bishop Aylmer (*Almarus*) held by purchase (*emptionem*) T.R.E. from Earl Algar, with sac and soke over (*de*) the bordars and those who owe suit to the fold (*sequentibus faldam*), 3 ploughlands. Then (there were) 40 bordars, now 29. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 5½ ploughs belonging to the men, now 5 ; 16 acres of meadow. Now (there is) 1 rouncey, now 16 swine, now 140 sheep ; and 5 sokemen with 32 acres of land, and 9 sokemen with 50 acres of land and 8 acres of land. Then as now 1 plough. The whole was then worth 6 pounds, now 7 pounds and 13 shillings and 4 pence : and it is half a league in length and half in breadth. And (it renders) 12 pence

geld. One church (holding) 7 acres, worth 7 pence.

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOU [(NORTH) GREENHOE]

In HOCCHAM [Holkham] William de Noers holds of Bishop William 1 freeman, whom Bishop Aylmer held T.R.E. with 23 acres of land ; but he could not give or sell his land, and he was in the king's soke. It was then worth 5 shillings, it now renders 22 shillings and 4 pence. And in Hoccham [Holkham] (the bishop) holds 1 sokeman of 10 acres of land, and he belongs to (*pertinet*) Indregeham [Hindringham].

HUNDRET OF WALASSAM [WALSHAM]

In WALASSAM [(South) Walsham] 1 freeman with 18 acres which that freeman gave to St. Benet of Holme (*de Holmo*), but Bishop Herefast (*Ervastus*) took them away. Now Bishop William holds him and he is worth 4 shillings.

BLAFELDA [BLOFIELD] HUNDRET

In BLAFELDA [Blofield] Bishop Aylmer held T.R.E. 2 ploughlands. Then as now 9 villeins and 2 serfs. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 8 swine and 4 acres of meadow. f. 195.

Then as now 2 rounceys and 2 beasts ; now 11 swine and 3 goats. And to this manor belonged (*pertinent*) 43 sokemen T.R.E., and now as then, who could not sell or give their lands, (holding) 3 ploughlands and 4 acres of meadow. Then 10 ploughs, now 9. William holds 5 sokemen, Reynold (*Rainaldus*), Baldwin, and Elias (*Helius*) (hold others). Over (*Super*) these the bishop had T.R.E. the six forfeitures, but the hundred has seen neither the king's writ, nor seal, nor grant. Then the whole was worth 7 pounds, now 8 pounds, and it is 1 league and 3 furlongs in length, and 1 league and 1 furlong in breadth ; and (it renders) 30 pence of geld. This manor Aylmer got (*accepit*) with his wife before he was bishop, and afterwards held it in his bishopric. Now Bishop William holds it.

In PLUMESTEDA [Plumstead] 1 sokeman was added by Herefast (*ab Ervastio*), but he belonged to Stigand ; (he has) 3 acres of land. Now as then he ploughs with 2 oxen and renders 5 pence.

FLEC WEST [WEST FLEGG] HUNDRET

HEMESBEI [Hemsby] was held by Earl Algar T.R.E. and Alwi bought it. Stigand took it from him and gave it to his brother Aylmer (*Almaro*), but the hundred does not know by what right (*quomodo*). Thenceforth it was in the bishopric. In demesne 3 ploughlands ; and then as now 33 villeins and 13 bordars. Then 6 serfs, now 3. Then as now 3 ploughs on the demesne, and 11 ploughs belonging to the men,

¹ Interlined. ² Now Cromer.

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and 40 acres of meadow and 2 salt-pans. ¹ One church (holds) 20 acres and (they are) worth 16 pence.¹ Now (there are) 12 swine and 160 sheep, and 4 sokemen with 60 acres of land, 3 acres of meadow, and then as now 1 plough. To this manor belongs (*pertinet*) 1 outlying estate, MARTHAM [Martham], (consisting of) 2 ploughlands. Then as now 7 villeins and 3 bordars and 1 serf. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 50 acres of meadow. There are also (*adbut*) be-
f. 195b.

longing to this manor 27 sokemen—¹ Richard over 30 shillings¹—with 30 acres of land and 5 acres of meadow. Then as now 3 ploughs. And in WINTRETUNA [Winterton] 2 sokemen of 10 acres and then as now half a plough. It was then worth 26 pounds, now 29 pounds. All this is 1½ leagues in length and 10 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 30 pence geld. And Martham is 1½ leagues (in length) and 1 league in breadth, and (renders) 30 pence geld, but several hold there. In ESCOU [Sco²] 2 bordars with 6 acres of land, and they belong (*pertinent*) to Heimesbei [Hemsby].

HEINESTEDE [HENSTEAD] HUNDRET

In ROKELUNDA [Rockland] and SUTHERLINGAHAM [Surlingham] W[illiam] de Noers (holds) 2 villeins with 16 acres and 2 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards (*semper*) they held half a plough: now they plough with 2 oxen. This belongs to (*pertinet in*) Langale [Langley].

HALF HUNDRET OF HERSAM [EARSHAM]

In MENDAHAM [Mendham] W[illiam] de Noers holds 1 priest, Algar, 43 acres of church land (*ecclesiastice terre*); now under (*sub*) William de Noiars. Then as now 3 bordars. Then as now 1 plough between himself and the men. Wood(land) for 15 swine, and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 10 shillings.

LOTNINGA [LODDON] HUNDRET

NORTH LANGALE [Langley] was held by Anant, a freeman, under King Edward for 3 ploughlands. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 villeins, now 1. Then as now 8 bordars. Then 2½ ploughs, afterwards 1½, now 1 plough on the demesne. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 20 swine, and 8 acres of meadow and 1 mill. Then 7 horses, now 6. Then 4 beasts, now 1. Then 20 swine, now 14. Now 95 sheep and 25 sokemen of Anant with 1 ploughland. Then and afterwards 4 ploughs,
f. 196.

now 3. And (there are) 3 freemen of the same by commendation (*ejusdem comd*) (with) 40 acres, and their soke is the king's. Then 1½ ploughs,

¹ Interlined.

² Blomefield op. cit. seems to place Sco between Martham and Repps. It was then already lost.

afterwards and now 1. There also 1 whole priest and 2 halves (1 *pbr* 'integer et ii dim') hold 100 acres of free land (*libere terre*) and they belong to (*jacet in*) the church of St. Andrew. Then and now as then (*semper*) it was worth 4 pounds. It is 1 league in length and 1 in breadth, and (renders) 11 pence geld. T.R.E. Aylmer (*Almarus*) had the land of this Anant, and they were joint-tenants (*socii*) and (Anant) died suddenly.

HUNDRET OF ENSFORD [EYNESFORD]

And in TURNINGA [Thurning] (there is) 1 freeman, with 15 acres of land and half a plough and 1 acre of meadow. Then (there was) wood(land) for 5 swine. And it is worth 8 shillings. ³ And in GREGESETE [Guist] 2 sokemen with 2 acres. And the whole was worth then 10 pounds, and now 13 pounds 8 shillings.³

In HELMINGEHAM [Helmingham] one freeman, Renold, holds 20 (?) acres of land, of whom Bishop Aylmer (*Almarus*) had only the commendation. Then as now 2 villeins and 3 bordars. Then 2 ploughs between himself and his men, now 1. Then as now it was worth 10 shillings, and it is 1½ leagues in length and 1 in breadth, and renders 40 pence of the king's geld whoever holds there.

HUNDRET OF TAVERHAM [TAVERHAM]

In TAVERHAM [Taverham] 1 freewoman held T.R.E. half a ploughland. Then (there were) 3 villeins and 2 bordars, then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then and afterwards half a plough belonging to the men, and five acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 2 swine. Then (there were) 3 sokemen with 13 acres of land, now 1 sokeman. Then (there was) half a plough. It was then worth 12 shillings, now 20 shillings.

In ATEBRUGE [Attlebridge] 1 freeman, Geoffrey, holds 16 acres of land and 1 bordar. Then as now half a plough and 2 acres of meadow, and it is worth 6 shillings and 8 pence. (There is) 1 church (holding) 6 acres and worth 6 pence.

ERPINCAM SUD [SOUTH ERPINGHAM] HUNDRET

f. 196b.

(BLICLINGA [Blickling])⁴ was held by Harold T.R.E. as 3½ ploughlands. Then as now 12 villeins and 16 bordars and 1 serf. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 6 ploughs belonging to the men; 10 acres of meadow. Then wood(land) for 200 swine; now 100. Then as now 1 mill and 1 rouncey and 16 swine. It was then worth 6 pounds, now 8, and is 1 (league in) length and 1 in breadth, and (renders)

³ Cancelled in original. Cf. f. 193 above.

⁴ The place is omitted; Blomefield suggests Blickling, *Hist. of Norf.* vi, 381. Cf. *supra*, f. 115.

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4½ pence geld. To this manor belong 2 sokemen in STRINCHAM [Heringham]. Then as now 60 acres of land and 14 bordars. Then as now 1½ ploughs and 2½ acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 18 swine and 2 thirds (*partes*) of another and 7 eighths (*partes*) of a mill. It was then worth 15 shillings, now 25.

In BERNINCHAM [Barningham, (Little)] 1 ploughland and 50 acres and 3 villeins and 11 bordars. Then as now 2½ ploughs and 5 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 28 swine. Then (there was) 1 mill, which Godric now holds as of the king's fee (*ad feodum regis*). It was then worth 12 shillings, now 22. This belongs to (*jacet in*) Bliclinga [Blickling].

MARSAM [Marsham] was held by Harold as 4 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 6 villeins and 29 bordars; and then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and 4 ploughs belonging to the men; 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 100 swine; and 4 sokemen (whom) Roger holds (*tenet*) (with) 1 ploughland and 3 bordars and 2 ploughs and 1 rouncey and 2 beasts and 12 swine and 26 goats and 6 hives of bees. It was then worth 6 pounds, now 9. And it is 1 league and 3 furlongs in length and 7 furlongs in length (*sic* for breadth), and (renders) 11 pence of geld.

In STRATUNA [Stratton (Strawless)] (there is) 1 sokeman (holding) 30 acres (belonging) to Marsham [Marsam] and half a plough. And it is worth 2 shillings.

HUNDRET OF HAPINGA [HAPPING]

In HORSEIA [Horsey] W. de Noers holds (what) 1 freeman of Bishop Aylmer's by commendation only (held), 25 acres and 3 bordars and half a plough and 10 acres of meadow. And it is worth 2 shillings. The king and the f. 197.

earl have the soke. There also (are) 2 freemen, commended to Bishop Aylmer, of 17 acres and 5 acres of meadow; and it is worth 30 pence.

HUNDRET OF FLEC [(EAST) FLEGG]

In SCROUTEBEI [Scratby] (there are) 7 sokemen (holding) 20 acres. Then as now 1 plough. And it is worth 32 pence. And these sokemen belong to (*jacent in*) Haimesbei [Hemsby]. (There is) 1 church (with) 36 acres and worth 3 shillings. There also (are) 10 freemen; of these Bishop Aylmer had the commendation T.R.E. And they have 2 ploughlands and 5 acres. Then as now 5 ploughs and 3 acres of meadow. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 30. All these were held T.R.E. by Bishop Aylmer (*Ailmarus*) and (afterwards by) Herewast (*Arfastus*), now by Bishop William. And yet of one the abbot of Holme (*abbas de Olmo*) had the commendation only T.R.E. And 6 of these (*ex his*) freemen are held by Richard

son of Alann, of the bishop, and the bishop (*idem episcopus*) has the others.

In OSMESBEI [Ormsby (St. Margaret)] (there are) 2 freemen (of) Guend (*sic*) (holding) 40 acres. Then as now 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow. And it is worth 8 shillings. This also is held by the same Richard.

In TRIKEBEI [Thrigby] (there was) 1 freeman (holding) 12 acres of land under Bishop Aylmer by commendation only. Then as now half a plough. And it is worth 12 pence, and half a league in length and half in breadth, and (renders) 14½ pence of geld.

HUNDRET OF DEPWADE

In STRATUNA [Stratton (Long)] (there are) 12 freemen of whom Bishop Aylmer had the commendation only T.R.E. (They hold) 203 acres, and (have) 10½ bordars and 3 ploughs and 6 acres of meadow. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40.

CLAVELINGA [CLAVERING] HUNDRET

In RAVINCHAM [Raveningham] (there is) 1 freeman of Bishop Aylmer (*Ailmarus*) by commendation (holding) 30 acres and 2 bordars and half a plough. And it is worth 3 shillings.

f. 197b.

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOU [GREENHOE (SOUTH)] OF THE ENCROACHMENT OF THE SAME FIEF

In GRESINGAHAM [Cressingham, (Great)] Ralph the bishop of Tedfort's man has seized (*invasit*) a certain freeman with 1 ploughland who was in the soke of the king's (manor) of Cressingham [Cressingham, (Little)], and he detains the soke of (*de*) 2 freemen, and it is worth 20 shillings.

In CRESSINGAHAM [Cressingham, (Great)] (there are) 6 freemen of Eduin (holding) 3 ploughlands. Then 6 ploughs, now 2 and 4 acres of meadow; 1 mill. It was then worth 60 shillings, now 30 shillings.

HUNDRET OF FREDREBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

In MELTINGA [Mintlyn] (there are) 15 freemen (holding) 40 acres of land; then as now half a plough and 6 bordars, and it is worth 30 shillings. His predecessors had only the commendation of these. Stigand had the soke.

IN THE HUNDRET OF SMETHEDUNA [SMETHDEN]

HUNESTANESTUNA [Hunstanton] was held by 1 sokeman of Stigand T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland, and (there was) 1 plough. Then (there were) 3 bordars, now 2 and 2½ acres of meadow; half a mill; wood(land) for 24 swine. Then (there was) 1 fishery. The whole is worth 10 shillings.

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HUNDRET OF GRIMESHOU [GRIMSHOE]

In ESTANFORDA [Stanford] (there is) 1 free-man of 60 acres. Then and afterwards 1 plough; now nothing. Then as now 1 villein, 2 acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 6 shillings and 8 pence. Of this man the predecessor of the same W[illiam] had the commendation only, and the king the soke, and (now) Bishop William has him.

HUNDRET OF LAWENDIC [LAUNDITCH]

In GATELEA [Gateley] (there is) 1 freeman (holding) 6 acres of land, and it is worth 6 pence. And him (*quem*) Bonde a freeman, the predecessor of Hugh de Montefort, held T.R.E. Afterwards he became Bishop Herewast's (*Erfasti*) man, and therefore William has him. The soke is in Muleham [Mileham].

HUNDRET OF BRODERCOS [BROTHERCROSS]

To (*In*) COLEKIRKA [Colkirk¹] Herewast (*Arefastus*) appropriated (*invasit*) the wood of FANGEHAM [Fakenham], and it is 60 acres in length.

HUNDRET OF GALGOU [GALLOW]

In SEXELINGHAM [Saxlingham]² Harold (*Heroldus*) held 2 freemen of 1½ ploughlands, f. 198.

now Bishop William holds them, and (there are) now as then 7 bordars. Then (there were) 2 ploughs, now 2½; 5 acres of meadow and half a mill. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 30. Besides this (*adbut*) H[arold] held in the same vill (*villa*)³ LAGAAM [Langham] 1 free-man³ (holding) 30 acres and 1 bordar. Then as now (there was) 1 plough, 2 acres of meadow. It was then worth 5 shillings, now 7 shillings.

HUNDRET OF HOLT

In SNUTERLEA [Blakeney]—⁴W[illiam] de Noers (holds it) of Bishop William⁴—Edric held under King Edward freely (from) Harold 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins and 25 bordars and 1 serf. Then as now two ploughs on the demesne and 2 ploughs belonging to the men, 3 acres of meadow, 1 mill, and 4 sokemen with 24 acres and half a plough. The whole was worth T.R.E. 40 shillings, now 4 pounds. (There is) 1 church (holding) 30 acres, worth 16 pence.

In BURNINGHAM [Briningham] (there were) 4 freemen of Harold of 2½ ploughlands, whom Roger Longsword (*Lungus Ensis*) holds of Bishop W[illiam]. Then as now 9 villeins. Then 13 bordars, now 17. Then 3 ploughs on the demesne, now 2½, and half a plough might be added (*restaurari*). Then (there were) 2½ ploughs belonging to the men, now 4. Wood(land) for

30 swine, 6 acres of meadow, 1 mill. Then 2 rounceys, now the same (*similiter*) Then 4 swine, now 8. Then 9 sheep, now 104. Now 5 hives of bees, and 3 sokemen with 12 acres and half a plough. It was then worth 50 shillings, now 4 pounds, and is 1 league in length and 8 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 13 pence geld. (There is) 1 church (holding) 12 acres, and worth 12 pence.

In MAELTUNA [Melton (Constable)] (there were) 4 freemen of Harold; now Bishop W[illiam] (holds them), and Roger Longsword (*Lungus Ensis*) of him, and (so do) Anschetel the reeve and Roger. And (there are) 3 ploughlands. Then as now 2 villeins and 32 bordars, and among them (*in eos*) 7½ ploughs. Wood(land) for 60 swine, 6 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 rounceys. Then and (*et*) now 8 beasts. Then 5 swine, now 10. (There is) 1 church of 6 acres, and it is worth 5 pence. (The whole) was then worth 30 shillings, now 40 shillings. And it is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 10 pence of geld.

In BRUNINGAHAM [Briningham] Roger Longsword (*Lungus Ensis*) holds 6 acres which Earl R[alf] held⁵ 1 church of 12 acres, and worth 12 pence,⁵ and afterwards Count A[lan], and this the hundret witnesses.

f. 198b.

HUNDRET OF GRENAHOGA [GREENHOE, (NORTH)]

HINDRINGAHAM [Hindringham] was held by Bishop A[ylmer] T.R.E. Now Bishop W[illiam] (has it). (There are) 8 freemen (holding) 3 ploughlands, 14 bordars. Then as now wood for 10 swine, 5 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 5 ploughs, now 3. Then it was worth 40 shillings, now it renders 50 shillings, and of this land William de Nuers holds the half.

In HINDRINGAHAM [Hindringham] Drew (*Drogo*) de Beuraria held 1 (free)man with 1 acre of land, and his predecessor (also), and afterwards a certain reeve of Bishop William who is called Seolf seized him and holds him.

In TORP [(Cock)thorpe] (there were) 2 freemen. Now William de Nuers holds them of Bishop W[illiam]. (They have) 100 acres of land, half an acre of meadow, now as then 1½ ploughs. T.R.E. it was worth 20 shillings, now 30.

ERPINGEHAM NORTH [NORTH ERPINGHAM] HUNDRET.

In HOTTUNE [] Bishop Aylmer held 1 freeman by (*pro*) commendation with 15 acres of land, and William de Noiers holds

¹ Now in Launditch hundred.

² Now in Holt hundred.

³ Interlined.

⁴ Interlined.

⁵ Interlined.

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him (or) Bishop William, and he has half a bordar. Wood(land) for 2 swine, half a plough. It was then worth 2 shillings, now 16 pence.

In BERNINGEHAM [Barningham (? Norwood)] (there is) 1 freeman with 15 acres of land, whom Wiulf held T.R.E. Now W[illiam] de Noiers holds him of (*ab*) Bishop W[illiam]. Then as now (there was) half a plough. Then as now it was worth 16 pence.

In BETCHEHAM [Beckham, (East)] 1 freeman of Bishop Aylmer held by commendation 80 acres of land. Then as now 2 villeins and 5 bordars. Wood(land) for 5 swine; and 1 sokeman with $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land. Then as now 2 ploughs; 1 church with $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres. And it was added as an outlying estate to Blikelinges [Blickling]. It was then worth 7 shillings, and now 12, and it is half a league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) $4\frac{1}{2}$ pence (of geld).

f. 199.

WALESSAM [WALSHAM] HUNDRET

In HEMELINTUNA [Hemblington] (there were) 2 freemen with 60 acres of land (belonging to) Ralf Stalre T.R.E. with soke and sac, but of one Bishop Aylmer had the commendation only. Bishop W[illiam] has one, and Earl R[alf]¹ the other, and they are worth 2 shillings.

HUNDRET OF BLAFELDA [BLOFIELD]

In PLUMMESTEDA [Plumstead] Godwin had (*tenet*) one freeman of Gert (with) 1 ploughland, now Bishop W[illiam] has him. Then as now 5 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then as now half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 8 swine, 1 acre of meadow. Then as now 2 beasts: and there are there 10 freemen with 30 acres of land (who were) commended only to Godwin. Then as now 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 40. And after King William came into this land Bishop Aylmer seized (*invasit*) it for a forfeiture, because a woman who held it married within a year of her husband's death.

In BERLUNGEHAM [Burlingham] 2 ploughlands were held by 15 freemen, Bishop Aylmer's by commendation only. Then as now 9 bordars, 8 acres of meadow. Then as now 8 ploughs. It was then worth 20 shillings, and now 26 shillings and 8 pence. (There is) 1 church (holding) 30 acres and worth 2 shillings and 8 pence. W[illiam] de Noiers holds it now.

(There were) also (*adhuc*) in PLUMESTEDA [Plumstead] 2 freemen of Gert and of Stigand whom (*quod*) Bishop Herewast (*Ervastus*) seized (*invasit*). (They had) 50 acres of land and 2 acres meadow. Then as now 2 bordars. Then as now 1 plough. Earl R[alf] had them when he forfeited (his lands) and R[obert] Blund (has

them) at a rent (*ad censum*). It was then worth 5 shillings, now 3.

In PLUMESTEDA [Plumstead] 1 freeman, Aylmer's (*Almari*) by commendation only, held 16 acres of land. Then (there was) half a plough, now 2 oxen. It was then worth 2 shillings, now 16 pence.

In FRIETORP [Freethorpe] 1 freeman, Alsì, (held) under Earl R[alf] 16 acres of land. Then as now half a plough; 1 acre of meadow. Then as now it was worth 2 shillings. Baldwin, the bishop's reeve, held this by commendation only, but now he is commended to Godric (and) in f. 199b. the king's hand (*in manu regis*).

In LETHA [] (there were) 7 freemen, Aylmer's by commendation only T.R.E.; now Reynold (*Renoldus*) has $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands. Then as now 3 ploughs, and then as now 4 bordars. Wood(land) for 4 swine and 12 acres meadow. It was then worth 10 shillings and 4 pence; ²now 10 shillings; ³(there is) 1 church (holding) 5 acres and worth 5 pence. And it is 1 league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth, whoever holds there, and (renders) $6\frac{1}{2}$ pence geld.

In BERLUNGEHAM [Burlingham, (North)] (there were) T.R.E. 3 freemen of Aylmer by commendation only, now Heluis holds 46 acres of land and 4 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough, and it was worth then as now 4 shillings.

There also (was) 1 freeman of Bishop Aylmer by commendation only T.R.E.; now the same (*idem*) Heluis has (him) with (*de*) 60 acres of free land (*terre libere*) and 40 which belong to a certain church; 7 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 4 bordars in the free (land), now 5, and 2 bordars in the land which belongs (*appendet*) to the church. Then $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, afterwards and now 2 ploughs. And under him (*sub se*) 1 church with 10 acres and worth 10 pence. And under him (*sub se*) there are 7 freemen by commendation only, holding (*de*) 40 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough. It was worth then as now 13 shillings. There also (were) 2 freemen of Aylmer by commendation only T.R.E.; now W[illiam] de Noiers has (them) with (*de*) 50 acres of land. Then as now 1 villein and 4 bordars and 12 acres of meadow. Then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and half a saltpan (*sal*). It was then worth 50 pence, it now renders 10 shillings. And the said vill is 10 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth and (renders) 20 pence geld.

In SUTBERLINGEHAM [South Burlingham] (there were) 8 freemen of Bishop Aylmer by commendation only, now W[illiam] de Noiers has (them) with (*de*) 140 acres of land. Then as now 11 bordars and 8 acres of meadow. Then

¹ Apparently now held by the king; see p. 57.

² Interlined.

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3 ploughs, afterwards and now 2½. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings. (There is) half a church (holding) 15 acres, worth 15 pence.

There also (were) 2 freemen of Bishop Aylmer by commendation. Now the same W[illiam] holds (them as) 1 ploughland. Then as now 6 bordars. Then as now 1½ ploughs, and 3 acres of meadow, and 4 freemen under them (holding) 8 acres of land and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now it was worth 10 shillings.

f. 200.

And Berlingham (Burlingham, (South)) is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, but several hold there, and (it renders) 20 pence geld.

In LETA [] (there was) 1 freeman of Bishop Aylmer by commendation. And he holds 16 acres of land and 1½ acres of meadow. It is worth now as then 5 pence.

In BREGESTUNA [Bradeston] there was 1 freeman, Edric King Edward's steersman (*vector navis Regis E.*) (with) 1 ploughland. Then as now 4 villeins and 1 bordar, and 2 serfs, and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 2 swine, and then as now 1 rouncey and 6 beasts and 60 sheep. Now also 16 swine and 16 goats. (There is) 1 church with 10 acres and worth 10 pence. And to this (manor) belong (*pertinent*) 10½ freemen, commended only to E[dric's]¹ predecessor (*antecessor*² *e.*) with (*de*) 80 acres of land (and) 3 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs. And in BERLINGHAM² the same (holds)² 4½ acres of land belonging to (*pertinentes in*) Breiestuna [Bradeston]. It was then worth 10 shillings, and the same afterwards, now 30 shillings. And after King William came into England this Edric was outlawed to Denmark (*Daciam*) and Bishop Aylmer seized his land. Now W[illiam] de Noiers has it.

In CATUNA [Catton³] (there was) 1 freeman of Gert by commendation only T.R.E. with 60 acres of land. When Herewast (*Ervastus*) came to the bishopric he gave it to a certain man of his Reynold (*Rainaldo*). Then (there were) 5 bordars, now 4. Then, and now as then, 1 plough on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 5 swine, and 1 rouncey, and 12 swine, 7 acres of meadow. Then, and now as then, it was worth 15 pence.

In BUCHAM [Buckenham (Ferry)] (there were) 2 freemen—² Heluis²—and in CATTUNA [Catton] 1—² Reynold (*Renoldus*)²—and Aylmer had the commendation, 57 acres of land and 6 acres of meadow. Then 1 plough, and now half. Then

it was worth 6 shillings and 8 pence, now 5 (shillings). And of all these above-mentioned (holdings) the king and the earl have sac and soke.

BLAFELDA [BLOFIELD] HUNDRET

In BRUNDALA [Brundall] (there was) 1 freeman of Bishop Aylmer by commendation only, but the soke belonged to (*fuit*) R[alf] Stalre. Now Bishop W[illiam] has (him) with (*de*) 30 acres of land and 6 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 villein and 2 bordars. Then half a plough. Now he ploughs with 2 oxen. It was f. 200b. then worth 3 shillings, now 2 shillings.

In BRUNDALA [Brundall] also (*adbu*c) (there was) 1 freeman, Aylmer's by commendation only, (holding) 11½ acres of land. Then (there was) half a plough, now nothing. It was then worth 12 pence, afterwards and now 6. Bishop W[illiam] has it now.

In WITONA [Witton] (there were) 18 freemen commended to Aylmer (holding) 200 acres of land, and 5 bordars, and 11 acres of meadow. Then as now 3 ploughs. Heluis has 2 men (holding) 1 ploughland, and 5 bordars, and 11 acres of meadow. It was then worth 10 shillings, it now renders 30. And Witona [Witton] is 11 furlongs in length and 5 furlongs in breadth and (renders) 7 pence geld. The king has the soke.

There also (was) 1 freeman of Gert T.R.E. by commendation only, half (Gert's) (with) 26 acres of land. And Godric held under (*sub*) Earl Ralf. And Helewis the niece of Bishop Herewast held from (*ab*) Herewast, and now from Bishop W[illiam]. He ploughs now as then with 2 oxen. It was then worth 16 pence, and now as then.

HUNDRET OF FLEC WEST [WEST FLEGG]

In WINTRETUNA [Winterton] (there was) 1 freeman of St. Benet of Holme (*de Holme*) by commendation only (holding) 60 acres of land (and) 3 acres of meadow. Then as now 5 bordars and half a saltpan. Then as now 1 plough. And under him (*sub eo*) (there was) 1 freeman with 4 acres of land. It was then worth 2 shillings, now 4.

In SOMERTUNA [Somerton] (there were) 3 freemen T.R.E., but after Tostig (*Tostius*) went out of England⁴ Berardus (had them).⁴ There was 1 church of St. Benet of Holme. They hold 106 acres of land, 9 acres of meadow. Then as now 9 bordars. Then as now 1½ ploughs. Then as now it was worth 4 shillings and 8 pence.

In ASCHEBEI [Ashby] (there were) 2 freemen of St. Benet of Holme (holding) 16 acres of land

¹ Or 'his' (*e[ur]*), i.e., the bishop's.

² Interlined.

³ In Postwick. Blomefield, op. cit. vi, 250.

⁴ Interlined.

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and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now half a plough. It was then worth 12 pence and now 16 pence.

In WINTRETUNA [Winterton] (there were) 8 freemen of Aylmer by commendation only (holding) 14 acres of land. Then as now half a plough. It was then worth 8 pence, now 24.

In MARTHAM (were) 36 freemen of Aylmer by commendation only (holding) 5 ploughlands ^{f. 201r.} and 10 acres; Bishop W[illiam] has them now; and 50 acres of meadow. Then as now 16 ploughs. It was then worth 6 pounds, now 8 pounds and 10 shillings. (There is) 1 church (holding) 50 acres and worth 50 pence.

In ROLUESBI [Rollesby] was 1 freeman commended to Bishop Aylmer (with) 80 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow, and 5 bordars and 10 freemen. Then as now 2 ploughs. And in BURH [Burgh (St. Margaret)] 2 freemen with 50 acres of land. Then as now it was worth 10 shillings.

In ROLUESBEI [Rollesby] also (there was) 1 freeman with 80 acres of land (belonging to) Bishop Aylmer and Abbot Alwold by commendation only. And this man was the man of the monastery to the extent (*erat ita in monasterio*) that he could not give nor sell his land. Then as now 1 bordar, 2 acres of meadow. And under him (there were) 12 freemen with 40 acres of land and 3½ acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) among them (*inter eos*) 2½ ploughs. It was worth 10 shillings, it now renders 30 shillings.

In BASTUWIC [Bastwick] (there was) 1 freeman of Bishop Aylmer by commendation only, and under them (*sub ipsis*) another freeman, and they have 30 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow. Then (there was) half a plough and (so) now. It was then worth 2 shillings, now 22 pence.

In ESCO [Sco¹] (there was) 1 freeman of Bishop Aylmer by commendation only, with (*de*) 15 acres of land and half a plough, half an acre of meadow. And it is worth 16 pence.

In BITLAKEBEI [Billockby] Ketel, a freeman held. He was half Bishop Aylmer's (*dim' fuit Almari episcopi*) by commendation, but all his land was so far attached to the monastery of St. Benet of Holme assigned to the monks' table (*ad victum*) that he could not give nor sell it. (He had) 57 acres of land (and) 10 acres of meadow. Here-wast seized (*invasit*) it. Now Bishop W[illiam] has it and Bernar under him. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne; and under him 8 freemen (holding) 45 acres of land, 7 acres of meadow. Then as now 1½ ploughs. It was then worth 10 shillings, afterwards and now 20 shillings. (There are) 2 thirds of a church

¹ See f. 195 above.

(holding) 7 acres and worth 5 pence. (Billockby) is 5 furlongs in length and 3½ in breadth and (renders) 20½ pence geld.

^{f. 201b.}

In CLEPESBEI [Clippesby] (there were) 4 freemen, 2 of them Bishop Aylmer's by commendation, and 1 Als's and 1 St. Benet's, holding (*de*) 100 acres of land; Bishop W[illiam] holds it now; (and) 10 acres of meadow. And under them 6 bordars. Then as now half a plough and 1 plough. It was then worth 5 shillings, afterwards and now 20 shillings. It is 7 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (renders) 12 pence geld.

HUNDRET OF HEINESTEDA [HENSTEAD]

In SUTHERLINGAHAM [Surlingham] (there was) 1 freeman, Aylmer's (*Elmari*) by commendation T.R.E., holding (*de*) 10 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow and 2 bordars. Now as then he ploughs with 2 oxen. Then as now it was worth 16 pence. Now Bishop W[illiam] holds it.

[HALF HUNDRET OF DISCE²]

In TEVETESSALLA³ [Tivetshall] (there was) 1 freeman of 40 acres of land T.R.E. so the hundred witnesses (*teste hundredo*). And the man's (*viri*) part—⁴20 acres⁴—belonged to St. Ethelreda (*ad sanctum Aldridam*), and (his) wife's (*femine*) part, 20 acres, to St. Edmund. Then as now half a plough and 2 bordars. Here-wast seized it (*invasit*).⁵ Now Bishop W[illiam] holds it from his predecessor,⁵ and Reginald de Pierrepoint (*de Perapund*⁶) under him. It was then worth 5 shillings, now 20.⁷

LANDS OF ST. MICHAEL OF NORWIC [NORWICH]⁸

HUNDRET OF TAVERHAM [TAVERHAM]

In TAVERHAM [Taverham] 1 ploughland was held by St. Michael T.R.E., and by Stigand under him. Then as now 4 villeins and 2 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men; and 4 sokemen (with) 12 acres of land. Then as now 8 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 12 swine. And it is worth 20 shillings.

XI. LANDS OF BISHOP OSBERN

GILDECROS [GUILTCROSS] HUNDRET

In BENHAM [Banham] Alvrice, a freeman, held T.R.E. 1 ploughland. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins and 5 bordars. Then 1 serf,

² *Inq. El.* adds.

³ Now in Diss Hundred. Compare *Inq. El.* (Hamilton), p. 141.

⁴ Interlined. *I.E.* omits.

⁵ *I.E.* Pedrepunt.

⁶ F (*ifecit*) in margin; see Introduction p. 2.

⁷ *I.E.* 10.

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and 10 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to f. 202.

the men. Wood(land) for (*de*) 100 swine and 3 sokemen (with) 5 acres. Now 1 rouncey, then as now 3 beasts. Then 6 swine, now 27. Then 6 sheep, now 30. Then 5 goats, now 30. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40.

In WICA [Wykes¹] 1 freeman held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then and afterwards (there were) 7 villeins, now 8. Then as now 5 bordars and 1 serf, and 4 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 1 plough on the demesne, now 2. Then as now 3 ploughs of the men. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40. And 10½ freemen (have) 1 ploughland and half an acre of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs, and it is worth 10 shillings. The whole soke is in Keninchala [Kenninghall].

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOGA [GREENHOE, (NORTH)]

HINDRINGHAM [Hindringham] was held by 3 freemen T.R.E. (as) 32 acres of land. Then as now 1 plough. Then as now it was worth 10 shillings. T.R.E. and now as then (*semper*) the king and the earl have the sac. And these 3 men whom Berard has are claimed by the men of Drew (*de* Bevraria) as of their lord's fief (*ad feudum domini sui*).

HUNDRET (OF) DEPEWADE [DEPWADE]

TASEBURC [Tasburgh] was held by Torolf a freeman of Stigand (with) 30 acres. Then as now 1 bordar and 1 plough on the demesne, and 4 acres of meadow, the eighth part of a mill; and 6 freemen (holding) 10 acres by commendation only. T.R.E. and now as then half a plough.

In FONESETA [Forncett] 1 freeman of Stigand (had) 30 acres. Then as now 2 bordars. Then and afterwards 1 plough, now a half; 4 acres of meadow. Then 2 mills, afterwards 1, now nothing; and 2 freemen (holding) 2 acres. It was then worth 20 shillings, afterwards and now 30. All Taseburc [Tasburgh] is 10 furlongs in length and 7 in breadth and (renders) 9 pence geld.

XII. LANDS OF GODRIC THE SEWER (*DAPIFERI*)

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOU [(SOUTH) GREENHOE]

GODESTUNA [Gooderstone] was held freely by Osgot. Then as now 12 villeins and 16 bordars. Then 4 serfs, afterwards and now 1. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 5 belonging to the men; and 10 freemen dwelt (*manebant*) f. 202b.

there, whom King William gave to Earl R[alf]

¹ Now in Garboldesham.

and afterwards to G[odric], in two of whom Archbishop Stigand had the commendation. Then as now (these had) 3 ploughs among them. Wood(land) for 20 swine. Then 3 mills, now 5, and 1 fishery and 4 acres of meadow. G[odric] found (*invenit*) 7 beasts, now the same (*similiter*), now 3 rounceys. Then 51 sheep, now 100. And it is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and renders 13 pence of geld. It was then worth 50 shillings and afterwards 100 shillings; now 6 pounds.

In ACR [Acre, (South)] a certain freeman Oswart held. (There is) land for 2 oxen. Now G[odric] (holds it) and it is worth 15 pence.

In OXENBURGH [Oxborough] lie (*jacent*) 60 acres which 1 freeman held and 1 villein and they belong to (*pertinet in*) Godestuna [Gooderstone]. They have been included in the valuation (*appretiate sunt*).

FEORHOU [FOREHOE] HUNDRET

WARANPLINCHAM [Wramplingham]² Ralf² (holds) 45 acres of land; Edwin a freeman held it T.R.E. Then as now 2 villeins and 6 bordars and 4 acres of meadow and half a mill and 3 ploughs. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40.

In TOKETORP [³] Walter holds sokeman of Edric (with) 20 acres of land and half a plough and half a mill. It was then worth 5 shillings. And all Waranplicham is half a league in length and half in breadth and (renders) 9 pence of geld.

WALESSAM [WALSHAM] HUNDRET

In OPETUNE [Upton] Ralf holds 3 freemen and 1 in WALESSAM [(South) Walsham] with 50 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough, and they are in the king's soke.

In WALESSAM [(South) Walsham] also (*adhuc*) Gert holds 1 freeman, a woman of Toui's, with (*de*) 1 ploughland. Then as now 3 bordars and half a plough and 20 acres of meadow. Wood (land) for 7 swine, half a saltpan. And there also (*adhuc*) (there are) 17 sokemen of 1 ploughland. Then as now 1½ ploughs, 12 acres of meadow. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 20. The earl has the soke. Of these 3 (freemen) in Optune [Upton] and 1 freeman in Walessam [(South) Walsham] one was commended to Toui, 2 to the abbot of Holme, the third to Retgar.

f. 203.

HEINESTEDE [HENSTEAD] HUNDRET

In STOKE [Stoke (Holy Cross)] he also (*idem*) holds 1 freeman and 1 sokeman of Edwin with (*de*) 54 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow and under them 1 villein. Then as now 1½ ploughs.

² Interlined.

³ In St. Clement's, Norwich. See Blomefield, op. cit., iv, 453.

HOLDERS OF LANDS

In PORRIKELANDA [Poringland] (there was) 1 freeman of Edwin T.R.E. with (*de*) 12 acres and 1 bordar and half an acre of meadow. Then as now half a plough.

In FRAMINGAHAM [Framingham] 1 freeman commended to Edwin with (*de*) 20 acres of land and 2 bordars then as now, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow. Then as now half a plough. And under him 3 whole (*integri*) freemen and three half, (holding) among them all (*inter omnes*) 10 acres of land. Then as now half a plough among them all.

In AILVERTUNA [Yelverton] 2 freemen of Edwin of $13\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Then half a plough. Now nothing.

In HOLVESTUNA [Holverstone] 4 whole freemen and $4\frac{1}{2}$ of Edwin, with (*de*) 40 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow and 1 bordar. Then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There also 2 sokemen (hold) 2 acres of land.

In ROKELUND [Rockland] 6 whole freemen of Edwin and 2 half (holding) 60 acres. Then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs.

In BRAMBRETUNA [Bramerton] 2 freemen of Edwin with 11 acres. Then as now half a plough and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow.

In SUTHERLINGAHAM [Surlingham] 2 whole freemen of Edwin, and four half (with) 40 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow and 4 bordars. Then as now 1 plough.

In KERKEBEI [Kirby (Bedon)] 1 freeman of Edwin with 6 acres of land, and under him three free(men) with 11 acres of land. Among (them) all half a plough.

In ROKELUND [Rockland] 4 freemen (of) Haslec (holding) 8 acres of land and half an acre of meadow and 3 bordars. And this Edwin (*iste Edwinus*) was a demesne thegn (*teinus dominicus*) of King Edward. All these were then worth 40 shillings, now 60. And of all these freemen the soke is in the hundred.

APPLETUNA [Alpington¹] was held by Edwin T.R.E. for 2 ploughlands. Then as now 8 bordars and 1 serf. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men, and 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for f. 203b.

$12\frac{1}{2}$ swine and 4 hives of bees. Then as now 1 horse³ and 5 beasts and 60 sheep and 8 swine; and $8\frac{1}{2}$ sokemen⁴ with 40 acres of land and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs⁴; and 2 freemen⁵ of Edwin Godric's predecessor (*ante Godrici*)⁵ with 40 acres and 1

acre of meadow. Then as now 1 plough. It was then worth 40⁶ shillings, now 3 pounds⁷ and 10 shillings.⁸

LOTHNINGA [LODDON] HUNDRET

HALGATUNA [Hillington⁹] is held by Ralf, which 3 freemen held T.R.E.—2 commended to Edwin, 1 to Gert—(with) 2 ploughlands. Under them, then as now, 12 bordars. Then as now (they had) amongst them all (*inter omnes*) $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. In the same vill (were) 12 men, 6 of whom owed suit to the fold (*erant in soca falde*) and the other 6 were free. Among them all (they had) 40 acres of land. Then as now 2 ploughs.

In half (?)¹⁰ ASCEBEI [Ashby] 6 whole freemen and 6 half, commended to Aslac and Leofric (*Leofrici*) with (*de*) 20 acres of land. Then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs.

In CLAKESTONA [Claxton] 2 freemen commended to Aslac and Leofric and 6 half men (*d' homines*). Among them all 16 acres of land. Then as now half a plough among them all (and) 16 acres of meadow. And this was delivered (*liberatum*) to Godric for 1 manor. Then 1 horse, now 2, and 2 beasts; now 200 sheep. Then 5 swine, now 40. The whole was then worth 40 shillings, now 4 pounds. The king and the earl (have) soke and sac. Halgatona [Hillington] is 4 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth and (renders) 4 pence of geld.

In NORTUNA [Norton] 1 freewoman (with) 16 acres of land, and she belongs to (*pertinet in*) Halgatona.

In CLARESTONA [Claxton¹¹] 5 freemen and a half commended to Edwin (holding) 34 acres of land. Then as now half a plough among them all, 1 acre of meadow. The soke is in the hundred.

In ASEBEI [Ashby] 1 free(man) and a half (holding) 5 acres.

In KARLENTONA [Carleton] 4 freemen of the same Edwin (holding) 30 acres. Then as now half a plough and 2 acres of meadow. The soke is in the hundred. In LOTNA [Loddon] 2 freemen of the same (Edwin) with (*de*) 24 acres. Then and afterwards 1 plough; now a half.

⁶ I. E. 30.

⁷ I. E. omits.

⁸ I. E. adds: 'And it is 1 league in length and 1 in breadth and renders 13 pence of geld. This land St. Audrey ought to have for the exchange of Berch [Burgh Apton].

⁹ Formerly 'Helgheton.' *Feud. Aids*, iii, 433.

¹⁰ d', possibly for *dimidia* or else an anticipation of the Cl' of 'Clakestona.'

¹¹ See above, p. 99.

¹ Compare *Inq. Eli.* (Hamilton), p. 141.

² I. E. 6.

³ I. E. rouncey.

⁴ I. E. omits.

⁵ I. E. omits.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

In WASINGAFORD [Washingford¹] 1 freeman of the same Edwin's (*eiusdem dim*)² (holding) 30 acres, and 2 bordars. The soke is in the hundred. And under him 6 freemen of the same (holding) 16 acres. Then as now 2 ploughs, 4 acres of meadow, and 1 mill.

f. 204.

In SISLANDA [Sisland] 1 freeman of the same (Edwin) with 3 acres.

In ALCMUNTONA []³ 3 freemen of the same (Edwin) of 8 acres of land. Now as then they plough with 3 oxen. The soke is in the hundred, and all these freemen render 20 shillings. Altmuntona []³ is 6 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth and (renders) 6 pence of geld whoever holds there. TORP [] is 1 league in length and a half in breadth and (renders) 4½ pence of geld whoever holds there.

HUNDRET OF ENSFORDA [EYNESFORD]

SPARHAM [Sparham] was held by Edwin, a freeman, T.R.E., now G[odric] (holds it) of the king (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now 2 villeins and 16 bordars. Then and afterwards 2 serfs, now 1. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 3. Then 4 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 2, and 6 acres of meadow and half a mill. Wood(land) for 100 swine. When (Godric) received it (there were) 2 rounceys, now 3; now as then (*semper*) 7 beasts and 28 swine. Then 60 sheep, now 80: now 10 hives of bees. And a freeman (has) 30 acres of land, 1 acre of meadow, now as then half a plough. (There is) 1 church (holding) 40 acres, and 6 acres of wood(land). Then and afterwards it was worth 60 shillings, now 100 shillings, and is 1 league in length and 10 furlongs in breadth, and renders 8½ pence of geld.

In BINETRE [Bintree] 2 freemen (with) 20 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow: then as now 1 plough. And it is worth 3 shillings.

HUNDRET OF TAVRESHAM [TAVERHAM]

In BESETUNA [Beeston] 1 freeman (with) 30 acres, half a plough, and 2 acres of meadow, and it is worth 2 shillings. The king and the earl have the soke.

HUNDRET OF HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD]

MELTUNA [Melton, (Great)] was held by Edwin a thegn T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 9 villeins and 5 bordars and 4 serfs. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards 1, now 2. Then 3 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 2. Wood(land) for 60 swine (and) 20 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 mill.

¹ In Burgh Apton.

² Probably for *eiusdem Edwini*.

³ Identified by Blomefield with Mundham. *Hist. of Norf.* x, 116.

Then 1 rouncey, now 2; then as now 10 beasts and 13 swine. Now 40 sheep: 3 hives of bees. And (there are) 9 freemen (holding) by fold-soke (*socafalde*) and commendation only 50 acres.

f. 204b

Then as now 2 ploughs and 3 acres of meadow. ⁴The king and the earl⁴ (have) the soke, and it is worth 8 shillings. And the manor was then worth 6 pounds, afterwards 100 shillings, now 7 pounds. And 4 freemen (hold) by commendation only 30 acres of land. Then as now 1 plough and 1½ acres of meadow, and it is worth 5 shillings.

In HEDERSETA [Hethersett] (there are) 9 freemen (holding) 43 acres by commendation and fold-soke only. Then as now 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow, and it is worth 5 shillings.

LITTLE MELTUNA [Little Melton] was held by Edwin T.R.E. from St. Benet, and on such terms (*ita*) that he had granted it to the abbot after his death. Then as now 2 ploughlands and 3 bordars and one serf, and 2 ploughs on the demesne; 3 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 rouncey and 5 beasts. Now 15 swine and 90 sheep. It was then worth 40 shillings, afterwards 60, now 4 pounds. To this manor belong (*adjacent*) now as then 12 freemen (holding), by commendation and fold-soke only, half a ploughland and 3 acres. Then as now 3 ploughs and 3 acres of meadow. And it is worth 20 shillings. In these two Meltons (*Meltunis*) 1 ploughland was held by a freeman who was also a thegn (*quidam liber homo teinus etiam*) T.R.E. as a manor (*pro manerio*). Then (there were) 3 villeins and 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men. This is held by Godric, and was held when Ralf suffered forfeiture (*quando R. fecit*), and it is included in the valuation (*est in pretio*) of the two manors (*de duobus maneriis*).

In MELTUNA [Melton] (there are) 9 freemen (holding) by commendation only 110 acres. Then as now 2 bordars. Then 3½ ploughs, now 4; 5½ acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 4 swine. It was then worth 23 shillings, now 30 (shillings) and 8 pence. And Little Melton (*Parva Maltuna*) is 10 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (renders) 8½ pence (*et i ferdinc*) geld.

In COLNEIA [Colney] Walter holds 18 freemen by commendation only and 30 acres (as) 1½ ploughlands, and 2 bordars. Then (there were) 5 ploughs, now 4, and 7 acres of meadow and 1 mill. And 1 freeman (was) under the predecessor (*sub ante*) of Roger Bigot by commendation only. And he holds half an acre of land which he bought (*mercatus est*) after Ralf suffered forfeiture (*foris fecit*), out of Roger's land. It was then worth 30 shillings, now 40, and is 8 furlongs in length and 8 in breadth, and (renders) 8½ pence

f. 205.

(*et i ferdinc*) geld.

⁴ Repeated.

HOLDERS OF LANDS

IN HEDERSETA [Hethersett] the same (Walter) holds 4 freemen by commendation only with 60 acres. Then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and 5 acres of meadow. And it is worth 10 shillings and 8 pence. The king and the earl (have) the soke.

There also the same (Walter) holds 16 freemen by commendation only with 33 acres. Then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. And it is worth 3 shillings and 4 pence. Count Alan has the soke.

IN DUNESTUN [Dunston] $7\frac{1}{2}$ freemen by commendation only (hold) 111 acres and 1 bordar. Then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and 1 mill and 2 acres of meadow. And it is worth 13 shillings, and is half a league in length and 3 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) $6\frac{1}{2}$ pence of geld.

IN SUERDESTUN [Swardeston] 42 acres (are held by) $2\frac{1}{2}$ freemen (Godric's) by commendation only, and (there is) 1 bordar. Then as now 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow. And it is worth 6 shillings.

IN FLORENDUNA [Flordon] (there were) 3 freemen (holding) 19 acres of land T.R.E. Then as now half a plough. And it is worth 2 shillings and 8 pence. Two of these (freemen) were held by the predecessor of Roger Bigot by commendation only, and the third by Godric's predecessor in like manner. Now Godric has them all (*totum*).¹

IN KENINCHAM [Keningham²] Ancholfus held 1 sokeman (with) 30 acres. Then as now half a plough. And it is worth 5 shillings.

IN SUEINESTORP [Swainsthorpe] 2 sokemen (hold) 35 acres. Then as now half a plough and 1 bordar and 1 acre of meadow. And it is worth 2 shillings and 8 pence.

IN KESEWIC [Keswick] 1 man (has) 10 acres. And it is worth 16 pence. The king and the earl (have) the soke over all (these).

CLAVELINGA [CLAVERING] HUNDRET

HECHINCHAM [Heckingham] was held by Hagana of Stigand T.R.E. (as) 4 ploughlands. Then as now 6 villeins and 6 bordars and 1 serf. Then 1 plough on the demesne, now 2. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1. And 2 ploughs could be added (*possent fieri*). (There are) 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 4 swine. Then as now 1 mill. Marsh (*maresc'*) (for) 60 sheep. Then 1 rouncey, now 2 : now 4 beasts and 20 swine. And 1 church (holding) 8 acres. Out of this (*Ex hoc*) R[oger] Bigot claims 30 acres of land (as belonging) to the fee (*feudum*) of Alestan. And 17 freemen (holding)

f. 205b.

³ 1 ploughland ³ by commendation only. Then 4

ploughs, now 3, and 3 acres of meadow. To this manor Earl R[alf] added 8 freemen in King William's time. And they have 1 ploughland and 2 bordars, and 6 freemen under them (*sub illis*) (holding) 12 acres. Then and afterwards 4 ploughs, now 3 ; 7 acres of meadow. The manor was then worth 20 shillings, now 60 ; and the freemen 30 shillings. The whole is 1 league in length and 8 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 12 pence geld.

IN HALS [Hales] half a freeman (holding) $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and worth 3 pence.

IN NORTUNA [Norton (Subcourse)] (there are) 3 freemen of St. Benet (holding) $37\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Then as now 1 plough. And it is worth 5 shillings.

IN SUDWDA [Southwood⁴] 1 freeman (holds) 1 acre of land, of whom the predecessor of Roger son of Rainart had the commendation T.R.E. And it is worth 2 pence. This man (*hunc*) was held by Godric when R[alf] suffered forfeiture (*forisfecit*).

XIII. THE LANDS OF HERMER

HUNDRET OF CLACHESLOSA [CLACKCLOSE]

IN MARSAM [Marham] Turchetel held 20 acres of the soke (*ad socham*) of St. Etheldreda (*Sancte Adeld'*). Then as now 2 villeins who then had 3 oxen, now 2 and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now it was worth 3 shillings less 4 pence. This land is measured in the return (*in brevi*) of St. Etheldreda.⁵

IN PHINCHAM [Fincham] (there are) 3 villeins and 15 bordars and 7 serfs ; and 3 ploughs on the demesne, and 13 acres of meadow. Then 4 rounceys, now 1. Then 12 beasts, now 9. Then 30 swine, now 26. Then 260 sheep, now 175. ⁶The fourth part of a church.⁶ Then as now it was worth 8 pounds. To this manor belongs (*adjacet*) half a league of wood(land), and (it is) 1 furlong in length and 1 furlong in breadth.

IN BERTUNA [Barton (Bendish)] William holds 2 ploughlands which Turchetel held, a freeman. Then as now 5 villeins and 3 bordars. Then 3 serfs, now 1. Then as now 4 acres of wood(land) and 20 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1. Then as now 3 beasts, now 4 rounceys. Then 30 sheep, now 61 ; 1 church (holding) 12 acres. Then 5 swine, now 15. Then as now it was worth 60 shillings. To this manor belong (*jacet*) now as then 7 freemen by fold-soke and commendation only, who have 30 acres of land. Then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs.

f. 206.

¹ Compare ff. 188b, 189.

² In Mulbarton. Blomefield, v, 74.

³ Repeated.

⁴ In Blofield hundred.

⁵ f. 212 b below.

⁶ Interlined.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

WERMEGAI [Wormegay] was held by Turchetel as a manor of 1 ploughland. Then as now 8 villeins and 2 serfs and 8 acres of meadow, and 1 plough on the demesne, 1 plough belonging to the men. The fourth part of a mill and 3 fisheries. Then as now 3 cows and 18 swine. Now 60 sheep. Then 4 hives of bees, now 2, ¹and 1 church.¹ Then as now (it was worth) 60 shillings: and it is 5 furlongs in length and 2 in breadth, and renders 2 pence of the king's geld of 20 shillings.

WESBRUGE [Westbriggs²], (being) 2 ploughlands, was held by the same Turchetel T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 9 villeins and 7 bordars and 4 serfs; and 2 ploughs on the demesne, half a plough belonging to the men and 6 acres of meadow and half an acre of wood(land) and 1 mill. Then 2 rounceys, now 1. Then 10 beasts, now 13. Then as now 6 swine. ¹One church with (*de*) 5 acres.¹ Then 120 sheep, now 60. Then as now it was worth 60 shillings. This vill is 5 furlongs in length and in breadth 3, and renders 2 pence of geld in 20 shillings.

TORPELANDA [Thorpland] is held by Bordin (as) 1 ploughland, which Turchetel held T.R.E. Then as now 5 villeins, 2 bordars, 20 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, now 2 oxen. Then as now 4 beasts. Then 24 sheep, now 80. Then 9 swine, now 10. (There is) 1 church (with) 6 acres. It was then worth 30 shillings, now 20. This land is 1 league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and renders 8 pence of the king's geld in 20 shillings.

STOU [Stow (Bardolph)] was held by the same (Turchetel) T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands. Then and afterwards (there were) 7 villeins, now 2. Then as now 15 bordars and 8 serfs and 40 acres of meadow, and 1 of wood(land). Then as now 3 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 fishery. Then 5 rounceys, now 2 and 26 wild (*silvestres*) mares. Then 7 cows, now 1; 44 swine. Then 240 sheep, now 160. Then 2 hives of bees, now 14. There belong (*adjacent*) to this manor 5 men paying (*de*) all custom and at soke (*ad socam*). There also belong (*adjacent*) 17 freemen, bound to the fold (*consueti ad faldam*) and commended, f. 206b.

with (*de*) 24 acres, and their soke belongs to St. Benet and to Herm[er de Ferrières]. All this was then and afterwards worth 8 pounds, now 7. (There is) 1 church (with) 53 acres of land, and worth 3 shillings.

WINEBOTESHAM [Wimbotsham] and STOU [Stow (Bardolph)]. These vills are 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and render 16 pence of the king's geld in 20 shillings.

RISTUNA [Ryston] is held by Helmer (as) 1 ploughland, which Ketel, a freeman, held T.R.E. Then as now 7 villeins and 1 bordar and 2 serfs and (a) plough on the demesne. Then half a plough belonging to the men and now (the same), and 8 acres of meadow, half a fishery. Then as now 1 rouncey. Then 5 cows, now 4. Then 6 swine, now 19 and 108 sheep. Then it was worth 20 shillings, afterwards and now 20. There, too, are 7 sokemen with 21 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow; then as now 1 plough; and it is worth 5 shillings. The whole is 4 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth, and renders 4 pence of geld in 20 shillings.

STRATESETA [Stradsett] is held by Fulbert (as) 2 ploughlands, which Suartinc, a freeman, held T.R.E. Then as now 6 villeins and 2 bordars and 1 serf; and 8 acres of meadow, and half a fishery, and 2 ploughs on the demesne. The villeins have 2 oxen. Then as now 1 rouncey and 2 beasts and 8 swine.³ (There is) 1 church (with) 30 acres.³ Then 140 sheep, now 80. There also (are) 13 freemen (with) 210 acres, and 1 church with 30 acres. Then as now 2 ploughs and 7 acres of meadow. This was given (*liberatum*) for 1 ploughland to make up 1 manor (*ad perficiendum unum manerium*). All this is worth 4 pounds and 15 shillings. The commendation of those 2 men belonged to the predecessor of (Ralf) Baynard (*Baignardi*). This vill is 7 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and renders 8 pence of geld in 20 shillings.

In WELLA [Upwell and Outwell] 6 bordars, and they are included in the valuation (*preciati*).

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF FREDERBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

TILINGHETUNA [Terrington], 1 ploughland was held by Turchetel, a freeman T.R.E. Then as now 7 villeins and 7 bordars. Then 2 serfs, now 1; and 24 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 7 saltpans. Then 1 rouncey, now none. Then as now 6 beasts. Then 16 swine, now 7. Then 310 sheep, now 315. Then as now it was worth 60 shillings. f. 207.

To this (manor) belongs 1 sokeman (with) 6 acres of land. And it is worth 12 pence.

In ISINGETUNA [Islington] Turchetel holds now as then 1½ ploughlands. Then as now 4 villeins and 11 bordars. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1. Then as now half a plough belonging to the men, and 10 acres of meadow. One church (with) 2 acres, and half a saltpan. Then as now 4 beasts. Then 20 swine, now 3. Then 120 sheep, now 100. Then as now it was worth 60 shillings. To

¹ Interlined.

² Part of Wormegay.

³ Interlined.

HOLDERS OF LANDS

this manor belonged T.R.E. and now 15 freemen with (*de*) 30 acres. Then as now 1 plough and 4 acres of meadow. It was then worth 15 shillings, now 10. Of these his predecessor had the commendation (*commendatus*), and they could withdraw (*recedere*) if they gave 2 shillings. Stigand had the soke.

In RYNGHETONA [(North) Runcton] 2 ploughlands were held by Turchetel a freeman T.R.E. Then as now 11 villeins and 7 bordars and 2 serfs; 30 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 1½ mills. Wood(land) for 20 swine, and 4 salt pans and a third of a fifth. Then as now 1 rouncey and 4 beasts and 27 swine; 100 sheep. ¹One church (with) 30 acres.¹ To this manor belong 13 sokemen (with) 37 acres. Then as now 1 plough. Then as now it was worth 6 pounds and 4 shillings. The whole is 1 league in length and (1 league) in width, and renders 12 pence in 20 shillings of the king's geld. And in the same measurement Es WINIC [West Winch] is (included).

SCREPEHAM [SHROPHAM] HUNDRET

HELINCHAM [(Great) Ellingham] is held by Waribold, which Turchetel a freeman held T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands. Then as now 3 villeins, and 2 bordars, and 5 serfs. Wood(land) for 100 swine, 30 acres of meadow. Then as now 3 ploughs on the demesne. Then as now 4 rounceys, and 8 beasts, and 6 mares with foals (*pullis*). Then 20 swine, now 27. Then 120 sheep, now 100. (There is) 1 church with 20 acres, and 28 sokemen (with) 60 acres, and 6 acres of meadow. Then as now 3 ploughs. Then and afterwards it was worth 4 pounds, now 100 shillings, and the whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 19 pence of geld, whoever holds there.

LAWENDIC [LAUNDITCH] HUNDRET

LECHAM [Litcham] was held by Turchetel a freeman T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands, for a f. 207b. manor (*pro manerio*). Then and afterwards (there were) 4 villeins, now 3. Then and afterwards 4 bordars, now 3. Then (and) afterwards 4 serfs, now (—), 8 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 7 swine. Then as now 1 mill and 3 sokemen (with) 4 acres and 1 rood (*virgata*) of land. Then 2 rounceys. Then 2 beasts, now 3; then as now 27 swine. Then 200 sheep, now 220. Half a church (with) 4 acres. To this manor belongs half a ploughland. Then as now 2 bordars and the fourth part of a market.

¹ Interlined.

William has it now. Then 1 plough, now half a plough and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now 25 sheep and two swine. This is in Torp []. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings and now 50, and above that (*super eum*) 10 shillings.

In RUHHAM [Rougham (Weasenham St. Peter²)] Fulbert holds 1 ploughland; he also (*idem*) held it T.R.E. Then 1 bordar. Then 1 plough, now half, and a half could be added; and it is worth 10 shillings. The soke (is) the king's (and is) in Muleham [Mileham].

The whole of the above (mentioned) Leccham [Litcham] is 8 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth whoever holds there, and (renders) 7½ pence of geld.

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF MITTEFORT [MIDFORD]

WINEBERGA [Whinburgh] was held by Turchetel a freeman T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands and 1½ acres. Then (there were) 9 villeins, now 13. Then 8 bordars, now 12; then as now 8 serfs and 4 ploughs on the demesne. Then and afterwards 3 ploughs belonging to the men, now 4. Then wood(land) for 150 swine, now 110, and 16 acres of meadow. Then 1 mill, now 2. Then as now 2 rounceys, and 8 beasts, and 47 swine. Now 100 sheep all but 2 (*ii minus*). Then 60 goats: 1 church (with) 6 acres. And 1 outlying estate GEROLFESTUNA [Garvestone] (of) 1 ploughland. Then as now 1 villein, and 1 bordar, and 1 plough, and 4 acres of meadow, and 1 rouncey, and 3 beasts, and 44 sheep. It was then worth 6 pounds, now 7. (There is) 1 church (with) 7 acres.

In GIROLFESTUNA [Garvestone] also (are) 19 freemen (with) 100 acres of land, 4 ploughs, and 9 acres of meadow. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 55 (shillings) and 4 pence. Of these (freemen) Bordin holds 24 acres, and f. 208.

the value, included in the above valuation (*valet in eodem pretio*), is 4 shillings. From these (*Ex his*) the hundret witnesses that his predecessor had no custom except the commendation, and on this (*ex hoc*) offers proof by the ordeal (*offert iudicium*). And a certain man of Hermer (de Ferrières) offers (proof by) the ordeal that his predecessor had all the custom T.R.E. except the soke of St. Etheldreda and that he could sell his land. Of this they have given sureties (*dederunt vades*). The whole is 1 league in length and 1 league in breadth and (renders) 3½ pence of geld. And Girofestuna [Garvestone] is 5 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (renders) 13 pence of geld.

In SCIPPEDANA [Shipdham] Adeilm holds 1 sokeman (with) 16 acres of land, and it is worth 4 shillings.

² See Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* x, 11, 80

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In WINEBERGA [Whinburgh] (there is) 1 sokeman (with) 30 acres, and 2 acres of meadow. Then 1 plough, now a half. It was then worth 16 shillings, now 8. The hundret witnesses that he could not sell his land, but the sheriff contradicts this (and says) that he could sell without leave of his lord.

In IAKESHAM [Yaxham] (are) 4 sokemen. Their predecessors (held) 20 acres of land T.R.E. Then (there was) 1 plough, now half; and 1 acre of meadow. It was then worth 4 shillings, now 2. TODDENHAM [Tuddenham (East¹)] was held by Turchetel T.R.E., 66 acres of land, for a manor. Then as now 3 serfs and 2 villeins and 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 acre of meadow, and half a mill, and 1 beast. Then 140 sheep, now 160 and 38 swine. ² One church (with) 20 acres.³ It was then worth 16 shillings, now 20; and is 7 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth, whoever holds there, and (renders) 22½ pence of geld. All the churches of all Hermer's land are included in the valuations of (*appreciate cum*) the manors.

HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD] HUNDRET

URNINCHAM [Wreningham] is held by Vagan (as) 3 ploughlands and 12 acres, which were held by Levolt a thane T.R.E. (as)

f. 208b.

3 ploughlands and 12 acres. Then 4 villeins. Afterwards 2, ³ now ³ none. Then as now 14 bordars. Then 3 serfs, now 1. Then as now 3 ploughs on the demesne. Then 1½ ploughs belonging to the men, now 1; 16 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 6 swine. Then as now 2 rounceys. Then 2 beasts, now 9. Then 2 swine, now 13. Then 60 sheep, now 50. ² (There is) 1 church with 10 acres.³ Then and afterwards it was worth 60 shillings, now 80, and is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 10 pence of geld. And to this land belong 8 freemen by fold soke (*soca falde*) and commendation only (with) 28 acres. Then as now 1 plough. And it is worth 4 shillings. The king and the earl have the soke of this and of the manor.

f. 209.

XIII. LAND OF THE ABBOT OF ST. EDMUND

HUNDRET OF CLACHESLOSA [CLACKCLOSE]

In PHINCHAM [Fincham] (are) 16 acres of land and 4 acres of meadow, and it is worth 2 shillings and 8 pence. In RUNGHETUNA [Runc-ton, (South)] St. Edmund held T.R.E. 2 ploughlands. Then as now 5 villeins, and 4 bordars,

¹ East Tuddenham was in 1302 part of the Bardolf fee—which also included Whimburgh, Shipdham and Yaxham; *Feud. Aids*, iii, 391.

² Interlined.

³ Repeated.

and 2 serfs: 12 acres of meadow, 16 acres of wood(land), 1 mill, 1 fishery (*piscina*), and 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, now 2 oxen. Then as now 1 rouncey, 8 beasts, 30 swine, 15 sheep. To this manor belong 27 freemen, but the soke was St. Edmund's (*remanebat Sco. E.*), holding 1 ploughland. Then as now 3 ploughs, 2 bordars. There also belongs to this manor half a ploughland. Then as now 4 bordars, and 1 serf, and 1 plough on the demesne. And besides (*ad buc*) there belong (to it) 30 acres, and 1 villein, and 2 bordars. Then as now worth 7 pounds and 4 shillings. To this manor belongs 1 outlying estate which is called ISINGHETUNA [Islington] and it is another hundret.⁴ All this manor is 1 league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth, and renders 8 pence when the whole hundret renders 20 shillings of geld.

SUTREIAM [Southery] (has) 2 ploughlands. Then as now 13 villeins, and 7 bordars, and 5 serfs; 24 acres of meadow. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 3. (There is) 1 fishery, 4 rounceys, 31 beasts, 11 swine, 80 sheep, 11 wild mares. It was then worth 32 shillings, now 4 pounds. It is half a league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 3 pence of geld.

In HIDLINGEIA [Hilgay] (are) 58 acres of land, 3 villeins, 1 plough, 4 acres of meadow. It has been valued above. There also (are) 2 bordars (with) 1 acre, and they belong to Runghetuna [Runc-ton, (South)].

In DERHAM [Dereham, (West)] (is) 1 sokeman (with) 6 acres, worth 6 pence. In TORP [? Thorpland] 1 freeman (holding) 4 acres by commendation only, and St. Benet has the soke. It is worth 8 pence.

FREDEBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE] HUNDRET AND A HALF

In ILSINGHTUNA [Islington] St. Edmund held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then as now 25 villeins, 1 plough on the demesne, 1 plough belonging to the men, 20 acres of meadow, 4 beasts, 80 sheep. To this manor belong 6 sokemen in LENA [Lynn] (with) 26 acres of land. Then as now 1 plough and 1 saltpan. It is worth 40 shillings.

In MIDDELTUNA [Middleton] Ricuard holds 1 ploughland of the abbot which St. Edmund held T.R.E. (There are) 3 villeins and 2 bordars, 1 serf, 1 plough on the demesne, 20 acres of meadow, 2 salt pans, 3 cows, 24 sheep, 4 swine, 1 sokeman with 5 acres. It is worth 20 shillings.

SCERPHAM [SHROPHAM] HUNDRET

In BUCCHAM [Buckenham, (Old)] St. Edmund held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then (there were)

⁴ The hundred of Freebridge.

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4 villeins, now 5. Then and now 8 bordars. Then 4 serfs, now 2 : 10 acres of meadow. Then 1 mill, now none. Then as now 1 plough.

f. 209b.

Then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men : 1 rouncey, 7 beasts, 6 swine, 28 sheep, 7 sokemen (with) half a ploughland. Then as now 2 ploughs, 3 acres of meadow, 3 bordars. Wood(land) for 5 swine. It is worth 40 shillings.

GILDECROSS [GUILTCROSS] HUNDRET

GUIDENHAM [Quiddenham] is held by Goscelin from the abbot, which St. Edmund held for half a ploughland with the soke. Then as now 2 villeins, 1 bordar, 3 acres of meadow ; half a plough on the demesne, and 2 oxen belonging to the men. Then (there was) 1 mill. It is worth 10 shillings.

In NORTUNA [(Blo) Norton] the same (Goscelin) holds 1 ploughland which 1 sokeman of St. Edmund held. Then as now 5 villeins and then 3 bordars, now 5 : 1 acre of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 10 swine, 1 mill, and 1 sokeman (with) half an acre. Now 3 rounceys, 12 beasts, 10 swine, 45 sheep, 6 hives of bees. It is worth 30 shillings. It is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, whoever holds there, and (renders) 8½ pence of geld. To the church (belong) 5 acres, worth 10 pence.

In GADESTHORP [Gasthorpe] a freeman held 30 acres T.R.E. ; now a certain Englishman (*Anglicus*) (holds) of the abbot. (There is) now 1 bordar, (and) 3 acres of meadow. Then half a plough, now 1. It was then worth 5 shillings, now 10. Of this the abbot had the commendation T.R.E. The soke (is) in the king's (manor of) Cheninghala [Kenninghall].

In SNARESHUL [Snarehill] Fulcher holds 30 acres of the abbot which 1 sokeman held. Then as now 1 bordar, half a plough. It is worth 2 shillings.

In HERLINGA [Harling, (West)] Ricuard holds 1 ploughland from the abbot which St. Edmund held T.R.E. Then as now 4 villeins, 3 bordars, 1 serf, 3 acres of meadow. Then 1 plough on the demesne, now 2. Then as now 2 ploughs belonging to the men ; 1 rouncey, 8 beasts, 3 swine. Then 120 sheep, now 180. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40.

LAWENDIC [LAUNDITCH] HUNDRET

WENLINGA [Wendling] is held by the same R[icuard] of the abbot, which St. Edmund held for 1 ploughland. (There are) 2 villeins, 6 bordars, 6 acres of meadow, 1 plough on the demesne, and 1½ ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 100 swine and 1 sokeman (with)

12 acres. Then as now 1 bordar. Then 1 plough, now a half. Then as now 1 mill, 19 swine. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 30. It is 9 furlongs in length, and 6 in breadth, and (renders) 2½ pence of geld.

FEORHOU [FOREHOE] HUNDRET

MARTHINGEFORDA [Marlingford] was held by St. Edmund T.R.E. Then as now 4 villeins, and 1 serf. Then 1 plough, now 2, and 1½ ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 8 swine, 6 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 mills, 2 rounceys, 22 beasts, 8 swine, 130 sheep, 9 goats, and 3 sokemen. Then as now it was worth 40 shillings. It is 1 league in length and 3½ furlongs in breadth (and) renders 6½ pence of geld. Others hold land there.

BLAFELDA [BLOFIELD] HUNDRET

BUCHANAHAM [Buckenham (Ferry)] is held of the abbot by Roger, which St. Edmund held

f. 210.

T.R.E. assigned to the monks' table (*ad victum*). Now Roger Bigot holds it from St. Edmund for 1 ploughland. Then as now 8 bordars and 1 plough on the demesne. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now a half : 9 acres of meadow. Then 2 rounceys, now 1. Then 2 beasts, now nothing. Now 6 swine, 21 sheep. Then and afterwards it was worth 30 shillings, now 20. And (it is) 11 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth, and (renders) 20 pence of geld, whoever holds there.

To this manor belong (*adjacent*) 10 freemen by commendation (with) 60 acres, (and) 6 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 5 ploughs, now 2½. Then and afterwards it was worth 10 shillings, now 20.

HEINESTEDA [HENSTEAD] HUNDRET

CASTRUM [Caister (St. Edmund's)] now as then is held by St. Edmund for a manor and for 3 ploughlands. Then as now 10 villeins and 7 bordars, and 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 4 ploughs belonging to the men. (There are) 6 acres of meadow, half a mill : now 3 rounceys, 5 beasts, 30 swine, 40 sheep ; and 4 sokemen with (*de*) 25 acres of land, by the king's grant with all custom, and they belong to (*pertinent in*) this manor, as the hundret testifies. It was then worth 40 shillings, now 100. It is 6 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (renders) 16 pence of geld, and several (*plures*) hold there. To the church (belong) 11 acres, worth 16 pence.

BROC [Brooke] was held by Earl Gurt T.R.E., and King William gave it to St. Edmund when he first came to St. Edmund's (as) 4 ploughlands. Then (there were) 33 villeins, now 38. Then as now 3 serfs. Now 3 ploughs on the demesne and 6 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 30 swine, 9 acres of meadow. Now 5 rounceys, 14 beasts, 40 swine. Now 65 sheep and

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20 goats, and 40 sokemen (with) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands, and then as now 9 ploughs among the men (*inter homines*). In SCOTESSA [Shottesham] 16 freemen, Guert's men, commended with (*de*) 1 ploughland belong to (*pertinent in*) Broc [Brooke] and under them (*sub eis*) 7 bordars, and 4 acres of meadow, and 3 ploughs, and the fourth part of a church. Of this (*Ex hoc*) Berenger holds 20 acres.

In Hou [Howe] (was) 1 freeman of Guert ¹ belonging to (*pertinens in*) Broc [Brooke] ¹ with (*de*) 1 ploughland, which Berenger holds. Then as now 5 villeins and 6 bordars and 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then and afterwards 3 ploughs belonging to the men, now 2. (Wood)land for 40 swine. To the church (belong) 15 acres worth 2 shillings.

In PORRINGELANT [Poringland] (was) 1 freeman of Guert by commendation belonging to (*pertinens in*) Broc [Brooke] (with) 30 acres and 1 bordar with (*de*) half an acre. Then as now 1 plough. Over all these freemen King Edward had soke and sac, and afterwards Guert took it by force (*accepit per vim*). But King William gave with the manor soke and sac over all Guert's freemen just as he himself had it. This the monks claim (*reclamant*). Then and afterwards it was f. 210b.

worth 10 pounds, now 15. Broc [Brooke] is 1 league in length and 4 furlongs and 1 league in breadth and (renders) 17 pence of geld. Others hold there.

HERSAM [EARSHAM] HALF HUNDRET

THORP [Thorpe (Abbots)] was held by St. Edmund T.R.E. for a manor and for 2 ploughlands. Then (there were) 8 villeins, now 9, and 8 bordars. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and 6 ploughs belonging to the men. Then wood(land) for 60 swine, now 40; 12 acres of meadow. Then 1 mill, now none (*non*). Then as now 4 rounceys, 10 beasts, 11 swine, 10 sheep, 20 goats.

And in BRODISE [Brockdish] 2 sokemen belonging to this manor with (*de*) 1 ploughland and 2 villeins and 2 bordars. It was then worth 4 pounds, now 100 shillings. It is 7 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth and (renders) 4 pence of geld. To the church (belong) 12 acres, worth 2 shillings.

In MENHAN [Mendham] Frodo holds of the abbot 1 ploughland and 30 acres, which 2 sokemen held, and under them 9 villeins and 7 bordars. Then (there were) 5 ploughs among them all, now 7. Wood(land) for 52 swine, 12 acres of meadow. It is valued in Menham [Mendham].² Then 1 mill, now none. It is 2 leagues and 5 furlongs in length and 7 (furlongs) in breadth, and (renders) 7 pence of geld.

¹ Interlined.

² Cf. Dom. Bk. (Suffolk), f. 368.

In HEROLUESTUNA [Harleston] 1 freeman, St. Edmund's by commendation, and Stigand's by soke in Hersam [Earsham] (with) 12 acres of land. Then as now it was worth 20 pence.

In STERESTUNA [Starston] 1 freeman, St. Edmund's by commendation, but Stingand's (*sic*) by soke in Hersam [Earsham] (with) 5 acres of land. It is worth 10 pence. That is as demesne (*Hoc est in dominio*).

STERESTUNA [Starston] is held by Roger Bigot of the abbot, which Brictflet held, a freewoman commended to St. Edmund, for 2 ploughlands. Then (there were) 3 villeins, now 2. Then as now 3 serfs. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, now none; 6 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards (it was worth) 40 shillings, now 20. It is 1 league and 5 furlongs in length, and 5 furlongs in breadth and (renders) 13 pence of geld, whoever holds there.

In HEROLVESTUNA [Harleston] Frodo holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ villeins with (*de*) 13 acres, and belongs to (*pertinet in*) M[en]ha[m] [Mendham].

DICE [DISS] HALF HUNDRET

TEVETISHALA [Tivetshall] is held now as then by St. Edmund for 3 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 18 villeins and 15 bordars and 2 serfs, and 3 ploughs on the demesne, and 12 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 80 swine, 14 acres of meadow. Then as now 5 rounceys, 24 beasts, 35 swine, 40 sheep, 24 goats; and 5 sokemen also there (*in eadem*) with (*de*) 60 acres. Then as now 2 ploughs. There also 1 freeman of St. Edmund (with) half a ploughland, $1\frac{1}{2}$ villeins, 2 bordars. Then as now 1 plough. Wood(land) for 15 swine. (There are) 2 churches with f. 211.

40 acres worth 7 shillings and 6 pence. To this manor belongs (*adjacet*) 1 outlying estate GESSINGA [Gissing] of 1 ploughland and 2 villeins and 2 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 15 swine, and 18 sokemen with 90 acres. Fulcher holds 22 acres. Then as now 3 bordars and 5 ploughs and 2 acres of meadow. It was then worth 7 pounds, now 9 and 15 shillings. Tivetessala [Tivetshall] is 1 league and 4 furlongs in length and half a league in width and (renders) 17 pence of geld.

In SIMPLINGA [Shimpling] 6 sokemen belong (*pertinent*) to this manor with (*de*) 32 acres and 1 bordar and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) 1 plough among them all. They have been included in the above valuation.

There also (was) a freeman (with) 40 acres which Fulc[her] holds, and 2 bordars. Then as now 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 4 swine. It is worth 10 shillings.

BRESINGHAM [Bressingham] was held then as now by St. Edmund for a manor, and for

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2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 6 villeins, 16 bordars, and 2 ploughs on the demesne and 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 20 swine, 12 acres of meadow, now 2 beasts, 11 swine, and 12 sokemen with (*de*) 60 acres; and they could not give nor sell their land. Then as now 2½ ploughs, wood(land) for 6 swine, 4 acres of meadow. It was then worth 40 shillings, now 60. To the church (belong) 15 acres worth 2 shillings. It is 8 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth, and (renders) 12 pence of geld.

In BRESINGHAM [Bressingham] Almar held of St. Edmund T.R.E. 1 ploughland. Now Roger Bigot holds it of the saint. Then as now 1 villein and 4 bordars. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne. Afterwards and now 1½. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1. Wood(land) for 6 swine; 6 acres of meadow. Then 3 rounceys, now 1. Then 4 beasts, now 3. Then 20 swine, now 8. Now 60 sheep, and 1 sokeman with 1½ acres. It is worth now as then 20 shillings.

In RAGHEDUNA [Roydon] Fulcher holds in demesne (*de dominio*) 1 ploughland which St. Edmund held. Then as now 2 villeins and 7 bordars and 1 plough on the demesne and 2 ploughs belonging to the men, and 2 acres of meadow; and 5 sokemen with 21 acres. Then as now 2 ploughs and 1 rouncey and 2 beasts and 5 swine and 12 sheep. It is worth 20 shillings.

In SCELVA[N]GRA [Shelfanger] 2 sokemen (have) half a ploughland and 6 acres, and under them (*sub eo*) 7 bordars and 1 plough. Wood(land) for 12 swine, 2 acres of meadow. It is worth 11 shillings.

In FRENSE [Frenze] (are) 2 sokemen of St. Edmund with 16 acres. Then as now half a plough. It is worth 2 shillings.

DICCLEBURC [Dickleburgh] was held then as now by St. Edmund for a manor and for 2 ploughlands. Now 2 priests hold it of the abbot. Then as now 4 villeins and 12 bordars and 2 ploughs on the demesne and 4 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 16 f. 211b.

swine, 6 acres of meadow, and 4 sokemen (with) 20 acres. Then as now 1 plough, 1 acre of meadow. It is worth 40 shillings. It is 5 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (renders) 6 pence of geld. To the church (belong) 30 acres worth 3 shillings.

SEMERE [Semere¹] was held then as now by St. Edmund for a manor of 2 ploughlands. Then as now 12 bordars and 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 12 swine, 3 acres of meadow,

and 1 sokeman with 10 acres. Now as then he ploughs with 2 oxen. It is worth 40 shillings. It is 5 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (renders) 6 pence of geld.

There also Fulcher holds 1 sokeman of St. Edmund with (*de*) 20 acres and 2 bordars and half a plough and 1 acre of meadow. It is worth 5 shillings.

In GESSINGA [Gissing] (are) 1½ freemen with 33 acres and 2 bordars. Then (there was) 1 plough, now a half. It was then worth 4 shillings, now 10. This Roger a man of R[obert] Malet seized (*invasit*).

In SCELVA[N]GRA [Shelfanger] (is) 1 freeman of St. Edmund (with) 12 acres and 2 oxen. It is worth 16 pence. To the church (belong) 16 acres worth 2 shillings and 6 pence. When Earl Ralf was powerful (*potestativus*) and his (men) and his lands, his servants exchanged (*cambier[unt]*) with the servants of St. Edmund 4 men of Borstuna [Burstun] for other 4 in Gessinga [Gissing], so that (*quod*) the earl had 4 and the abbot 4.

In SI[M]PLINGA [Shimpling] (are) 1½ freemen with 14 acres. Then as now half a plough and 1 acre of meadow worth 28 pence.

In REGADONA [Roydon] 4 sokemen worth 5 acres have been included in the valuation of Bressingham [Bressingham].

LODDINGA [LODDON] HUNDRET

LODNA [Loddon] is held by Frodo of the abbot, which St. Edmund held T.R.E. for 3 ploughlands and 10 acres. Then as now 3 villeins. Then 8 bordars, now 16. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 3. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1. Wood(land) for 60 swine, 8 acres of meadow, now 1 mill. ² To the church (belong) 60 acres (and) 4 acres of meadow worth 5 shillings.² Then as now 1 rouncey. Now 12 beasts and 30 swine and 80 sheep, 2 hives of bees. And there are there 11 sokemen (bound) to all custom (with) 20 acres. Then as now 2 ploughs. It was then worth 40 shillings, now 80. It is 14 furlongs in length and 9 in breadth, and (renders) 16 pence of geld, whoever holds there. St. Edmund (has) the soke.

In BRO[M] [Broome] the same (Frodo) holds 1 ploughland which Toli the sheriff held and gave to St. Edmund T.R.E., and afterwards held it of him at the farm of 2 days (*per firman ii dierum*). Then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 4 acres of meadow and 1 rouncey and 4 sokemen with five acres. Then as now half a plough. It is worth 20 shillings. St. Edmund (has) the soke.

¹ In Dickleburgh, Blomefield, i, 191.

² Interlined.

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In MUNDHALA [Mundham] Goselin holds 1 sokeman with 30 acres. Then as now 1 villein and 1 bordar and half a plough. It is worth 32 pence.

In TOPECROFT [Topcroft] Berenger holds 2 ploughlands of the abbot, which 2 priests held T.R.E. Then as now 4 villeins and 10 bordars. Then 2 serfs, now 1. Then as now 2 ploughs

on the demesne and 3 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 3 swine, 3 acres of meadow and 1 sokeman with 2 acres. It was then worth 30 shillings, now 40. St. Edmund (has) the soke. In LANGAHALA [Langhale]¹ and in KERCHETUNA [Kirstead] (are) 27 sokemen (with) 2½ ploughlands² and 10 acres³ and 2 villeins and 11 bordars. Then as now 6 ploughs, 8 acres of meadow. They are included in the valuation of Broc [Brooke]. To the church (belong) 12 acres worth 16 pence. Langahala [Langhale] is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 16 pence of geld whoever holds there.

DEPWADE HUNDRET

TIBHAM [Tibenham] was held by St. Edmund T.R.E. for 2 ploughlands and 60 acres. Now Ricuard holds it. Then as now 5 villeins and 9 bordars and 1 serf, and 2 ploughs on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men; 5 acres of meadow, 6 beasts, 40 goats. It was then worth 40 shillings, now 60. And it is 1½ leagues in length and 1 league in breadth, and (renders) 18 pence of geld.

TORP [(Morning)thorpe] is held by Robert de Vals, which St. Edmund held for a manor and for 1 ploughland. Then as now 7 villeins and 3 bordars and 1 serf; and 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men; 2 acres of meadow and 1 mill; and 2 beasts and 4 swine and 16 sheep; and 3 sokemen (with) 30 acres. Then as now 1 plough. To the church (belong) 12 acres. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 30. And (there is) 1 freeman of whom the abbot had half the commendation T.R.E. with 1 ploughland, which the same (Robert) holds, and 9½ freemen under him (holding) by commendation only 30 acres, and 1 villein, and 1 bordar. (They had) then 3½ ploughs among them, now 3; 2 acres of meadow. In FRITHETUNA [Fritton] he also (*idem*) holds 2 freemen with 23 acres, and 1 villein and 3 bordars, and 1 plough. In STRATUNA [Stratton, (Long)] 1 freeman (has) 15 acres and half a plough. In TORP [(Morning)thorpe] 2 freemen (have) 12 acres and half a plough. It was then worth 30 shillings, now 50. The same R[obert] holds this. Torp [(Morning)thorpe] is 1

league in length and 3 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 1¼ pence of geld. In FRIETUNA [Fritton] (is) 1 freeman of the king with 15 acres and 2 bordars, and he is worth 3 (substituted for 5) shillings. This R[obert] also (*idem* R.) holds.

CLAVELINGA [CLAVERING] HUNDRET

KERCHEBY [Kirby (Cane)] is held by Rafrid of the abbot, which St. Edmund held T.R.E. for 2 ploughlands. Then as now 1 villein and 11 bordars. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 3. Then as now 5 ploughs belonging to the men; 14 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 6 swine. Then half a mill, now 1½. To the church (belong) 20 acres (held) in frankalmoin (*in elemosina*) and 2 thirds of 1 church with 14 acres. On the demesne (are) 4 rounceys, 4 beasts, 15 swine, 100 sheep. And 3 freemen (hold) 3 ploughlands, and 4½ ploughs, and 3 acres of meadow. It was then worth 40 shillings, now 6 pounds. To the church (belong) 20 acres, worth 20 pence. It is 9 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth and (renders) 10½ pence of geld.

HALS [Hales] was held by 9 men (with) 64³ acres. (Of these) 2 were sokemen and 7 (held) by soke and commendation only. Then

f. 212b. as now 2 bordars. And 5 freemen (with) 6 acres. This is (included) in the valuation (*in pretio*) of Lodnes [Loddon]; and Frodo holds (it) of the abbot. In NORTUNA [Norton (Subcourse)] (there is) 1 freeman by commendation (with) 30 acres. Then as now 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow. And (there were) 9 freemen under him with 20 acres which (*quod*) Gosselin holds. Then as now half a plough. It is worth 5 shillings. Over these 9 the king and earl (have) the soke. To the church (belong) 20 acres of free land (*libere terre*). There also a freeman (held) by commendation T.R.E. 8 acres and 2 oxen. It is worth 12 pence.

In KECHINGA [? Heckingham] 1 freeman (held) in the same way (*simil*) 8 acres, which the abbot holds in demesne, and it is worth 8 pence.

In HALS [Hales] (are) 2 freemen (with) 1 acre. It is worth 4 pence. This F[rodo] also holds.

XV. THE LAND OF ST. ETHELDREDA (*SANCTE ADELDRERE*)⁴

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF CLAKESLOSA [CLACK-CLOSE]⁵ of 10 leets (*leit*)⁶

MAREHAM [Marham] was held by St. Etheldreda T.R.E.⁶ Then (there were) 4 ploughs on

¹ In Kirstead; Kirstead and Langhale went together; *Feud. Aids*, iii, 623.

² Interlined.

³ 4 above the line.

⁴ Compare *Inq. Elfen*. (Hamilton), pp. 130-136.

⁵ *I. E.* omits.

⁶ *I. E.* adds 'as 4 ploughlands.'

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the demesne, now 3.¹ Then 6 ploughs belonging to the men, now 3. Then as now 19 villeins and 13 bordars. Then 7 serfs, now 5; 26 acres of meadow, 1 mill. Then 10 rounceys, now 4. Then 1 cow,² now 6. Then 131 sheep, now 300. Then 24 swine, now 23.³ This land is 1 league and 100 perches in length and half a league and 1 furlong in breadth. And in marshland (*maresc*) the measurement is unknown (*nescit mensuram*). Now as then it is worth 10 pounds. To this manor belonged (*adjacebant*) T.R.E. 27 sokemen, with all custom, but after King William came Hugh de Montfort had them all but one. And W[illiam] de Warenne (has) 1 sokeman with 6 acres from the church. All this land rendered 14 pence of geld when the hundred and a half rendered a geld of 20 shillings. Now it does the same (*similiter*).

In BECHESWELLA [Bexwell] (is) 1 ploughland, and 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, 7 villeins, 1 serf, 10 acres of meadow. It is worth 20 shillings.⁴

In PHINCHAM [Fincham] St. Etheldreda held 30 acres of land T.R.E. Then as now 3 bordars and 1 plough, 10 acres of meadow. It is worth f. 213.

10 shillings. In HIDLINGEIA [Hilgay] (are) 4 bordars (with) 2 acres and they are worth 6 pence.

In PHOTESTORP [Foston⁵] (is) 1 ploughland, and 3 villeins and 2 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men and 2 acres of meadow and 80 sheep, 8 swine. It is worth 20 shillings.⁶ It is 4 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth⁷ and (renders) 4 pence of geld.⁷ Ulchetel, Hermer's man, claims in whatever way trial be made, either by battle or by ordeal, that this land is free. And another (man) is ready to prove in the same way (*eo modo*) that it belonged to the church on the day on which King Edward died.⁸ But the whole hundred witnesses that it belonged (*fuisse ad*) T.R.E. to St. Etheldreda.

In FORHAM [Fordham] (are) 3 bordars (with) 12 acres. It is worth 2 shillings. In DUNHAM [Downham (Market)] (are) 2 villeins (with) 10 acres and 1 acre of meadow. It is worth 12 pence. All Dunham [Downham (Market)] is 3 furlongs in length and 2 in breadth, and (renders) 4 pence of geld, whoever holds there.

¹ I. E. 'Then as now 3 ploughs on the demesne.'

² I. E. 'beast.'

³ I. E. transfers to end of entry.

⁴ I. E. 'now as then.'

⁵ Blomefield (vii, 364) suggests Foston in Tottenham (i.e. Fodderstone Gap in Shouldham Thorpe), where the prior of Ely held in 1316; *Feud. Aids*, iii, 451.

⁶ I. E. 'now as then.'

⁷ I. E. omits.

⁸ I. E. adds 'and both have given pledges.'

HUNDRED AND A HALF OF FREDERUGE

[FREEBRIDGE]

WALTUNA [Walton, (West)] was held by St. Etheldreda T.R.E. for 4 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 20 villeins (and) 40 bordars. Then 17 serfs,⁹ now 13; 100 acres of meadow, 1 fishery. Then as now 5 ploughs on the demesne and 3 ploughs belonging to the men. Then 22 salt pans (*sal*), now 24. Then as now 6 rounceys. Then 18 beasts, now 16. Then 22¹⁰ swine, now 23. Then as now 1,300 sheep. To this manor belong (*Hic jacent*) 47 acres of land¹¹ in ESINGATUNA [Islington] which now as then are held by 2 villeins. And 7 sokemen with 1 ploughland, and 11 bordars, and 3 serfs. Then as now 2 ploughs. Now as then it is worth 15 pounds.¹²

In ACRA [Acre, (? West)] half a ploughland was held by St. Etheldreda T.R.E. (with) 2 bordars, 1 serf, (and) 1 acre of meadow. Then as now half a plough (and) 30 sheep. It is worth 3 shillings.

In ESINGATUNA [Islington] St. Etheldreda held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then (there was) 1 plough, now a half, 2 villeins, 3 bordars, 20 acres of meadow, (and) 2 salt pans. To this manor belong 18 sokemen with 17½ acres.¹³ The whole is worth 16 shillings.

HUNDRET OF GRIMESHOU [GRIMSHOE]

FELTWELLA [Feltwell] then as now was held by St. Etheldreda for 6 ploughlands. Then (there were) 40 villeins, now 28. Then 5 bordars, now 10. Then 14 serfs, now 12. Then five¹⁴ ploughs on the demesne, now 4.¹⁵ Then 8 ploughs belonging to the men, now 7; 30 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 rounceys, 11 beasts, 140 sheep. Then 33 swine, now 22; 1 mill and 2 fisheries. Then as now it was worth 12 pounds. It is 1½ leagues in length, and 1 league in breadth,¹⁶ and (renders) 30½ pence of geld.

To this manor belonged T.R.E. 34¹⁷ sokemen¹⁷ with all custom¹⁸ whom W[illiam] de Warenne (*Gar*) now holds,¹⁸ and 6 freemen by soke and commendation only.¹⁹ The same W[illiam] has them all.¹⁸

NORTWALDE [Northwold] then as now was held by St. Etheldreda for 6 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 8 villeins, 18 bordars, (and)

⁹ I. E. 18.

¹⁰ I. E. 31.

¹¹ I. E. 'of the demesne of this vill'

¹² I. E. 'It was then worth 9 pounds, now 15.'

¹³ I. E. '17 acres of land and half a plough.'

¹⁴ I. E. 4.

¹⁵ I. E. 5.

¹⁶ Repeated.

¹⁷ I. E. '1 league in breadth and a half in breadth.'

¹⁸ I. E. omits.

¹⁹ I. E. adds 'and 7 others were freemen who could sell their lands, but the soke and commendation remained to St. Etheldreda.'

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4 serfs. Then 3 ploughs on the demesne, now 4.¹ Then 5 ploughs belonging to the men, now 3; 16 acres of meadow,² 2 mills, 2 fisheries, 2 rounceys,³ 11 beasts, 130 sheep. Then 31 swine, now 22. It was then worth 8 pounds, now 9. To this manor (*Hic*) belonged T.R.E. 3 sokemen with all custom, and 4 freemen by soke and commendation only.⁴ ⁵W[illiam] de War[enne] has them all.⁶ It is 1 league in length and a half in breadth and (renders) 30½ pence of geld. ⁷Others hold there.⁸

MONDEFORT [Mundford] then as now ⁹was held by St. Etheldreda (for) 3 ploughlands. Then (there were) 14 villeins, now 10. Then 4 bordars, now 8. Then 4 serfs, now 2. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 3 ploughs belonging to the men, now 2; 16 acres of meadow. Then as now half a mill, 5 beasts, 33 sheep. Then 2 serfs (*ser*),⁷ now 3. It is worth 40 shillings. To this manor belong (*adjacent*) 7 sokemen with all custom, ⁸whom W[illiam] has now.⁸ It is 1 league in length and a half in breadth and (renders) 11 pence of geld.

SCERPAM [SHROPHAM] HUNDRET

BRUGA[M] [Bridgham] then as now was held by St. Etheldreda (for) 4 ploughlands. Then as now 12 villeins: then 10 bordars, now 17. Then as now 4 serfs; 3 ploughs on the demesne, 3 ploughs belonging to the men, 4 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 15 swine: 2 mills: 2 rounceys, 5 beasts. Then 200 sheep, now 180; 25 ⁹swine. To this manor belong (*pertinent*) 30 acres in demesne which are in Breham¹⁰ [Brettenham] and 30 acres in Rudham¹¹ [Roudham]. It was then worth 6 pounds, now 8. The whole is 1 league in length and 3 furlongs in breadth and (renders) 12 ¹²pence of geld. To this manor belongs 1 priest and he is worth¹³ 2 shillings, and could not sell his land. ¹⁴And 1 sokeman (with) half a ploughland and half a plough and he is worth 2 shillings. He was among (*de*) the freemen of Roger Bigot, but the abbot proved his claim to (*derationavit*) him, and holds him.¹⁴

GILDECROS [GUILTCROSS] HUNDRET

In BENHA[M] [Banham] 1 sokeman (with) 2 ploughlands was held by St. Etheldreda T.R.E. Then and afterwards (there were) 10 villeins, now 4. Then as now 6 bordars. Then 4 serfs;¹⁵ 24 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 100

swine. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne; afterwards¹⁶ and now 1, and 1 plough could be added (*restaurari*). Then and afterwards 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1, and another could be added. Then 4 beasts, now 2. Then 16 swine, now 2. This manor is held by W. de Scohies of the abbey. And (there are) 3 sokemen (with) 20 acres of land. Then as now half a plough; 2 acres of meadow. It was then worth 60 shillings, now 40. There also (are) 3 freemen (with) half a ploughland and 5 acres of whom (the abbot) had nothing but the commendation. The soke (is) in the king's (manor of) Keninchala [Kenninghall]; (there are) 6 acres of mea-

f. 214.
dow. Then 1½ ploughs, now 1. It is worth 10 shillings. Rafrid had these freemen. Afterwards W. de Scohies (had them) and the abbot seized them on account of his commendation.

In RISEURDA [Rushford] 1½ ploughlands were held then as now by St. Etheldreda (with) 3 villeins, 1 serf, 8 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 2 ploughs, now none, but they might be replaced (*restaurari*). Then there was half a plough belonging to the men, now 1 ox, and 1 sokeman (with) 2 acres. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 8. This is held by John, nephew of Waleram.

In RISEURDA [Rushford] Ulvric a freeman (held) 60 acres T.R.E. (and) 4 acres of meadow. Then (there was) 1 plough. The soke (is) in¹⁷ Keninghala [Kenninghall]. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 5. This Ulvric incurred a fine of 8 pounds to (*forisfactus fuit erga*) King William, and therefore it was (*remansit*) in the king's hand. This also the same (John) holds of the abbot.

In NORTUNA [(Blo) Norton] (are) 1 sokeman (with) 80 acres and 1 acre of meadow, and 1 villein and 7 bordars and 1 plough. It is worth 15 shillings. This man was (one) of R[oger] Bigot's freemen, but the abbot proved his claim to (*derationavit*) him.¹⁸

LAWENDIC [LAUNDITCH] HUNDRET

Ossuic [Oxwick] was held then as now by St. Etheldreda (for) 1 ploughland. Then as now (there were) 4 bordars and 3 sokemen (with) 6 acres. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now a half, and half a plough can be added (*restaurari*): 2 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 24 swine. It is worth 20 shillings. Rainald son of Ivo holds (it) of the abbot, but he formerly held of the king.

In Hou [Hoe] (St. Etheldreda) held 1 ploughland then as now. Then as now (there were)

¹ I. E. omits.

⁹ I. E. omits.

² I. E. 30.

⁴ I. E. as in previous entry.

⁵ I. E. omits.

⁶ I. E. T.R.E.

⁷ I. E. 'swine.'

⁸ I. E. omits.

⁹ I. E. 'then as now 15.'

¹⁰ I. E. Bretenham.

¹¹ I. E. Rudenham.

¹² I. E. 11

¹³ I. E. 'renders.'

¹⁴ I. E. omits.

¹⁵ I. E. adds 'now none.'

¹⁶ I. E. inserts '3 oxen.'

¹⁷ I. E. adds 'the king's (manor of).'

¹⁸ I. E. here adds the account of the sokeman whom it omits in Shropham hundred.

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8 villeins, 10 bordars, 8 acres of meadow, 3 ploughs, wood(land) for 100 swine, 1 mill. This belongs to (*Jacet in*) Derham [Dereham (East)] with all custom,¹ and (is included) in (its) valuation.¹ The soke is in the king's (manor of) Muleha[m] [Mileham] as to (*de*) 2 sokemen who have 24 acres and 4 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 4 swine, half a plough. It is worth 4 shillings. The abbot had the commendation² and the fold-soke (*socam falde*).

MITTEFORT [MIDFORD] HUNDRET AND A HALF

DERHAM [Dereham, (East)] was held then as now by St. Etheldreda³ (for) 5 ploughlands.³ Then (there were) 20 villeins, now 16. Then 20 bordars, now 25 and 2 serfs. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 3. Then 8 ploughs belonging to the men, now 7. Then wood(land) for 600 swine, now 300. Then as now 3 mills, 3 rounceys, 12 beasts, 20 swine, 100 sheep, 7 sokemen (with) 30 acres (and) 2 acres of meadow, 3 acres of wood(land). It was then worth 10 pounds, now 13. It is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 15 pence of geld. The whole soke of this hundret and a half belonged to (*ad*) St. Etheldreda T.R.E., and it is worth 60 shillings.

TORP []⁴ was held then as now by St. Etheldreda (for) 3 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 10 villeins (and) 20 bordars: now 4 serfs. Then 1 plough on the demesne, now 2. Then as now 7½ ploughs belonging to the men. Then wood(land) for 800 swine, now 600; 8 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 mill, f. 214b.

2 rounceys, 11 beasts, 27 swine, 97 sheep, 38 goats, and 12 sokemen (with) 40 acres. Then as now 5 ploughs, 12 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 12 swine. It was then worth 60 shillings, now 11 pounds. And it is 1 league in length and 1 league in breadth, and (renders) 15 pence in geld, and upon (*super*) all the sokemen of these two manors is charged 15 pence.⁵

CAVELEA [Cavelly⁶] is held of the abbot by Berner, which St. Etheldreda held T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins, 11 bordars, 1 plough on the demesne, half a plough belonging to the men, and there might be a whole one (*tota potest fieri*). Wood(land) for 20 swine, 20 acres of meadow. Now 1 rouncey, 4 beasts, 5 swine: 5 sokemen (with) 20 acres. It is worth 20 shillings. It is 4 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (renders)

5 pence of geld. Godric claims this land as of (*ad*) the fief of Earl R[alf], because he held it before he suffered forfeiture (*antequam forifaceret*), and this the hundret witnesses.

In DODENHAM [Tuddenham, (North)⁷] (is) 1 sokeman of St. Etheldreda (with) 2⁸ ploughlands, 7 bordars, 1 mill⁹ waste (*was*'),⁹ 3 acres of meadow. Then as now 1½ ploughs. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 12. Ralf de Bellafago¹⁰ holds it of the abbot.

In MATESHALA [Mattishall] (are) 8 sokemen (with) 30 acres. Then 2 ploughs, now 1; 8 acres of meadow. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 13 (shillings) and 8 pence.

In TORP [] and in TURSTUNA [Thuxton] and in IACHESHA[M] [Yaxham] (are) 5 sokemen of St. Etheldreda (with) 50 acres. Then as now 1 plough. It is worth 8 shillings.¹¹

In IACHESHAM [Yaxham] (are) 14 sokemen (with) 90 acres. Then as now 2 ploughs, 4 acres of meadow. It is worth 20 shillings. Roger Bigot holds of the abbot, but he formerly held of the king.¹²

HUNDRET OF BRODESCROS [BROTHERCROSS]

In BRUNESTOR [Burnham Thorpe ?] (is) 1 sokeman and half a ploughland. Then as now 8 bordars and 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, 3 acres of meadow, 1 mill. The half is worth 10 shillings (*val' d' x. sol'*).¹³

HEINESTEDA [HENSTEAD]¹⁴ HUNDRET (AND) A HALF

PULLAHAM [Pulham] was held by St. Etheldreda T.R.E. for 15 ploughlands. Then as now 60 villeins, 25 bordars, 7 serfs, 3 ploughs on the demesne. Then 20 ploughs belonging to the men, now 16, 16 acres of meadow. Then wood(land) for 600 swine, now 300, and 1 mill, 3 rounceys, 11 beasts, 40 swine, 50 sheep, 40 goats, 4 hives of bees. It was then worth 8 pounds, now 15. It is 2 leagues in length and 1 league in breadth and (renders) 30 pence of geld.

In P[RI]LESTUNA [Pirleston¹⁵] a freeman¹⁶ held 1 ploughland under St. Etheldreda T.R.E. Now Roger de Rames (*de Ramis*) holds it of the

⁷ A fee in Mattishall and North Tuddenham was held of the church of Ely in 1302; *Feud. Aids*, iii, 425.

⁸ *I. E.* 1. ⁹ *I. E.* omits.

¹⁰ *I. E.* 'Belfou,' and applies this entry to the following paragraph.

¹¹ *I. E.* adds 'Berner the Arblaster holds this of the abbot.'

¹² *I. E.* adds 'The abbot recovered (*disracionavit*) them before the bishop of Coutances.'

¹³ *I. E.* 'Then as now it was worth 20 shillings.'

¹⁴ This should be Earsham as it is in *I. E.*

¹⁵ Now Billingford.

¹⁶ *I. E.* adds 'Alsi.'

¹ *I. E.* omits.

² *I. E.* adds 'only.'

³ *I. E.* omits.

⁴ Possibly Flockthorpe in Hardingham. (See however f. 122). Blomefield (x, 433) suggests part of Shipdham, where the bishop of Ely subsequently held land otherwise unaccounted for in Domesday; *Feud. Aids*, iii, 480.

⁵ *I. E.* adds 'of geld.'

⁶ In Southburgh.

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abbot. Then as now 5 bordars and 1 serf. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 3. Then as now half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 16 swine, 8 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, now 10. It is 5 furlongs in length f. 215.

and 5 in breadth and (renders) 4 pence of geld. Several hold there.

DICE [DISS] HALF HUNDRET

TELVEUNA[M] [Thelveton] now as then is held by St. Etheldreda for 2 ploughlands. Then as now 6 villeins and 1 bordar. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, now none. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, 4 acres of meadow. Then wood(land) for 60 swine, now 30. It is worth 20 shillings. It is 1 league in length and a half¹ in breadth, and (renders) 7 pence of geld. In TEVETESHALA [Tivetshall] (are) 2 sokemen (with) half a ploughland and 2 acres, and 2½ villeins, and 2 bordars and 1 plough. Wood(land) for 15 swine, 1½ acres of meadow. It is worth 10 shillings.²

LODINGA [LODDON] HUNDRET

³In TORTUNA [Thurton] (are) 6 sokemen whom Godric the Sewer (*dapifer*) has, with (*de*) 20 acres. Then as now 1 plough. And in TORP [] 6 sokemen with (*de*) 13 acres, and they have 1 plough and 8 bordars. And they belong to (*pertinet in*) Berc' [Burgh(Apton)] with all custom and are there valued.³

¹ I. E. 5 furlongs.

² I. E. adds 'these belong to Pulham.'

³[I. E. replaces the Loddon hundred entry by the following:—'In Henestede [Henstead] hundret BEREH [Burgh Apton] was held by St. Etheldreda T.R.E. as 4 ploughlands. Then as now 10 villeins, and 5 bordars, now 2 serfs. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 30 acres of meadow. Now 1 mill, wood(land) for 16 swine. Then 4 beasts, then as now 2 rounceys. To this manor belong 12 sokemen who are in LODINGE [Loddon] hundret and have 30 acres of land and 11 bordars and 1 acre of meadow and 2½ ploughs; and 8 sokemen who are in HENESTEDA [Henstead] hundret and have 40 acres of land. Then as now 1 plough and 1 freeman with 30 acres of land, then as now half a plough. Now Godric the Sewer holds it under St. Etheldreda from his predecessor.'

'Of all that we have in Norfolk 100 pounds and 8 shillings.'

'In DEREHAM [East Dereham] is a church with 300 acres of free land and 1 plough, and it is worth 4 shillings.

'In TORP [] 1 church with 12 acres of free land and half a plough worth 18 pence.

'In PULEHAM [Pulham] 2 churches with 2 acres worth 3 pence.

'In BRIGEHAM [Bridgham] 1 church with 12 acres of free land worth 2 shillings.

DEPWADE HUNDRET

In STRATUNA [Stratton, (Long)] 1 sokeman held 12 acres T.R.E. It is worth 12 pence.⁴

In HERDWIC [Hardwick] 1 sokeman (has) 15 acres and half a plough. It is worth 2 shillings.⁵ ⁶The king and the earl (have) the soke.⁶

XVI. LAND OF ST. BENET OF RAMSEY (*Ramesio*)

HUNDRET OF CLACHESLOSA [CLACKCLOSE]

HIDLINGEA [Hilgay] is held by St. Benet (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 8 villeins and 11 bordars, 5 serfs, 8 acres of meadow, 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 2 oxen belonging to the men; 3 rounceys, 5 beasts, 10 swine, 70 sheep. It was then worth 80 shillings, now 70. From this manor William de Warenne took away (*tulit*) 8 men, customary tenants of this manor (*consuetudinarios ad hoc manerium*) with (*de*) 44 acres of land, as the hundret bears witness. This manor is 5 furlongs in length and 4½ in breadth and renders 8 pence of geld in (*de*) 20 shillings.

f. 215b.

WINEBOTESHAM [Wimbotsham] is held by St. Benet (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 13 bordars and 2 ploughs on the demesne and 12 acres of meadow. Pasture worth 18 pence, 4 swine, 16 sheep. It was then worth 4 pounds, now 3.

In SNORA [Snore Hill?] half a ploughland, worth 10 shillings.

In DERHAM [Dereham, (West)] (there were) 3 sokemen T.R.E. (with) 6 acres of land and half a plough. It is worth 12 pence. In PHORHAM [Fordham] 24 acres, and it is worth 2 shillings and 8 pence. There also (was) 1 freeman (with) 24 acres, worth 3 shillings.

In WTWELLA [Outwell] 16 bordars, worth 5 shillings. Of the soke of the hundret and a half St. Benet has 70 shillings.

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF FREDEBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

WALSOCA[M] [Walsoken] is held by St. Benet now as then (as) 1 ploughland. Then as now 11 villeins and 6 bordars, 12 acres of meadow,

'In FELTEWELLA [Feltwell] 1 church with 30 acres of free land worth 4 shillings.

'In NORTHWALDA [Northwold] 1 church with 12 acres of free land and worth 18 pence.

'In WALTONA [Walton, West] half a church with 7 acres of free land, and it is worth 12 pence.'

⁴ I. E. adds 'it belongs to Pulham.'

⁵ I. E. adds 'he also belongs to Pulham.'

⁶ I. E. omits.

⁷ Near Fordham.

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1 plough on the demesne, half a plough belonging to the men, 1 fishery, 7 beasts. To this manor belong now as then 7 sokemen with (*de*) 13 acres. It is worth 20 shillings.

HUNDRET OF DOCHINGA [DOCKING, NOW IN SMETHDEN]

BRO[N]CESTRA [Brancaster] is held now as then by St. Benet. (There are) 3 ploughs on the demesne and 7 ploughs belonging to the men, 25 villeins, 16 bordars, 5 serfs and 2 acres of meadow, 1 mill, 5 bordars, 6 acres, and 60 acres of land which are now as then in demesne; 2 rounceys, 6 beasts, 24 swine, 600 sheep. The whole is worth 10 pounds. The whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth and (renders) 28 pence of geld.

HUNDRET OF SMETHEDUNA [SMETHDEN]

RINCESTEDA [Ringstead, (Great)] is held now as then by St. Benet. (There are) 2 ploughs on the demesne, 21 villeins, 5 bordars, 3 serfs owning (*habentes*) 3 ploughs, 5 acres of meadow, 1 rouncey, 24 swine, 100 sheep; and 22 sokemen (with) 1 ploughland and 3 ploughs. And in this manor there might be added (*restaurari*) 2 ploughs. It was then worth 6 pounds, now 5 (pounds) and 10 shillings. It is $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length and 1 league in breadth and (renders) 42 pence of geld. St. Benet (has) the soke. From this manor have been taken away 31 sokemen who belonged to it (*ibi jacebant*) T.R.E. Of these Rafrid had 9 and he has them now. W[illiam] de Scohies and W[illiam] de Warene (have) 7. And in Flice-swellla [Titchwell] the king's manor (are) 3. And W[illiam] de Noiers (has) 4. Roger Bigot (has) 5. And in Huntantstuna [Hunstanton] the king's (manor) 1 with (*de*) 2 acres.

HUNDRET OF BRODESCROS [BROTHERCROSS]

In BRUNEHAM [Burnham (Deepdale?)] St. Benet held T.R.E. 1 freeman with half a ploughland. Then as now (there were) 18 bordars. Then half a plough, now nothing. Then as now 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Then as now it was worth 10 shillings. This is held by Roger Bigot of the abbot.

LAND OF ST. BENET OF HOLM

FOR THE FOOD OF THE MONKS

WALESHAM [WALSHAM] HUNDRET

WALESHAM [Walsham, (South)] was held by St. Benet for 2 ploughlands T.R.E.¹ Earl R[alf] had the soke T.R.E.¹ Then as now (there were) 8 bordars. Then 1 plough on the demesne, now 2 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men, 22 acres of meadow, 2 saltpans, 1 rouncey, 7 swine, 200 sheep. And 4 sokemen with (*de*) 32 acres and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now half a plough.

¹ Interlined.

In FISCELE [Fishley] 24 acres of land and 2 bordars. Then as now the whole was worth 40 shillings. Besides (*Adbuc*) in Walsham [Walsham (South)] (there are) half a ploughland and 6 bordars and 6 acres of meadow and 5 sokemen. Then as now 1 plough. It is worth 10 shillings.

In UPTUNA [Upton] (are) 5 acres of land (included) in the same valuation (*in eodem pretio*).

In BASTWIC [Woodbastwick] T.R.E. (there were) 1 ploughland and 20 acres. Then as now 9 villeins and 1 serf and 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, 14 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 rouncey, 20 sheep, and 9 sokemen with (*de*) 46 acres and 3 acres of meadow and 1 plough. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40.

In REDEHAM [Reedham] St. Benet held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then as now 2 villeins, 5 bordars, 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, 20 acres of meadow, 6 beasts, now 6 swine, 20 sheep and 1 sokeman (with) 3 acres. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 20.

And BASTWIC [Woodbastwick] is half a league in length and a half in breadth and (renders) 16 pence of geld. Of Redeham [Reedham] the abbot had the soke over those who did suit of fold (*sequebantur faldam*) and of the others the soke was in the hundret.

FOERHOU [FOREHOE] HUNDRET

In CARLETUNA [Carlton (Forehoe)] St. Benet held 60 acres T.R.E. Then as now 5 villeins and 2 bordars and 1 plough belonging to the men, 3 acres of meadow. It is worth 5 shillings.

In BEREFORT [Barford] 30 acres are held by St. Benet.

ERPINGAHAM NORD [NORTH ERPINGHAM] HUNDRET

TURGARTUNA [Thurgarton] is held now as then by St. Benet (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now 4 villeins and 4 bordars and 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men; 4 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 20 swine, 1 mill. Then 1 rouncey and 2 beasts, now 3. Then 9 swine, now 11; then 30 goats, now 18; and 49 sokemen with (*de*) 1 ploughland. Then as now 5 ploughs, $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow. It was then worth 4 pounds, now 6. It is 13 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth and (renders) $16\frac{1}{2}$ pence of geld, and St. Benet has the soke.

In SCIPEDANA [Shipden²] (there is) half a ploughland for the food of the monks (*de victu monachorum*), 1 villein, 3 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men, and 1 acre of meadow. It is worth 10 shillings and 8 pence.

² Now under the sea near Cromer.

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In REPES [(North and South) Repps] (there is) half a ploughland, 1 villein, 5 bordars, 1 plough on the demesne. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, now a half. It is worth 10 shillings.

In ATTINGA [Antingham] (there are) 2 ploughlands. Then as now 2 villeins and 8 bordars, 2 ploughs on the demesne, 2 ploughs belonging to the men, wood(land) for 4 swine, 2 acres of meadow, 2 rounceys, 3 beasts, 5 swine, 60 sheep; and 3 freemen who could give and sell their land f. 216b.

(with) half a ploughland and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now 1 plough. It was then worth 30 shillings, now 40. It is 8 furlongs in length and 5½ in breadth and (renders) 13½ pence of geld.

FLEC WEST [WEST FLEGG] HUNDRET

WINTRETUNA [Winterton] is held now as then by St. Benet for 1 ploughland; (there are) 5 bordars and 1 plough on the demesne, half a plough belonging to the men, 6 swine. And there are there 5 freemen, St. Benet's by commendation only, with (*de*) 45 acres, (and) half an acre of meadow. Then as now 1 plough. And 1 sokeman with (*de*) 100 acres, and he is so closely bound to the monastery (*ita in monasterio*) that he can neither sell nor forfeit out of the church's hands (*extra ecclesiam*), but (his) soke is in the hundret, (he has) 6 acres of meadow. Then as now 9 bordars, 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men. And under him are 4 freemen by commendation only (with) 9 acres worth 24 shillings and 5 freemen (worth) 24 pence. (Winterton) is 9 furlongs in length and 8 in breadth and (renders) 30 pence of geld.

In ROTHOLFUESBY [Rollesby] St. Benet held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 6 villeins and 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men, 7 swine, 8 acres of meadow, and 11 freemen of St. Benet by commendation only with (*de*) 44 acres of land and 1 acre of meadow and half a saltpan (*dim. sal.*). Then as now 2 ploughs. Wood(land) for 3 swine. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 26 (shillings) and 8 pence. There also (*Adhuc*) belong to this manor 20 acres of land. It is 10 furlongs in length and 9 in breadth and (renders) 25¾ pence of geld.

ASSEBY [Ashby] is held now as then by St. Benet (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now 7 bordars, 1 plough on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men, 10 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 6 swine and 13 sokemen with soke and sac (with) 62 acres, 5 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs. It was then worth 20 shillings; it now renders 26 shillings and 8 pence and is 8 furlongs in length and 4½ in breadth and (renders) 15 pence of geld whoever holds there.

T[ER]NA [Thurne] is held now as then by St. Benet (as) 1 ploughland. Then as now 6 bordars, 8 acres of meadow, 1 plough on the

demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men, 2 rounceys, 6 swine; 10 sokemen (with) 45 acres (and) 6½ acres of meadow, 2 ploughs. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 26 (shillings) and 8 pence. It is 5 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth and (renders) 9 pence of geld. Others hold there.

OEBI [Oby] is held now as then by St. Benet (for) 1½ ploughlands. Then as now 2 villeins, 10 acres of meadow, 2 ploughs on the demesne and 2 oxen belonging to the men; 3 rounceys, 2 beasts, 6 swine. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 30. It is 6 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth and (renders) 9 pence of geld whoever holds there. To this manor belong 10 freemen of St. Benet by commendation with (*de*) 84 acres and 14 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 bordars (and) 2 ploughs. It is worth 6 shillings. f. 217.

BURC [Burgh (St. Margaret)] and BITHLAKEBEI [Billockby] are held by St. Benet now as then for 1 ploughland. Then (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, now a half, 5 acres of meadow and 6 freemen of St. Benet by commendation only (with) 44 acres (and) 7 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 bordars. It is worth 18 shillings, and these freemen were then worth 16 pence, now 2 shillings.

In BURC [Burgh (St. Margaret)] St. Benet holds 30 acres and 4 acres of meadow, 3 bordars (and) 1 plough on the demesne. It is worth 3 shillings.

In MARTHAM (are) 3 sokemen (with) 10 acres, worth 12 pence.

In BASTWIC [Bastwick] (is) 1 freeman of St. Benet by commendation (with) 2½ acres worth 4 pence.

In REPES [Repps] (are) 6 freemen (with) 36 acres, 2½ acres (of meadow), and half a plough. It was then worth 2 shillings, now 3.

In MARTHAM (is) a freeman of St. Benet (with) 6 acres, and 3 acres which a blind man (*cecus*) holds, and half an acre of meadow. It is worth 12 pence.

In CLIPESBY [Clippesby] (is) 1 freeman.

In HOBY [Oby] (is) 1 freeman with (*de*) 23 acres. Then as now 1 plough, 6 acres of meadow. It is worth 30 pence.

In THOROLVESBY [Rollesby] (is) a freeman (with) 5 acres worth 4 pence.

BASTWIC [Bastwick] is 6 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth and (renders) 3 pence of geld.

HEINESTEDA [HENSTEAD] HUNDRET.

In SCOTESHAM [Shottesham (St. Mary)] St. Benet holds now as then 3 ploughlands. Then (there were) 11 villeins, now 5. Then 12 bordars, now 10. Then as now 1 serf and 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 5 ploughs belonging to the men, now 3, wood(land) for 20 swine, 8 acres

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of meadow, 1 mill, 1 rouncey, 1 beast; now 8 swine, 22 sheep. And 5 sokemen in the same (vill with) 58 acres and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs among them all. It was then worth 3 pounds, now 3. It is $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length, and (renders) [2 shillings *cancelled*] 16 pence of geld. Others hold there.

In GRENESUILL [Grenevill¹] St. Benet holds now as then 1 ploughland. Then (there were) 2 villeins, now 1. Then as now 6 bordars. Then 2 serfs. Then $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs on the demesne, now 2. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, now a half; 1 mill, 1 rouncey. Then as now 12 swine, 12 sheep, 1 hive (*vasa*) of bees. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 30. It is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 2 shillings of geld, but several hold there.

In SAISSELINGHAM [Saxlingham (Thorpe)] Edric, a freeman of Stigand, held $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands under him T.R.E., with sac and soke. After the king came to England, however, the same Edric pledged it to St. Benet (*invadiavit eam . . . in Sancto Benedicto*) for 1 mark of gold and for 7 pounds, in order to redeem himself from his capture by Waleram (*ut autem se redimeret a captione Walerami*). Now John, nephew of the same Waleram, holds it of St. Benet as a fief (*in feudo*). Then (there were) 11 bordars, now $9\frac{1}{2}$. Then as now f. 217b.

1 serf. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne. Afterwards none, now 1. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1. Now 1 rouncey on the demesne. And T.R.E. (there were) 9 sokemen, now 5, with (*de*) 30 acres and 4 acres of meadow. Then 2 ploughs, now a half and 1 mill. It was then worth 40 shillings, afterwards and now 30. It is 2 leagues in length and a half in breadth, and and (renders) 16 pence of geld; but several hold there. There, too, belong 10 acres of land of the demesne of St. Benet, and (St. Benet) leased (*prestavit*) (them) to Edric, as the hundred witnesses.

LOTNINGA [LODDON] HUNDRET

HARDALE [Hardley] is held now as then by St. Benet for 2 ploughlands. Then as now 5 bordars. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1. Now 2 oxen belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 3 swine, 8 acres of meadow, and 1 rouncey; 4 beasts, 24 swine. Now 150 sheep, and 4 sokemen with (*de*) 7 acres. Then as now half a plough. It was then worth (*sum omitted*), now 30. It is 8 furlongs in length and 7 in breadth, and (renders) 11 pence of geld, and others hold there.

HUNDRET OF ENSFORT [EYNSFORD]

In WICINGHAHA[M] [Witchingham] (there is) half a ploughland, 1 bordar, 1 plough, 2 acres

¹ In Stoke Holy Cross and Caister. See Rye, *Norf. Topog.* 127, 128. Blomefield, v, 521.

of meadow. It is worth 10 shillings. The soke is in the king's (manor of) Folsa[m] [Foulsham].

HUNDRET OF TAVREHAM [TAVERHAM].

In VROCHESHAM [Wroxham] Ralf Stalra held 4 sokemen with (*de*) 1 ploughland, and they belong to (*iacent in*) Hovetuna [Hoveton (St. John²)], which the same R(alf) gave to St. Benet in King William's time. Then as now 1 plough, 8 acres of meadow. It is worth 6 shillings.

In RACHEIA [Rackheath] (was) a freeman (with) 30 acres T.R.E. Then 1 plough, now a half; 2 acres of meadow. It is worth 16 pence. This land was forfeited in King William's time, but a certain monk gave half a mark of gold for the forfeiture to the reeves (*prepositis*), namely, to Alwi of Colchester (*Colecestra*), and so had the land without the king's licence.

ERPINCAM NORD [NORTH³ ERPINGHAM] HUNDRET

SCOTOHOU [Scottowe] is held now as then by St. Benet for 3 ploughlands. Then (there were) 14 villeins, now 9. Then as now 3 bordars. 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 6 ploughs belonging to the men, now $1\frac{1}{2}$, 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 20 swine. Then 1 mill. Then as now 2 rounceys, 3 beasts, 11 swine, and 9 sokemen (with) half a ploughland. Then as now $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. It was then worth 40 shillings, now 60. ⁴The church (has) 14 acres.⁴ It is 1 league in length, and half a league and 20 perches in breadth, and (renders) 16 pence of geld.

In ESTUNA [⁵] Ralf Stalra had 1 ploughland T.R.E., and gave it to the abbey with his f. 218.

wife in King William's time, by the king's grant (*concessione regis*). Then as now 2 bordars and 1 plough and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow. There also St. Benet held half a ploughland and 2 bordars, and it is included in the valuation (*est in pretio de*) Hovetuna [Hoveton (St. John)].

SUANETUNA [Swanton (Abbot)] is held now as then by St. Benet for 3 ploughlands. Then as now 15 villeins and 5 bordars. Then 2 serfs. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, 4 ploughs belonging to the men, 12 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 100 swine, 2 rounceys, 11 swine, 25 goats; 1 sokeman (with) 30 acres. Then half a plough. Then as now it was worth 60 shillings. It is 1 league in length and 1 league in width and (renders) 4 pence of geld. The church (has) 7 acres.

CALETORP [Calthorpe] is held now as then by St. Benet (for) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands. Then (there

² *Feud. Aids*, iii, 484.

³ This should be South Erpingham.

⁴ Interlined.

⁵ Possibly in Scottowe.

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were) 6 villeins, now 7; then as now 3 bordars; 1 plough on the demesne and 3 ploughs belonging to the men, 4 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 15 swine, 1 mill, and the third part of another. Then as now 10 beasts, 5 swine; and 3 sokemen (with) 20 acres and 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 30. There also (is) a ploughland held by St. Benet T.R.E. Then as now 3 villeins and 4 bordars and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, 1 acre of meadow. Wood(land) for 15 swine, the third part of a mill. It is worth 15 shillings. The church is without land. The whole is 9 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth and (renders) 5 pence of geld.

In TUIT [Thwaite] St. Benet holds, now as then, 2 ploughlands. Then as now 3 villeins, 12 bordars. Then 1 plough on the demesne, now $1\frac{1}{2}$. Then 3 ploughs belonging to the men, now $2\frac{1}{2}$, 1 acre of meadow. Wood(land) for 50 swine. Then 1 mill, now $1\frac{1}{2}$, 3 beasts, 13 swine. It was then worth 30 shillings, now 40. It is half a league in length and a half in breadth and (renders) 5 pence of geld, less a halfpenny (1 *ob. minus*). The church (has) 6 acres.

In HOBUISE [Hautbois] 1 ploughland is held by St. Benet. Then as now (there were) 2 bordars and 1 plough, 2 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 20 swine, half a mill. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 16.

In ERPINCHAM [Erpingham] St. Benet (*Idem*) holds 1 ploughland. Then as now 4 villeins, 3 bordars, 2 ploughs, 1 acre of meadow. It is worth 10 shillings.

In TUTINGHETUNA [Tuttington] 1 ploughland was held by St. Benet T.R.E. Then as now 1 villein and 2 bordars and 1 plough, 2 acres of meadow; 1 mill. It is worth 10 shillings. Earl R[alf] was seised of half this land when he suffered forfeiture (*forisfecit*), and of the commendation of 1 woman who held it.

In BANINCHAM [Banningham] 30 acres of land are held now as then by St. Benet. Then as now (there was) half a plough. It is worth 5 shillings.

f. 218b.

In ULT[ER]TUNA [Wolterton] 1 ploughland was held by St. Benet T.R.E. Then as now 4 bordars and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, 1 acre of meadow. It was then worth 16 shillings, now 20. It is 6 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (renders) $2\frac{1}{2}$ pence of geld. Half a church (has) 4 acres.

In BELAGA [Belaugh] (is) 1 sokeman (with) 3 acres. He is worth 6 pence. Half a church (has) 3 acres. There also $10\frac{1}{2}$ sokemen were held by Ralf Stalra T.R.E. (with) 63 acres and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs. There also (is) 1 sokeman of St. Benet (with) 30 (acres). Then as now 2 villeins and 1 bordar and 1 plough. This is included in the valuation (*est in pretio*) of Hovetuna [Hoveton].

In WIC MERA [Wickmere] 12 acres of land were held by St. Benet T.R.E. It is worth 16 pence.

TUNESTEDA [TUNSTEAD] HUNDRET

This (is) the site of the abbey. HORNINGAM [Horning] is held now as then by St. Benet for 3 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 18 villeins, 11 bordars. Then 2 serfs, now none. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 6 ploughs belonging to the men and 100 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 100 swine. Then as now 1 mill, 1 rouncey, 4 beasts, 10 swine, 360 sheep. Then as now it was worth 4 pounds. It is 1 league (*and a half*¹) in length and 1 league in breadth and (renders) 6 pence of geld.

SNATESHIRDA [Neatishead], 5 ploughlands, was held then as now by St. Benet (*Idem*) (as) 5 ploughlands. Then as now 5 villeins, 16 bordars, 1 plough on the demesne, 6 ploughs belonging to the men, 4 beasts, 5 swine. And 27 sokemen on the same land (*in eadem terra*). Then as now 8 ploughs. It is worth 4 pounds. It is $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length and 1 league in breadth (and) renders 28 pence of geld. The church (has) 10 acres.

HOVETUNA [Hoveton (St. John)]² was held by Ralf Stalra T.R.E. (as) 6 ploughlands. Then as now 4 villeins, 6 bordars, and 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 3 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 16 swine, 10 acres of meadow, and 4 sokemen (with) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands and 30 acres. Then as now 5 villeins, 11 bordars, $5\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, 10 acres of meadow, and 1 sokeman (with) 28 acres, and 7 sokemen (with) 110 acres. Then as now $5\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. It was then worth 7 pounds, now 100 shillings. It is 1 league and 2 furlongs in length, and 1 league in breadth, and (renders) 18 pence of geld. Two churches (have) 16 acres.

WALSAM [Walsham, (North)] is held now as then by St. Benet (as) $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands. Then as now 12 villeins, 5 bordars, 2 ploughs on the

f. 219.
demesne, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men; 8 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 100 swine, 1 mill, 1 rouncey, 1 beast, 8 swine, 31 sokemen (with) 3 ploughlands and 50 acres, and 1 villein³ and 1 bordar. Then as now 15 ploughs. Wood(land) for 16 swine, 4 acres of meadow. It is worth 100 shillings. It is $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length, and 1 league and 6 perches in breadth, and (renders) 18 pence of geld. The church (has) 30 acres.

FELMINCHAM [Felmingham] is held now as then by St. Benet (as) 77 acres. Then as now 5 bordars, 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men; 1 acre of meadow,

¹ Underlined for deletion.

² See above, preceding page.

³ Repeated.

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and 4 sokemen (with) 50 acres, 1 plough, 1 acre of meadow. The church (has) 2 acres.¹ It is worth 21 shillings.

PASTUNA [Paston] was also held by St. Benet (*tenuit idem*) T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland. (There were) 2 villeins, 2 bordars, 1 plough on the demesne, half a plough belonging to the men. Now 1 mill. It is worth 10 shillings. It is 1 league in length and 4 (furlongs) in breadth, and (renders) 15 pence (of geld). Others held there.

In WIDITUNA [Witton] 1 ploughland is held by St. Benet. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins, and 2 bordars, and 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men. It is worth 8 shillings.

In B[ER]TUNA [Barton (Turf)] St. Benet holds now as then half a ploughland. Then as now 1 bordar and 1 plough, and 1 acre of meadow. It is worth 5 shillings and 4 pence. There also (is) 1 sokeman (with) 30 acres, 5 bordars, 1 plough, 1 acre of meadow. It is worth 10 shillings.

WRDESTEDA [Worstead] is held now as then by St. Benet. T.R.E. (there were) 2½ ploughlands. Then as now 8 villeins, 30 bordars, 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 3 ploughs belonging to the men, 8 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 16 swine. Then as now 1 mill and 3 sokemen on the same land (*in eadem terra*). It was then worth 60 shillings, now 4 pounds. Two churches (have) 28 acres (included) in the same valuation. This land was for the food of the monks (*de victo monachorum*) T.R.E., now Robert Arblaster (*balestarius*) holds it from the abbot. It is 1 league in length, and (half a league),¹ and 1 perch¹ in breadth, and (renders) 18 pence of geld. There also now as then St. Benet holds 1 ploughland (as) T.R.E. Then as now 2 villeins, 10 bordars, and 1 plough on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men, 2 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 6 swine. It is worth 40 shillings.

f. 219b.

In BESETUNA [Beeston (St. Lawrence)] (is) 1 sokeman of St. Benet (with) 30 acres, 4 bordars, 2 acres of meadow. It is worth 5 shillings and 4 pence. All the churches are included in the valuation of (*in pretio cum*) the manors.

In RISTUNA [(Sco) Ruston] (are) 3 sokemen of St. Benet (with) 60 acres. Then as now half a plough. (They are) included in the valuation (*in pretio*) of Scotohou [Scottowe].

In B[ER]TUNA [Barton (Turf)] (are) 3 sokemen (with) 33 acres. Then as now 3 bordars, 1 plough. It is worth 7 shillings.

In DILHAM (is) 1 sokeman (with) 30 acres, 1 bordar, 1 plough. It is worth 6 shillings and 8 pence.

¹ Interlined.

In SALEIA [Sloley] (is) 1 sokeman (with) 16 acres, worth 16 pence. There also (are) 20 acres, and they belong to (*iacent in*) Estuna, [] and (are) included in the valuation (*in pretio*).

In SMALE[ER]GA [Smallburgh] (there is) 1 sokeman of St. Benet, who held 1 ploughland of free land, and gave it to St. Benet T.R.E., and still holds it of the abbot. Then as now 2 villeins and 1½ ploughs and 2 acres of meadow. It is worth 20 shillings. There also (are) 28 sokemen, (with) 1 ploughland. Then as now 4 ploughs, 1 acre of meadow. It is worth 20 shillings. The whole is 10 furlongs and 12 perches in length and 6 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 8 pence of geld.

In B[ER]TUNA [Barton (Turf)] (is) 1 sokeman of St. Benet, and Earl Ralf T.R.E. (There are) 16 acres worth 16 pence, and 2 churches (with) 33 acres worth 15 pence.

In HANINGA [Honing] 2 ploughlands were held by St. Benet T.R.E. And Edric held of him on the terms that (*ita quod*) the abbot had given him half of his own demesne (*de suo dominio*) and he had granted to the abbot the other half of his fee (*de suo feodo*), and so held the whole of the abbot, and did (him) service (*deserviebat*). In this land are now as then 13 bordars and 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 3 ploughs belonging to the men, 25 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 8 swine, 1 mill, 2 rounceys, 4 beasts, 12 swine, 40 sheep, 30 goats, and 8 sokemen (with) 41 acres. Then as now 2 ploughs, 5 acres of meadow. The whole is worth 40 shillings. It is 1 league in length and 10 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 10 pence of geld whoever holds there. This is held by Robert Malet, and by Robert de Gla[n]vill of him.

In WALSAM [Walsham (North)] (are) 4 sokemen (with) 57 acres. Then as now 1 plough, 1 acre of meadow. It is worth 5 shillings and 8 pence. Of 2 of these (sokemen) W. Malet has the commendation only. There also (are) f. 220.

10 bordars (with) 7 acres, and (it is) worth 10 pence.

HUNDRET OF HAPINGA [HAPPING]

LODHAM [Ludham] is held now as then by St. Benet for 5 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 15 villeins and 13 bordars, 2 serfs, 3 ploughs on the demesne, 2½ ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 16 swine, 100 acres of meadow, 3 rounceys, 16 swine, 3 hives of bees. And 115½ sokemen (with) 3 ploughlands and 15 acres. Then as now (there were) 10 ploughs, 15 acres of meadow, and 4½ free-men (with) 1 ploughland and 15 acres. Then as now 3 bordars, 2 ploughs, 5 acres of meadow. Of these the abbot had the commendation only. The king and the earl (had) the soke. The

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whole was then worth 100 shillings, now 6 pounds, and it is $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues and 15 perches in length, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues and 70 perches in breadth, and (renders) 5 shillings of geld whoever holds there.

WACTANESHAM [Waxham] is held now as then by St. Benet for 2 ploughlands and 8 acres. Then as now (there were) 3 bordars and 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men, 60 acres of meadow, 2 rounceys, 6 swine, 8 sheep, and $25\frac{1}{2}$ sokemen (with) 160 acres. Then (there were) $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, now 3, 12 acres of meadow, and 2 freemen by commendation only (with) 20 acres and 1 plough. Of these two the king and the earl have the soke. And of all the rest (*alio toto*) St. Benet (has it). The whole is worth now as then 4 pounds, and the freemen 34 pence, and it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues and 1 furlong in length, and 1 league in breadth and (renders) 30 pence (of geld) whoever holds there.

HWAMPWELLA [Whimpwell¹] is held now as then by St. Benet for $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 5 villeins and 2 bordars, and 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men, 4 acres of meadow, and 1 rouncey, 4 swine. And (there is) 1 freeman by commendation only (with) 9 acres and half a plough. He is worth 12 pence. The king and the earl (have) the soke. The whole manor is worth 30 shillings, but Godric rendered 4 pounds when he held it as of the earl's fee (*ad feudum comitis*).

f. 220b.

STALHAM [Stalham] is held now as then by St. Benet (as) 1 ploughland. Then as now 2 villeins and 1 bordar and 1 plough on the demesne,² and one plough belonging to the men.³ Wood(land) for 3 swine, 4 acres of meadow, 1 rouncey, 6 swine. And 1 man (with) 29 acres holding his land of St. Benet T.R.E. Then as now (he had) half a plough (and) 2 acres of meadow. The king and the earl (have his) soke. And (there are) 9 freemen (with) 75 acres. Then (they had) 2 ploughs, now $1\frac{1}{2}$. Of these the abbot had the commendation only, and the king and the earl have the soke. The whole manor is worth now as then 20 shillings, and the freemen 2 shillings. And it is 1 league and 3 furlongs in length, and 5 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) $17\frac{1}{2}$ pence of geld.

In HINCHAM [Ingham] 30 acres of land are held now as then by St. Benet. Then as now half a plough, and 1 acre of meadow. It is worth 6 shillings and 8 pence.

In HECCLES [Eccles] (is) 1 freeman (with) 15 acres which St. Benet holds with all custom, but

¹ In Happisburgh.

² Expunged.

the king and the earl have the soke, and it is worth 15 pence.

In LUDHAM [Ludham] (is) 1 sokeman of St. Benet (with) 30 acres, 4 bordars, 3 acres of meadow, half a plough, and he is worth 2 shillings.

In HWIMPWELLA [Whimpwell] (is) 1 freeman (with) 12 acres. He is worth 32 pence.

EAST FLEC [FLEGG] HUNDRET

In PHILEBY [Filby] St. Benet holds now as then 1 ploughland and 20 acres. Then as now (there were) 4 bordars and 1 plough on the demesne, and 3 acres of meadow and 1 saltpan. Now (there is) 1 rouncey and 3 freemen by commendation only (with) 42 acres. Then as now 1 villein and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow. They are worth 3 shillings.

In SCROTEBY [Scratby] 109 acres are held, now as then by St. Benet. Then as now (there were) 3 bordars. Then 1 plough on the demesne. Then as now half a plough belonging to the men, 2 acres of meadow. It is worth 10 shillings, and is 1 league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 20 pence of geld.

In CASTRO [Caistor] 1 ploughland is held now as then by St. Benet. Then as now 4 bordars, and 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men; $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow, 6 salt pans. And (there are) 14 freemen under the abbot by commendation only (with) 1 ploughland and 1 bordar. Then (there were) 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 4. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 25. And the 14 freemen,³ under the abbot by commendation only,³ whom the abbot recovered from (*derationavit super*) Godric, are worth 40 shillings.

HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD] HUNDRET

HECHAM [Heigham⁴] is held now as then by St. Benet (as) 3 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins, 5 bordars, 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, now a half; and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs might be added (*restaurari*), 20 acres of meadow, 2 mills, 1 rouncey, 7 swine, 12 sheep, and 6 sokemen with (*de*) half a ploughland; then as now 2 ploughs. It was then worth 4 pounds, now 100 shillings. To this manor belongs (*est*) a freeman under the abbot by commendation only, and he has 30 acres and half a plough, 3 acres of meadow. He is worth 2 shillings. (Heigham) is 10 furlongs in length and 7 in breadth, and (renders) $2\frac{3}{4}$ pence of geld.

³ Expunged.

⁴ On the River Wensum above Norwich, in the liberty of which city it is included.

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DEPWADE HUNDRET.

TIPHAM [Tibenham] is held now as then by St. Benet (as) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands and 15 acres. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins, 5 bordars, 1 plough on the demesne. Then $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men, now 1; and 3 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 10 swine; (there are) 6 swine. It is worth 25 shillings.

f. 222b.

XVIII. THE LAND OF ST. STEPHEN OF CAEN (*Cadomo*)

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF FREDEBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

WELLA [Well (Hall, in Gayton)¹] was held by Stigand T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 10 villeins and 2 ploughlands (*carucatas terre*) and 6 bordars and 1 serf, 30 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards 5 oxen, now 2 ploughs; 1 plough belonging to the men, 2 mills. To this manor belong (*jacet*) 14 sokemen with (*de*) 28 acres of land. Then 1 plough, now 5 beasts. Then as now 7 swine. Then 15 sheep, now 60. Then and afterwards it was worth 9 pounds, now 10. Wella [Well (Hall)] and Gaituna [Gayton] are $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length and half in breadth, and render 16 pence of geld whoever holds there. To (*in*) Wella belong besides (*jacet adhuc*) 5 furlongs of pasture in length and 4 in breadth, and they are included in the above valuation (*est in eodem pretio*).

XIX. THE LAND OF WILLIAM DE SCOHIES

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF FREDEBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

ILSINGHETUNA [Islington] was held by Scula, a freeman, T.R.E. for a manor and for 2 ploughlands. Now W[illiam] holds it in demesne. Then as now 3 villeins, 7 bordars. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne; afterwards and now 1; 10 acres of meadow, 100 sheep. Then (there were) 30 swine, now 16. To this manor belong (*hic jacet*) 7 sokemen (with) 12 acres. It was then worth 40 shillings, now 60.

In ECLEWARTUNA [Clenchwarton ?]² Richard holds of W[illiam]² 40 acres, and they are worth 5 shillings. This land was held by Rafrid. And Earl Ralf successfully claimed (*derationavit*) half, and held it on the day on which he suffered forfeiture. Now Uruoi (*Vruoius*), Rafrid's man, holds it as of the fee of (*ad feudum*) William de Scohies, and vouches the king to warranty (*revocat Regem ad tutamen*).

¹ Blomefield, viii, 427. See also *Cal. of Docts. France*, 156, 162.

² Expunged.

f. 222.

In ILSINGHETUNA [Islington] T[ur]chill, a freeman, held half a ploughland T.R.E. Now W[illiam] holds it in demesne. Then as now 3 bordars. Then (there was) half a plough, now 2 oxen; 40 acres of meadow and half a saltpan. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 20. The whole of Ilsinghetuna [Islington] is $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length and half a league in breadth, and renders 12 pence of (every) 20 shillings of geld.

MIDELTUNA [Middleton] was held by T[ur]chill for a manor and for 2 ploughlands. Now W[illiam] (holds it) in demesne. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins and 6 bordars and 4 serfs, 30 acres of meadow; 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, now a half; 1 mill, 1 fishery, 8 saltpans. Then as now 1 rouncey. Then 2 cows. Then 16 swine, now 10. Then 80 sheep, now 70. It was then worth 100 shillings, now 7 pounds.

RUNGHETUNA [Runciton, (North)] was also held by Turchill (*idem*) T.R.E. for a manor and for 1 ploughland. Now W[illiam] (holds it) in demesne. Then as now (there were) 2 bordars, 20 acres of meadow, 1 plough on the demesne, half a plough belonging to the men. To this manor belonged (*jac'*) 7 sokemen T.R.E. with (*de*) 60 acres. Then (they had) 2 ploughs, now 1; 8 acres of meadow. The whole is worth 60 shillings. In MIDELTUNA [Middleton] W[illiam] holds in demesne 6 freemen with (*de*) 1 ploughland. Then as now (they had) 1 plough, wood(land) for 100 swine. They are worth 24 shillings and 8 pence. Of 2 (of them) Stigand had the soke. And it was made over (*liberata*) to Rafrid for 1 ploughland.

GAITUNA [Gayton] is held by Uluoi (as) 1 ploughland, which T[ur]chill held T.R.E. Then (there were) 8 bordars, now 6; 12 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then and afterwards half a plough belonging to the men, now 2. And it is worth 20 shillings.

MASINCHAM [Massingham] is held by Ralf, son of Herluin, which Goduin, a freeman, held T.R.E. ³(as) 1 ploughland.³ Then as now 6 villeins. Then 1 plough on the demesne. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 5. Of this the predecessor of William de Warenne (*Warennia*) had the commendation only, and the soke (is) in the king's manor of Masincham [Massingham].

DOCHINGA [DOCKING] HUNDRET

BRECHAM [Bircham, (Great)] was held by Bern under King Edward (as) 1 ploughland. Now

f. 222b.

R[oger] of Evreux (*Ebrois*) holds (it). Then (there was) 1 plough, afterwards none, now 1.

³ Interlined.

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Then as now (there were) 1 villein and 2 bordars, half a plough belonging to the men. And it was worth 10 shillings. (There is) 1 church (with) 4 acres. There also a freeman, Tor, held 4 ploughlands T.R.E. under Stigand. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, and now (the same). Then and afterwards 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1. Then and afterwards (there were) 4 villeins, now 2; then as now 1 bordar. It was then worth 40 shillings, now 4 pounds. Stigand had the soke. And 3 freemen,¹ held by the same [Roger] (*ten' idem*)¹, (had) 85 acres of land T.R.E. Then (they had) 2 ploughs, and afterwards and now 1. Then (there were) 2 bordars. And 1 freeman, Brunard, (has) 30 acres. Then as now 2 oxen. The whole is worth 12 shillings. Rafrid held these men, and they are in the king's hand, because there was no one to put forward any claim to them (*non fuit qui rationaret*). The whole is 1 league in length and 1 league in breadth, whoever holds there, and renders 27 pence of (every) 20 shillings of geld.

HUNDRET OF SMETHEDUNA [SMETHDEN]

In RINC[s]TEDA [Ringstead, (Little)²] Roger holds 2 freemen (with) 1 ploughland. And in HOLM [Holme] (there are) 2 freemen (with) 40 acres, and 3 bordars. Then as now 1½ ploughs, and they are included in the valuation (*sunt in pretio*) of Brecham [Bircham]. There also the same Roger holds 1 freeman (with) half a ploughland. Then (there was) 1 plough, afterwards a half, now 2 oxen. Then as now he was worth 5 shillings.

HUNDRET [OF] SCREPHA[M] [SHROPHAM]

In WILGEBY [Wilby] (are) 2 ploughlands (which) Fader held T.R.E. Then (there were) 10 villeins, afterwards and now 6; then as now 9 bordars. Then 4 serfs, now 1, and 14 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 1½ ploughs on the demesne, afterwards 1, now 2. Then 1½ ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 1. Wood(land) for 10 swine. Then 1 rouncey, now 3. Then as now 5 beasts and 9 swine. Then 40 sheep, now 52, and 12 soke-
f. 223.

men (with) 40 acres. They (they had) 1½ ploughs, afterwards and now 1. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, now 60. And it is half a league in length and a half in breadth, whoever holds there, and (renders) 15 pence of geld. (There is) 1 church (with) 10 acres, and it is worth 3 shillings.

In BUCHAM [(Old) Buckenham] Roger holds 1 ploughland. Then as now (there were) 4 bordars, and 4 acres of meadow and 1 plough on the

¹ Interlined.

² Little Ringstead came, with the other lands of William de Scohies, into the hands of the earl of Gloucester. *Feud. Aids*, iii, 410.

demesne. Wood(land) for 60 swine. Then 24 sheep, now 30. Then and afterwards it was worth 12 (shillings), now 20. Then (there were) 6 swine, now 11.

HUNDRET [OF] GILLECROSS [GUILTCROSS]

In BENHAM [Banham] 2 ploughlands were held for a manor by Fader, a freeman, T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 5 villeins and 6 bordars and 1 serf and 20 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 100 swine. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men. Then as now 1 rouncey and 2 beasts; and then (there were) 8 swine. - Then (there were) 30 sheep. And 16 sokemen (with) 24 acres of land. Then and afterwards (they had) 2 ploughs, now 1½ ploughs, and 1 plough might be added (*restaurari*). (There is) 1 church (with) 30 acres, and it is worth 22 shillings. Then and afterwards (the manor) was worth 40 (shillings), now 50. Of this manor Odar holds 1 ploughland, and 2 bordars and 1 plough. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings.

In CHENINCHALA [Kenninghall] (is) the soke of the 6 forfeitures.

In HERLINGA [Harling, (East)³] Ketel, a freeman, held 2 ploughlands T.R.E. for a manor. Now Ingulf holds (it). Then as now (there were) 5 villeins and 4 bordars. Then 1 serf, and 4 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 16 swine, and 1 plough might be added (*restaurari*). Then as now 1 mill. And 2 sokemen (with) 20 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now half a plough. Now 1 rouncey, then as now 3 beasts. Now 8 swine and 20 sheep and 1 hive of bees. (There is) 1 church (with) 4 acres. It was then worth 30 shillings, now 40. The whole is 1 league in length and 1 league in breadth, and (renders) 17½ pence whoever holds there. And to this land belong 7½ acres of land, and wood(land) for 12 swine.

f. 223b.

HUNDRET [OF] MITTFORT [MITFORD]

In LETETUNA [Letton] (is) 1 freeman (with) 27 acres and 1½ acres of meadow, and 1 bordar, and half a plough, and he is worth 32 pence.

HUNDRET [OF] GALGOV [GALLOW]

I[n] CREIC [Creake, (North)⁴] Turchill held 1 ploughland T.R.E., now Turstin (holds it). Then as now (there were) 1 villein and 12 bordars. Then (there was) 1 serf. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, 3 acres of meadow, 1 mill. Then (there

³ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* i, 317.

⁴ A fee in North Creake was held of the earl of Gloucester in 1302. *Feud. Aids*, iii, 405.

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were) 60 sheep, now none. And 2 sokemen (with) 2 acres. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, now 30.

HUNDRET [OF] NORTH ERPINGHAM [NORTH ERPINGHAM]

SILINGEHAM [Sherringham] was held by Seiard Bar T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 10 villeins and 12 bordars. Then 6 serfs, afterwards and now 5. Then 4 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 2. Then wood(land) for 160 swine, now for 100; 4 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 rouncey and 2 beasts. Then 5 swine, now 15. Then 60 goats, now 50. And 2 sokemen with (*de*) 12 acres of land. Then as now it was worth 4 pounds. ¹(There is) 1 church (with) 15 acres, and it is worth 4 shillings.¹ And it is 1 league in length and 1 in breadth, and (renders) 11½ pence of geld.

SALTHUS [Salthouse] was held by Seiar Bar T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins (and) 10 bordars. Then (there were) 3 (ploughs) on the demesne, and afterwards a half, now 1, then as now 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 100 swine. Then as now (*semper*) it was worth 40 shillings. And William (*ille*) has the soke and sac. And it is included in the measurement of Siling[eham] [Sherringham].

In REPES [Repps, (North and South)] Gert held 1 freeman T.R.E., and Arduin held when Ralf suffered forfeiture, now Quintin holds him of William, and he calls on Robert Blund (to warrant him) as his feoffor (*revocat liberatorem Rotburtum Blundum*). (He has) 30 acres of land. Then as now (he had) 1 villein and 1 bordar and 1 acre of meadow and 1 plough. He was then worth 2 shillings, and now 10.

In BESENTUNA [Beeston (Regis)] Turkil Haco held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Now Ingulf holds it.
f. 224.

Then as now (there were) 3 villeins and 15 bordars. Then and afterwards 1 plough on the demesne, now 1½. Then as now 1½ ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 20 swine, 1 acre of meadow. Then as now 1 rouncey and 2 beasts. Then 7 swine, now 2. Then 22 goats. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, and now 40. And it is 1 league in length, and 5 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 11½ pence of geld.

In RUNETUNE [Runton] he also (*idem*) holds 1 ploughland. Then as now (there were) 10 bordars and 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 10 swine, now 7 swine, now 60 sheep. And 5 sokemen with (*de*) 15 acres of land; then as now half a

plough. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40. (There is) 1 church (with) 6 acres, and it is included in the measurement of Besetuna [Beeston (Regis)].

HUNDRET [OF] WALESSAM [WALSHAM]

In B[ER]NINGEHA[M] [Burlingham (St. Peter)] Eaduin, a freeman, held an outlying estate (*beruitam*) T.R.E. (consisting of) 40 acres of land, 3 bordars; then 1 plough, afterwards a half, now 1, and 2 acres of meadow, 30 sheep. It is included in the valuation of (*apretiata est in*) Stoches [Stokesby²].

In REDEHA[M] [Reedham] Brictric held 2 ploughlands T.R.E. Now Richard holds (them) for a manor. Then as now (there were) 11 bordars. Then 3 serfs, afterwards and now 1. Then 1½ ploughs on the demesne, now 1. Then as now 1½ ploughs belonging to the men, 20 acres of meadow. It was then worth 40 shillings, now 60 shillings. It is 1 league and 3 furlongs in length, and half a league in breadth, and (renders) 16 pence of geld, whoever holds there. (There is) 1 church (with) 40 acres, and it is worth 6 shillings and 8 pence. Here the abbot of Holme claims 1 sokeman (with) 40 acres of land, and the hundret bears him witness. And besides he claims 1 bordar and 1 acre of land on the witness of the hundret.

In PANKESFORDA [Panxworth] Goduin a freeman held T.R.E., now Hugh holds 4 bordars. Then (there was) 1 plough, 6 acres of meadow. Then as now half a plough belonging to the men. (There is) 1 church (with) 8 acres, and it is worth 12 pence. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 20. But Earl R[alf] had the soke.

f. 224b.

In FISCELE [Fishley] he also (*idem*) holds 1 half man (1 *dim. ho'*) (with) 2 acres worth (*de*) 12 pence.

HUNDRET [OF] BLAFELDA [BLOFIELD]

In LINPEHO [Limpenho] Harduin held 2 freemen by commendation only, now Odar holds them (with) 34 acres of land and 1 bordar, 5 acres of meadow. Then as now (there was) 1 plough. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 23 shillings.

And in PLUMESTEDE [Plumsted] (there were) 2 freemen of Harduin T.R.E. (with) 8 acres of land, and this (*quod*) Hugh holds. Now as then the ploughing is done (*aratur*) with 2 oxen. Then as now it was worth 2 shillings.

In B[ER]NINGEHAM [Burlingham (St. Andrew)] he also (*idem*) holds 20 acres of land in demesne, and they belong to (*jacent in*) Stokesbei [Stokesby].

In SUTHUIDE [Southwood] he also (*idem*) holds 29 acres of land, and in it (there are) 1½ bor-

¹ Interlined.

² f. 225.

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dars and 3 acres of meadow and half a plough, now as then (*semper*). Then as now it was worth 32 pence.

FLEWEST [WEST FLEGG] HUNDRET

In WINTRETONA [Winterton] he also (*idem*) holds 1 freeman, and in REPES [Repps] 1. In ASCHEBEI [Ashby] 1, but also (*set et*) 2½ (belonging to) St. Benet of Holm, by commendation only (with) 46 acres of land. Then as now 1 plough, and they are included in the valuation (*sunt in pretio*) of Stokesbei [Stokesby]¹.

HUNDRET [OF] LOTNINGA LODDON

In BRANT [] Alvin, a freeman, held T.R.E. under Stigand, (and) Odar now holds 50 acres of land and 1 bordar. Then (there was) 1 plough, afterwards and now none (*nichil*), and it is worth 10 shillings. The soke (is) in the hundret.

HUNDRET OF ENSFORDA [EYNESFORD]

WITTINGEHAM [Witchingham] was held by Hardewin, a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands. Then (there were) 16 bordars, and afterwards and now 13. Then as now 4 serfs. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 8 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 5 swine. Then as now 2 mills; now 1 rouncey and 4 beasts. Then 12 swine, now 16. Then 80 sheep, now 100. Then 30 goats, now 40; and 12 sokemen (with) 80 acres of land. Then as now 5 ploughs and 2 acres of meadow. (There) is 1 church without land.

f. 225.

In WESTUNA [Weston] (is) an outlying estate (*beruita*) (of) 1 ploughland, and then as now 1 villein and 12 bordars and 1 serf. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 2 acres of meadow. And 10 sokemen (with) 80 acres of land. Then and afterwards (they had) 8 ploughs, now 7; and one can be added (*fieri*), and 2 acres of meadow. (There is) 1 church (with) 12 acres, and it is worth 4 pence. The whole was then worth 7 pounds, afterwards 8 pounds 10 shillings, (and) now the same. And (there are) 2 freemen of Quintin (with) half a ploughland and 2 bordars. Then as now 1½ ploughs, and it is worth 30 shillings from these 2. The soke is in the king's (manor of) Foulsum [Foulsham], but W[illiam] holds it. And (Witchingham) is 1 league in length, and (the same) in breadth, and renders 20 pence of geld whoever holds there.

HUNDRET OF TAVERHAM [TAVERHAM]

In ATLEBRUGE [Attlebridge] (are) 35 acres of land (with) 2 freemen. Then as now 2 bordars and half a plough, and 2 acres of

meadow. And they are included in the valuation (*sunt in pretio*) of Wittingham [Witchingham]. The king and the earl (have) the soke.

HUNDRET OF ERPINGAHAM SUD [SOUTH ERPINGHAM]

In CORPESTIG [Corpusty] 1 villein belongs to (*pertinet in*) Wittingham [Witchingham] (with) 40 acres of land and 2 bordars. Then as now (there was) 1 plough, and it is worth 6 shillings. (There are) three-quarters of a church (with) 9 acres, and it is worth 6 pence: and 1 sokeman (with) 4 acres in TORTUNA []² and he is worth 8 pence.

HUNDRET [OF] STUNETADA [TUNSTEAD]

In PASTUNA [Paston] (was) 1 freeman of Edric by commendation only (with) 20 acres of land. Then as now 1 bordar; and he is worth 12 pence. In SUAVELDA [Swafeld] (are) 6 acres (and) 1 freeman, and he is worth 6 pence. St. Benet (of Holm has) the soke.

HUNDRET OF EAST FLEC [EAST FLEGG]

STOKESBEY [Stokesby] was held by Eduin, a freeman of Guerd, (as) 3 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 15 villeins and 6 bordars and 4 serfs. Then (there were) 2½ ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 3; and then as now 1 plough belonging to the men; 20 acres of meadow and 2 saltpans and 2 rounceys. Then (there were) 4 beasts, now 6; then as now 10 swine. Then 120 sheep, now 180. And 1 church (with) 23 acres of land and 3 of meadow, and it is worth 16 pence. And 21 men (with) 80 acres of land belong f. 225b.

now as then to this manor. The king and the earl (have) the soke of them all (*toto*). Then as now (there were) 5 ploughs and 4 acres of meadow. And 3 freemen whom Harduin added T.R.E. belong to William, and they have 100 acres of land; of these his predecessor T.R.E. had the commendation. Then as now (they had) 9 bordars and 3 ploughs and 8 acres of meadow and 1 saltpan. They were then worth 10 shillings, now 16. And the manor was then worth 100 shillings, now 10 pounds: and yet (these) two years it has rendered each year 15 pounds and 4 shillings. And it is 1 league in length, and 1 league in breadth, and (renders) 2 shillings of geld.

In TRIKEBEI [Thrigby] Hugh holds 10 freemen, in MALTEBEI [Mautby] 2½, and in FILEBEY [Filby] 1, (with) 1½ ploughlands and 13 acres. Then as now 2½ bordars, and 2½ ploughs and 13 acres of meadow, 5 saltpans. (And) 1 church (with) 5 acres, and it is worth 6 pence.

² Afterwards known as 'Middletons,' in Booton and Witchingham. Blomefield, op. cit. vi, 352.

¹ f. 225.

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They were then worth 40 shillings, now 80. The king and the earl (have) the soke.

HUNDRET OF HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD]

In COLENEIA [Colney] Robert de Vaux (*Valis*) holds 1 freeman (with) 30 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow. Then (there was) half a plough. And it is worth 2 shillings.

HUNDRET OF DEPWADE [DEPWADE]

In TASEBURCH [Tasburgh] Almar held (*tenet*) 30 acres of land from Stigand. Now Roger of Evreux (*Ebrois*) holds it; (and) 4 acres of meadow. Then (there was) 1 plough, now a half, and the third part of a mill, and it is worth 15 shillings.

HUNDRET [OF] CLAVELINGA [CLAVERING]

In THURUVERTUNA [Thurlton] Odar holds $7\frac{1}{2}$ freemen of whom the predecessor of Ralf de Bollafago (*sic*) had the commendation only T.R.E. (with) 45 acres (of land). Then (there were) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, now a half. ¹(There is) half a church (with) 12 acres.¹ And they are worth 10 shillings.

XX. THE LAND OF R[ALF] DE BELLOFAGO

HUNDRET OF DOCHINGE [DOCKING]²

NIWETUNA [(Bircham) Newton] was held T.R.E. by Toue, a freeman, (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins and 3 bordars. Then 3 serfs, afterwards and now 1. Then 1 plough on the demesne, afterwards 2, now 3. Then and afterwards 4 ploughs belonging to the men, now $2\frac{1}{2}$. Then as now 2 rounceys and 10 swine. Then 220 sheep, now 540. To this manor belong (*Hic jacent*) 11 freemen (with) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands and $11\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Then (there were) 4 ploughs belonging to the men, now $2\frac{1}{2}$. (There is) f. 226.

1 church (with) 20 acres, worth 16 pence. These freemen his predecessor Eudo had, Stigand (had) the soke. (The manor) was then worth 60 shillings, afterwards and now 100. The whole is half a league in length and a half in breadth, and renders 15 pence out of 20 shillings of geld.

In BRECHAM [Bircham, (Great)] Fradre held 3 ploughlands T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 5 villeins and 4 bordars. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now none; then as now 2 ploughs belonging to the men; and 2 freemen (with) 2 acres. It was then worth 50 shillings, now 20: and it is 1 league in length and 1 league in breadth, whoever holds there, and renders 27 pence of geld.

¹ Interlined.

² Now in Smithdon hundred.

HUNDRET [OF] SMETHEDUNA [SMETHDEN]

RINCSTEDA [Ringstead, (Great)] was held by 1 freeman T.R.E. (as) half a ploughland. ³ Now Richard holds it.³ Then as now (there were) 2 villeins and half a plough, and it is worth 3 shillings. St. Benet (of Ramsey ⁴ has) the soke.

HUNDRET OF FRIDREBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

In WALTUNA [Walton, (West)] Bunde, a freeman, held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Now Odar holds it. And (there are) 4 villeins and 8 bordars and 4 acres of meadow. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 1 freeman (with) 8 acres of land. And it is worth 20 shillings.

HUNDRET [OF] SCEREPHAM [SHROPHAM]

In ELINCHAM [Ellingham, (Great)] (are) 2 freemen (with) 22 acres of land, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow; wood(land) for 8 swine. Then as now (there were) half a plough and 2 oxen. They were then worth 10 shillings, now 20. The soke is in Bucham [Old Buckenham].

In HERKEHAM [Hargham] Caurinc holds 3 ploughlands where Ulf, a freeman, held T.R.E. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 villeins, now 1, then as now 2 bordars. Then and afterwards 2 serfs, 12 acres of meadow. Then (there was) 1 plough, afterwards 2 oxen, now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. Then (there were) 2 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards 1, now $1\frac{1}{2}$. And 10 sokemen (with) 8 acres of land. Then as now 2 rounceys, now 2 cows. Then 6 swine, now 3. Then 44 sheep, now 28. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 30. The whole is half a league in length and a half in breadth, and f. 226b.

(renders) $6\frac{3}{4}$ pence of geld.

HUNDRET [OF] LAWENDIC [LAUNDITCH]

SUANETU[N]A [Swanton (Morley)] was held by Godwin (*Goduinus*), a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 8 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 24 villeins. Then and afterwards 38 bordars, now 54. Then and afterwards 6 serfs; 10 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 4 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards 3, now 5. Then and afterwards 13 ploughs belonging to the men, now 18. Wood(land) for 500 swine. Then as now 3 mills and 1 fishery, then as now 1 rouncey. Then 2 beasts. Then 39 swine, now 48. Then 60 sheep, now 85. To this manor belong 7 sokemen with all custom, and they have 11 bordars and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs. And 1 freeman (with) 12 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow. Then half a plough, now none. And of him Ralf's (*suus*) predecessor had only the commendation T.R.E. His soke

³ Interlined.

⁴ Cf. f. 215b.

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is in Mulla[m] [Mileham], and Eudo held him, and Ralf holds (him) of the king's gift. (There is) 1 church (with) $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres, worth 2 pence. Then and afterwards (the manor) was worth 8 pounds, now 12; but after (Ralf) had it he let it at a farm (*dedit ad firmam*) of 25 pounds. And it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length and 1 league in breadth, and (renders) 10 pence of geld.

In LECESHAM [Lexham] Fader held $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands T.R.E., now Richard holds them. Then (there were) 9 villeins, afterwards 8, now 5; then as now 7 bordars. Then (there were) 3 serfs; 6 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1 and another can be added (*restaurari*). Then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 30 swine. Then as now 1 mill. Then (there was) 1 fishery and the fourth part of a saltpan; then as now 1 rouncey. Then (there were) 8 beasts. Then 24 swine, now 5. Then 80 sheep, now 210; 4 hives of bees. And 6 sokemen (with) half a ploughland and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough. It was then worth 40 shillings, afterwards and now 60. And 1 freeman (had) 60 acres of land under Herold, and 2 bordars and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow. Then there was half a plough, but there was room for (*posset fieri*) (a whole one). He was then worth 5 shillings, now 4. (His) soke (is) in Muleham [Mileham]. (There is) 1 church

f. 227.

(with) 30 acres, and it is worth 16 pence. The whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) $7\frac{1}{2}$ pence of geld.

In DERHAM [Dereham, (East)] 2 ploughlands were held by Herold under Stigand, now Odar holds them. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins and 15 bordars. Then 2 serfs; 6 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1, and another could be added (*restaurari*). Then as now 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 30 swine. Then as now 1 mill. And 5 sokemen (with) 43 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards (they had) 1 plough, now a half, and there might be a whole one (*tota posset restaurari*). Then 1 rouncey. Then 4 beasts. Then 7 swine, now 2. Then 7 goats, now 8. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40. The whole is 1 league and 5 furlongs in length, and half (a league) and 3 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 10 pence of geld whoever holds there. The whole soke is in Mulham [Mileham].

HUNDRET AND A HALF [OF] FEORHOU [FOREHORE]

In DIEPHAM [Deopham] was held by Lewin (*Leuinus*), a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland and 80 acres; now Ralf holds it (*modo tenet idem*). Then as now (there were) 9 villeins. Then 10 bordars, now 9. Then and afterwards 2 serfs,

now none. Then as now 3 ploughs on the demesne, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 12 swine and 10 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 rouncey and 10 beasts and 17 swine; 32 goats. To this manor belong now as then 25 sokemen and 1 ploughland and 26 acres; then as now (they had) $6\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. And besides this 6 freemen were added to this manor in King William's time, whom Eudo held. And they have 120 acres of land and 20 bordars and 5 ploughs and 6 acres of meadow. The demesne of the manor (*caput manerii*) was then worth 4 pounds. And Ralf let the whole to farm (*dedit ad firmam*) for 12 pounds; now, however, it only renders 6 pounds. And the 6 freemen are worth 55 shillings,—this the hundred bears witness to—3 of them were sokemen

f. 227b.

of Stigand, and (their) soke is in the king's (manor of) Hincham [Hingham]. And (Deopham) is 10 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth, and (renders) $17\frac{3}{4}$ pence of geld.

MORLEA [Morley] was held by Lewin, a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland for a manor; now Hugh holds it. Then as now (there were) 9 villeins. Then (there were) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, now 2, and half a plough belonging to the men, and 3 acres of meadow; then as now 1 rouncey. Then 1 beast, now 2. Then 8 swine, now 47. And 5 freemen T.R.E. Their soke (is) in the king's (manor of) Hincham [Hingham]. Then as now it was worth 40 shillings. To this manor were added 14 freemen (with) 60 acres of land and 2 ploughs, and 3 acres of meadow. And they are worth 40 shillings. These were Stigand's men. (Their) soke (is) in Hincham [Hingham]. And besides this there were added 2 freemen in King William's time (with) 30 acres, and they are worth 22 shillings. One was Stigand's man, and the other the king's. Their soke (is) in Hincham [Hingham]. And (Morley) is half a league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) $14\frac{3}{4}$ pence of geld.

BEREFORDA [Barford] was held by Stigand at soke (*ad socam*) T.R.E. (as) 30 acres of land; now Richard holds it. Then as now (there were) 8 villeins, and 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men; 3 acres of meadow. And it is worth 20 shillings. There also 30 acres were held by a freeman T.R.E. under Stigand. The soke (is) in Hincham [Hingham] (and is) the king's. And he is worth 5 shillings.

In CRONKETHOR [Crownthorpe] the same (*idem*) holds 30 acres of land, where Coleman, a freeman, held under Stigand by soke and commendation. Then as now (there were) 6 bordars and half a plough, and 1 mill and 5 acres of meadow. And it is worth 30 shillings. Out of this Ralf Baynard (*Baig'*) claims one half-man with (*de*) 3 acres. And it is 3 furlongs in length and 2 in breadth, and renders $7\frac{1}{4}$ pence of geld.

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HUNDRET AND A HALF [OF] MITTEFORDE [MIDFORD]

HOKELINKA [Hockering] was held by Sigar, a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 4 ploughlands. And then as now (there were) 3 villeins and 23 bordars and f. 228.

4 serfs. Then (there were) 4 ploughs on the demesne, now 5. Then (there were) 7 ploughs belonging to the men, now 5. Wood(land) for 200 swine, and 15 acres of meadow, and 1½ mills. Then as now 9 beasts and 33 swine. Then 80 sheep, now 113. And (there were) then 3 sokemen, now 7 (with) 60 acres of land. It was then worth 4 pounds, now 100 shillings. To this manor belong 10½ freemen (with) 2 ploughlands.

In TODDENCHAM [Tuddenham, (North)] Richard holds 11 bordars. Then as now (there were) 5 ploughs and 10 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 mills. Then as now it was worth 4 pounds. The whole of Hochelinga [Hockering] is half a league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 5½ pence of geld. And Totdenham [Tuddenham, (North)] (is) 5 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (renders) 21 pence of geld whoever holds there. ¹(There are) 2 churches (*ecclesia*) (with) 20 acres, and they are worth 16 pence.¹

In MATESHALA [Mattishall] (are) 14 freemen (with) 2½ ploughlands and 20 acres and 12 villeins, and 5 ploughs and 6 acres of meadow. (There is) 1 church with 20 acres, and it is worth 16 pence. It was then worth 60 shillings, now 43, and it is 7 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth, and (renders) 36½ pence of geld.

In EAST TUDENHAM [East Tuddenham] (are) 6 freemen (with) half a ploughland and 3 acres. One has 4 bordars. Then as now (there were) 1½ ploughs and 2 acres of meadow. And they are worth 14 shillings and 8 pence. All this was delivered to him (*sibi*) for land, and to his predecessor.

In MATESHALA [Mattishall] ²(there were) 5 freemen T.R.E. (with) 2 ploughlands. Then as now 4 bordars. Then 4 ploughs, now 2; 10 acres of meadow. And they were then worth 20 shillings, but now 32 (shillings) and 4 pence. They have their soke from the abbot.

HUNDRET [OF] WALESSAM [WALSHAM]

In BASTUIC [Woodbastwick] Godric, a freeman, had 4 sokemen T.R.E. belonging to (*per-*

¹ Interlined.

² The Ely *placitum* (*Inq. Com. Cant.* Hamilton, p. 190) states that 7 men in Mattishall had been seized by Eudo son of Clamatoc, who could neither give nor sell nor do anything else without the abbot (of Ely's) leave.

tinentes in) Grossa[m] [Wroxham], holding among them (with) 7 acres of land, and 1 villein with (*de*) 15 acres of land.

TUNESTALLE [Tunstall] was held by the same Godric T.R.E. for a manor. Now Tuold holds 60 (acres). Then (there were) 3 bordars, now 5, and 8 acres of meadow. Then as now (he f. 228b.

had) 1 plough between himself and the men. Now as then it is worth 10 shillings, and the soke is the king's.

In BASTUIC [Woodbastwick] Ulketel and Withri, Harold's men, held 4½ sokemen and 6 bordars, 11 acres of land, 1 acre of meadow. Then as now (there was) half a plough. And they are included in the valuation of Grossaha[m] [Wroxham]. In the same vill Ulketel held 40 acres of land, (and) 4 acres of meadow. It is included in the valuation (*appretiatum est*).

HUNDRET [OF] BLAFELDA [BLOFIELD]

In PLUM[M]ESTEDA [Plumstead] (is) 1 bordar, ³Godric's man,³ with (*de*) 9 acres of land. Now as then he ploughs with 2 oxen. They are included in the valuation of Wrossham [Wroxham].

In BLAFELDA [Blofield] (are) 2 bordars with (*de*) 12 acres of land, 1 acre of meadow. They are included in the valuation of Wrossham [Wroxham].

HUNDRET [OF] HEINESTEDE [HENSTEAD]

In CASTRA [Caister (St. Edmund's)] are 5½ freemen of Godwin (*Godwini*) with (*de*) 42½ acres of land, and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) half a plough, and it belongs to (*pertinet in*) Merkeshalle [Markshall⁴]. In Castra [Caister (St. Edmund's)] furthermore (*adbu*c) there is 1 ploughland. On the demesne (is) half a mill, and it is included in the valuation of M[er]kessale [Markshall].

HALF HUNDRET [OF] DICE [DISS]

REGEDONA [Roydon] was held by Lefric son of Bose, the king's thane, for a manor. Now Hugh holds it. Then and afterwards (there were) 9 villeins, now 5. Then and afterwards (there were) 12 bordars, now 11. Then as now (there was) 1 serf. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 30 swine, and 4 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 horses (*equi*) in the homestead (*aula*). Then as now 6 beasts. Then 40 swine, now 30. Then 60 sheep, now 22 (and one) goat. And 6 sokemen with (*de*) 23 acres of land. Then and afterwards (they had) 1 plough, now a half. Then as now it was worth 40 shillings. (And it is) 10 furlongs in length, and 8 in breadth, and (renders) 9 pence of geld.

³ Interlined.

⁴ See f. 230.

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HUNDRET OF TAVRESHA[M] [TAVERHAM]

VROCKSHA[M] [WROXHAM] was held by Stigand T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Then (there were) 9 villeins; afterwards and now 5 bordars and 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then (there were) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men, now 1; and 20 acres of meadow and 4 beasts and 20 swine. Wood(land) for 100 swine; 100 sheep. And 13 sokemen (with) ¹ 40 acres of land and 2

f. 229.

acres of meadow. Then (they had) 2 ploughs, now $1\frac{1}{2}$. The king and the earl have the soke. And (there are) 7 freemen (with) 210 acres. Then (they had) $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, afterwards and now 2, and 15 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 12 swine. And $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs might be added (*restaurari*). The manor was then worth 3 pounds, now 4, and the seven freemen 38 shillings. There also (are) 3 freemen of ² Harold (*Haroldi*) ² (with) 1 ploughland and 30 acres. Then as now (they had) 2 villeins and 6 bordars. Then 3 ploughs, afterwards and now 2, and a third could be added (*restaurari*), and 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 20 swine. And there also (are) 3 freemen (with) 20 acres (and) 1 plough. (There are) 2 churches (*ecclesias*) (with) 33 acres of land, and they are worth 3 shillings.

In RACHELA [Rackheath] (are) 3 freemen (with) 20 acres and 3 bordars. Then (they had) 1 plough, afterwards and now a half.

In BESETUNA [Beeston (St. Andrew)] (is) 1 freeman (with) 30 acres of land. Then (he had) 1 plough, afterwards and now a half, and 2 acres of meadow. (There is) half a church, and it is worth 12 pence.

In CROWIT [Croswick] (are) 6 freemen (with) half a ploughland and 3 bordars. Then (they had) 2 ploughs, afterwards and now 1. Then the whole was worth 30 shillings, now 45 (shillings) and 4 pence. The king and the earl (have) the soke, but Ralf held it. The whole of Vroscham [Wroxham] is $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length and 1 league in breadth, and (renders) 30 pence of geld whoever holds there.

DRAITUNA [Drayton] was held by Aldulf, a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Now Odar holds it. Then as now there were 7 villeins and 8 bordars. Then (there were) 3 serfs. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, and 3 ploughs belonging to the men, and 1 plough could be added (*restaurari*), and 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 3 swine, and 1 rouncey and 2 beasts; 14 swine. Then (there were) 180 sheep, now 60. Then 60 goats, and 2 sokemen (with) 22 acres of land. Then (they had) half a plough, and 1 church (with) 8 acres, and it is worth 16 pence. (The manor) was then

worth 40 shillings, now 50. And it is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) $8\frac{3}{4}$ pence of geld. The king and the earl (have) the soke.

In FELETHOR [Felthorpe] Richard holds 3 freemen (with) 43 acres of land, and they are worth 2 shillings. The king and the earl (have) the soke.

In TAVRESHAM [Taverham] Richard (*idem*) holds 1 ploughland, which Olf held T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins and 3 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 5 swine, and the fourth part of a mill. And 5 sokemen (with) 13 acres of land. Then as now (they had) 1 plough on the demesne, 2 rounceys, and 1 beast. Now (they have) 12 swine and 60 sheep. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, now 30. The fourth part of a church (has) 15 acres, and is worth 16 pence.

HUNDRET OF ENSFORDA [EYNESFORD]

In SALLA [Sall] Odar holds (what) a freeman (held) T.R.E., 30 acres of land. Then as now (there were) 8 bordars and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and 2 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 5 swine, and the fourth part of a mill. And it is worth 10 shillings.

HUNDRET [OF] ERPINCHA[M] SUD [SOUTH ERPINGHAM]

In BUKESTUNA [Buxton] (are) 5 freemen, ³ brothers, ³ (with) 7 ploughlands. One of these brothers was commended to the predecessor of [Robert] Malet, and he was not seised of him (*non fuit inde saisitus*). Then (there were) 20 villeins, afterwards and now 12. Now 17 bordars. Then (there were) 8 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards 4, now 4. Then (there were) 8 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards 3, now $3\frac{1}{2}$; 12 (acres) of meadow. Then (there was) wood(land) for 1,000 swine, now for 200. Then as now 1 mill and 3 rounceys. Then 3 beasts. Then 32 swine, now 18. And 1 church with (*de*) 30 acres in frank almon (*elemosina*), and it is worth 3 shillings, and (the manor) is worth 100 (shillings). And it is 1 league in length, $6\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs in

f. 229b.

breadth, and (renders) 10 pence of geld.

In BRANTUNA [Brampton] (are) $25\frac{1}{2}$ sokemen (with) 1 ploughland and 30 acres. Then (there were) 7 ploughs, afterwards 5, now 3. They were then worth 20 shillings, now 40. (Their) soke is in Marsa[m] [Marsham].

In SCOTOHOU [Scottow] 1 ploughland and 8 acres are held by 1 sokeman of St. Benet of Holm. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins and

¹ See f. 230. The writing changes at this point.

² Interlined.

³ Interlined.

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4 bordars. Then 2 ploughs, now $1\frac{1}{2}$, and 3 acres of meadow. And 1 sokeman (with) 3 acres of land. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 8.

And BRANTUNA [Brampton] is 6 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (renders) $5\frac{1}{2}$ pence of geld.

In BELAGA [Belaugh] (there is) 1 freeman of Harold (*Heroldi*) (with) 1 ploughland and 11 acres. Then (there was) 1 plough, now a half, and 3 acres of meadow. There also is 1 sokeman (who was) Ralf Stalra's T.R.E. (with) 15 acres, and he is worth 2 shillings, (and he is included) in Houetuna [Hoveton]. This the same Ralf (Stalra) gave to St. Benet, and Eudo took it away (*eum tulit*). Now Ralf de Belfago has it.

In BELAGA [Belaugh] (are) 22 acres of land (belonging) to 7 sokemen. Then (they had) 2 ploughs, afterwards and now 1, and they are worth 8 shillings. Ralph Stalra and Stigand (had) the soke; and Ralf gave his share to St. Benet. The whole of Belaga [Belaugh] is 9 furlongs in length, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth, and (renders) 6 pence of geld.

In SCE[N]GUTUNA [Skeyton] (are) $11\frac{1}{2}$ acres (belonging to) 1 sokeman of St. Benet, and he is worth 17 pence. Radboda, Ralf's reeve, took him from the abbey under Eudo, Ralf's predecessor.

In HOHBOWESSA [Hautbois, (Little)] (is) half a ploughland (belonging to) 1 sokeman of St. Benet. Then as now (there were) 4 bordars and 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 20 swine, and half a mill. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 12. This land Eudo had given to him (*de liberatione*) as Ralf says. Obwessa [Hautbois] is 6 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (renders) 2 pence of geld.

In LAMERS (Lammas) (are) 20 acres (belonging to) 1 freewoman.¹ Then as now (there was) 1 bordar. And it is included in the valuation (*est in pretio*) of Buchestuna [Buxton].

In ULT[ER]TUNA [Wolterton] Tuold, a freeman, held 30 acres of land T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 3 bordars and 1 plough. And it is worth 10 shillings. The king and the earl (have) the soke.

In SCOTOHOU [Scottow] (are) 3 freemen of St. Benet (with) 30 acres, and now as then half a plough. And they are worth 3 shillings.

HUNDRET [OF] TUNESTEDA [TUNSTEAD]

In SLALEIA [Sloley] 1 sokeman of St. Benet (has) 1 ploughland. Then as now (there were) 12 villeins and 8 bordars, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 120 swine.

¹ Substituted for 'man.'

And 3 sokemen (with) 16 acres. Then as now (they had) half a plough. And it is worth 40 shillings. And it is 6 furlongs in length and 5 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) $4\frac{1}{2}$ pence of geld. (There is) 1 church (with) 1 acre, and it is worth 2 pence.

HUNDRET [OF] HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD]

MOLKEB[ER]TUNA [Mulbarton] is held by Richard, which Ordinc, a thegn, held T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Then and afterwards (there were) 10 villeins, now 7. Then (there were) 7 bordars, now 16. Then (there were) 2 serfs, now 1. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men; 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 16 swine. Then as now 1 mill, now 1 rouncey. Then 1 beast, now 6 swine. And 6 sokemen (with) 60 acres. Then as now (they had) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. And in CARLETUNA [Carlton, (East)] Richard (*idem*) holds 4 freemen, and in SUERDESTUNA [Swardeston] he (*idem*) holds 7. In all (*inter totum*) 56 acres. Then as now (they had) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and 2 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards (Mulbarton) was worth 60 shillings, now 100. And the freemen² are worth 6 shillings. And it is 6 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (renders) 6 pence of geld. (There is) 1 church (with) 15 (acres), and it is worth 2 shillings. In MOLKEB[ER]TUNA [Mulbarton] he also (*idem*) holds 1 freeman, under Stigand by commendation only (with) 30 acres. Then (he had) 2 ploughs and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now he was worth 20 shillings.

f. 230.

MARKESHALLA [Markshall] was held by Goduin, a freeman of Stigand (as) 2 ploughlands. Then (there were) 12 villeins, afterwards and now 11. Then (there were) 8 bordars, afterwards and now 7. Then as afterwards 2 serfs, now 1. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards 1, and now 2. Then as now 5 ploughs belonging to the men; 16 acres of meadow, and then as now $2\frac{1}{2}$ mills. Now 2 rounceys and 4 beasts and 20 swine. Then 4 sheep, now 24. And 1 freeman (with) $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land. Then as now (he had) half a plough. It was then worth 100 shillings, afterwards 8 pounds, now 11 pounds. (There is) 1 church (with) 6 acres and it is worth 12 pence. And it is 6 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (renders) $6\frac{1}{2}$ pence of geld. The king and the earl (have) the soke of the freemen. In DUNESTUNA [Dunston] (is) 1 freeman (with) 6 acres. And he is included in the valuation (*est in pretio*) of Merkeschala [Markshall].

HUNDRET [OF] CLAVELINGA [CLAVERING]

THURKETELIART [³] was held by 1 freeman of Stigand (as) 2 ploughlands. Then

² Repeated.

³ Probably in Aldeby. See Blomefield, op. cit. viii, 4.

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as now (there were) 3 villeins and 12 bordars and 3 serfs, and 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then (there were) 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1, 10, 1¹: 15 acres of meadow. Now 1 mill. Then as now (there was) 1 rouncey, now 8 beasts. Then 7 swine, now 36. Then 120 sheep, now 200; 5 hives of bees. And (there is) 1 church (with) 20 acres, and it is worth 40 pence. And 15 freemen owing foldsoke and commendation (*falde et commendacione*) (with) 40 acres. Then as now (they had) 6 ploughs and 6 acres of meadow. It was then worth 4 pounds, now the same.

ALDEBURY [Aldeby] was held by 1 freeman of Stigand (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there was) 1 villein and 5 bordars. Then (there were) 3 serfs, now 2, and then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men, 15 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 20 swine, and then as now 1 rouncey. And 15 freemen (holding) by foldsoke and commendation (with) 40 acres. Then (they had) 3 ploughs, now 2, and 2 acres of meadow. And they are worth 40 shillings. (There is) 1 church (with) 12 acres and it is worth 2 shillings. To this manor belong 11 freemen (with) 2½ ploughlands and 30 acres. Ralf's (*suus*) predecessor had the commendation of 7 T.R.E., and Stigand of 4, and it was given (*liberatum*) to his predecessor for land (*pro terra*). Then as now (there were) 12 bordars, and 5½ ploughs, and 24 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 6 swine. It was then worth 33 shillings, now 6 pounds and 10 shillings. The whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 2 shillings and 3 halfpence of geld whoever holds there. In NORTUNA [Norton (Subcourse)] (there were) 2 freemen (holding) by commendation T.R.E. 23 acres. Then (they had) 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow, and they are worth 2 shillings.

In RAVINCHAM [Raveningham] (is) 1 sokeman (with) 1 acre, and he is worth 2 pence.

In TOFT [Toft Monks] (is) 1 sokeman (with) 10½ acres, and he is worth 12 pence.

XXI. THE LAND OF REYNOLD [RAINALDI] SON OF IVO

HUNDRET OF CLACHELOSA [CLACKLOSE]

In PINCHAM [Fincham] 1 freeman held 16 acres of land T.R.E. and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now (there were) 2 bordars and it is worth 2 shillings. This land Wihenoc seized (*invasit*).

In B[ER]TUNA [Barton (Bendish)] 6 ploughlands (were held by) Toli, a freeman, T.R.E. Then (there were) 6 villeins, and (the same) afterwards,

now 7. Then as now (there were) 5 bordars. Then 5 serfs, now 2; 12 acres of meadow. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then and afterwards 1 plough belonging to the men, now a half. To this manor belong 5 freemen commended as to soke only (*ad socam tantum commendati*) and 2 as to all custom. The 5 have 1 plough and 12 acres of meadow, and the 2 (had) 6 acres in demesne when (Reynold) received them (and) 60 sheep, and (the same) now. Then (they had) 11 swine, now 15.
f. 230b.

The whole was then worth 80 shillings, afterwards and now 60. And the 5 men are worth 10 shillings. There also 3 ploughlands were held by Turchill, a freeman, T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 6 villeins and 5 bordars. Then and afterwards 5 serfs, now 2; 20 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 3 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards none, now 2. Then as now (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men, and 60 sheep and 7 swine. To this manor belong 5 freemen at soke only (*ad socam tantum*), and they have 30 acres of land. Then (they had) 1 plough, now a half, and 8 acres of meadow, and 4 acres of wood(land). The whole was then worth 10 pounds, afterwards 60 shillings, now 85; and the 5 freemen, 42 shillings and 8 pence.

In BERTUNA [Barton (Bendish)] Chetel, a freeman, held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins and 2 bordars and 20 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards none, now 1; then as now 1 plough belonging to the men. The whole was worth 40 shillings, afterwards and now 30. All this manor (*Totum hoc manerio*) is 1 league in length, half a league and 3 furlongs (*quadrantes*) in breadth. When the whole hundred renders 20 shillings of geld, the whole of this vill also renders 16 pence.

In CREPELESHAM [Crimplesham] Alid, a free-woman, held 2 ploughlands T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 8 villeins, and 4 bordars, and 7 serfs, and 8 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 3 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards 3, now 4. Then as now (there was) 1 fishery and 1 rouncey; 2 beasts. Then 2 swine. Then 240 sheep, now 300. To this manor belong 20 freemen by (*ad*) soke and commendation with (*de*) 60 acres. Then (they had) 1½ ploughs, now 1.

There also Turchill holds 1 ploughland. Then as now (there was) 1 bordar and 1 serf and 8 acres of meadow and half a fishery. Then (there was) 1 plough. To this manor belong also 5 freemen with (*de*) 4 acres by (*ad*) soke and commendation only. All this is worth now as then 8 pounds.

In CREPELESHAM [Crimplesham] (are) 3 freemen with (*de*) 1 ploughland. Then as now (they had) 4 bordars and 12 acres of meadow. Of these he has commendation and custom. They were then worth 16 shillings, now 8.

¹ *Sic*.

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In TOIMERE [Toomers¹] (are) 3 freemen (holding) by (*ad*) foldsoke and commendation. The others (are of the) soke of St. Benet (of Ramsey). Now as then they are worth 14 pence.

(There is) 1 freeman (with) 40 acres, and he is worth 2 shillings. The whole of CREPELESHAM [Crimplesham] is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and renders 8 pence in (every) 20 shillings of the king's geld, whoever holds there.

WIGREHAM [Wereham] (of) 2 ploughlands was held by Toli, a freeman, T.R.E. Then (there were) 15 villeins, afterwards and now 11; then as now 8 bordars. Then (there were) 6 serfs, now 4, and 20 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 12 swine. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 1½ ploughs belonging to the men, now 1; then as now half a mill and 1 fishery. Then as now (there was) 1 rouncey, and 28 mares (*eque*) and 25 foals (*pulli*) and 2 beasts. Then (there were) 15 swine, now 7. Then 90 sheep, now 260. And it is worth 100 shillings, but it rendered 8 pounds for (*ad*) all custom. To this manor belong 4 freemen (with) 12 acres. In STOKES [Stoke (Ferry)] (there are) 4 freemen by commendation and all custom, with (*de*) 12 acres, and 1 freeman with (*de*) 2 acres.

There also Roger and Hugh hold 2 sokemen with (*de*) 74 acres. Then as now (there were) 1½ (ploughs) and 10 acres of meadow. All this is worth 20 shillings. The whole of Wigreham [Wereham] is half a league in length and (the same) in breadth, and renders 6½ pence in (every) 20 shillings of the king's geld.

WELLA [Upwell] was held by Toli, a freeman, T.R.E. (as 1) ploughland.²

f. 237.

Then as now (there were) 9 villeins and 5 bordars. Then (there were) 6 serfs, afterwards and now 2, and 8 acres of meadow. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then (there were) 2 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 1; and 1 fishery. Then as now 1 rouncey and 2 beasts. Then 12 swine, now 7. Then 80 sheep, now 160. Then as now it was worth 6 pounds, but it rendered 8 pounds. To this manor belong 17 freemen with (*de*) 64 acres of land. Then (they had) 1½ ploughs, now 1, and they are worth 13 shillings and 4 pence. Uunbenoc³ seized (*invasit*) them. All Wella [Upwell] is 1 league in length and (the same) in breadth, and renders 2 shillings in (every) 20 shillings of the king's geld.

BUCHETUNA [Boughton] was held by Turchill T.R.E., now Ranulf holds it. Then as now (it

¹ In Shouldham Thorpe. See Blomefield, op. cit. vii, 315.

² ff. 229–30 have obviously been re-written, and are much crowded in consequence.

³ An error for Wihenoc.

consisted of) 1 ploughland and 34 acres, and (there were) 5 villeins. Then 2 serfs, then as now 10 acres of meadow, and 1 plough on the demesne. Then as now (there was) 1 rouncey, and 4 beasts, and 8 swine; 126 sheep. To this manor belong 5 sokemen with (*de*) 12 acres, and (Ranulf) also (*idem*) holds them. It was then worth 40 shillings, now 62 (shillings) and 6 pence. The whole of Buchetuna [Boughton] is 5 furlongs in length (*latitudine*) and 4 in breadth, and renders 8 pence in (every) 20 shillings of the king's geld.

SCULDEHAM [Shouldham] was also (*idem*) held by Turchill T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland and 6 acres; now Ranulf holds it. Then (there were) 3 villeins, now 5. Then (there were) 7 bordars, now 7. Then as now 3 serfs. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1. Now (there is) half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 20 swine, 6 acres of meadow. Then (there was) 1 rouncey. Then (there were) 4 beasts, now 6. Then 16 swine, now 3. Then 120 sheep, now 126, and 3 hives of bees, and half a fishery. To this manor belong 2 sokemen with (*de*) 10 acres. It was then worth 60 shillings, now 40 (shillings) and 6 pence. To this (manor) also belonged 10 freemen T.R.E. with (*de*) 30 acres by commendation only, and (Ranulf) also (*idem*) holds them. Then as now (they had) half a plough and 2 acres of meadow. They were then worth 6 shillings, now 16. Wihenoc seized them.

In BICHAM [Beechamwell] 24 acres of land were held by 1 freeman. He was seized (*invasit*) by Wihenoc; and his predecessor Hermon had f. 237b.

the commendation only, and he renders 5 shillings.

In FORTESTHORP [Fodderstone⁴] (was) half a ploughland T.R.E., now Ranulf holds it. Then as now (there was) half a plough, and 1 bordar, and it was worth 10 shillings. This Wihenoc seized. In WELLA [Upwell] (is) 1 bordar. In THORP [(Shouldham) Thorpe?] (is) 1 sokeman (with) 2 acres, and he is worth 3 pence.

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF FREDREBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

In WESWINIC [West Winch] 2 ploughlands were held by Godwin, a freeman, T.R.E. Now Ranulf (*idem*) holds them. Then as now (there were) 14 villeins and 6 bordars. Then (there were) 4 serfs, now 1, and 20 acres of meadow. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men and 2 salt pans. Then as now 10 beasts and 19 swine, 80 sheep. To this manor belong—and Ranulf (*idem*) holds them—23 sokemen (with) 36 acres of land. Then as now (they had) half a plough and 4 acres of meadow. It was then

⁴ In Shouldham Thorpe; cf. f. 213.

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worth 3 pounds, afterwards 100 shillings, now 10 pounds.

WICHE [(Ash) Wicken] was held by Leofric (*Leuricus*), a freeman, (as) 2 ploughlands T.R.E.; now Roger holds it. Then (there were) 12 villeins, now 7. Then as now (there were) 3 bordars and 2 serfs and 20 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1. Then (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men, now a half. To this manor (*Hic*) belong 7 sokemen (with) 12 acres of land—and Roger (*idem*) holds them—and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) half a plough. Then (they had) 5 beasts. Then 7 swine, now 5. Then 200 sheep, now 30. Then half a saltpan. It was then worth 4 pounds, now 40 shillings, and 1 plough can be added (*restaurari*). The whole is 6 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth, and renders 6 pence in (every) 20 shillings of geld whoever holds there.

In MASINICHAM [Massingham] 60 acres of land were held by Ulmar, a freeman, T.R.E., now Ralf holds them. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins. Then (there was) 1 plough, now a half. And it is worth 13 shillings and 4 pence.

HUNDRET OF GRIMESHOU [GRIMSHOE]

In ESTANFORDA [Stanford] 2 freemen held 14 acres of land and were delivered to Wihenoc. Now Ralf holds them. Then as now (they had) half a plough, and they are worth 2 shillings and 8 pence.

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOU [SOUTH GREENHOE]

In CALDANCHOTA [Caldecot] a certain freeman held half a ploughland T.R.E. Then ^{f. 232.} (there were) 2 villeins and 1 freeman with (*de*) 5 acres under him. Then and afterwards and now (*semper*) half a plough and 1½ acres of meadow and 1 mill. It was then worth 3 shillings, now 5 shillings. And this land was held by a certain freeman, but after the king came into this land Wihenoc seized it, and therefore R[eynold] holds it, and the king has soke and sac. There also are 3 freemen holding 50 acres; and they have half a plough, and are worth 3 shillings, and he holds them in the same way.

CLEIETORPA [Cley, (Cockley)] was held by Toli T.R.E. Now Arnold (*Ernaldus*) holds it. Then and afterwards (there were) 6 villeins, now 1, and 2 bordars. Then as now (there were) 3 serfs. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 ploughs, now 1. Then and afterwards (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men, now a half. Wood(land) for 16 swine, 2 (acres) of meadow. When he received it (there was) 1 rouncey, now 15 unbroken mares (*equæ silvaticæ*). Then (there were) 20 swine, now 11. Then 100 sheep, now

300. And he also (*idem*) holds 3 sokemen (with) 20 acres, and now as then half a plough. And of these 3 the king has the soke. It was then worth 60 shillings, now 40.

A certain freeman.¹ Reynold (*idem*) holds 30 acres of land in PINKENHAM [Pickenham, (South)²], and after the king came into that country Earl R[alf] held that land. But one of Wihenoc's men (*unus homo Wihenoc*) fell in love with (*amavit*) a certain woman, the woman on that estate (*terra*), and married (*duxit*) her, and afterwards he held that land as part of Wihenoc's fee (*ad fedum W.*) without the king's gift, and without livery of seisin (*liberatione*) (to him) and to his successors. Then as now (there was) half a plough, and 1 bordar, and 1 acre of wood(land) and 2½ acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 3 shillings.

In HOUTUNA [Houghton (on the Hill)]³ Herluin holds³ a freeman with (*de*) 19 acres, and he is worth 16 pence. He was seized (*invasit*) by Wihenoc.

In PIKENHAM [Pickenham (South)] Wihenoc seized 15 acres, and they are worth 16 pence. This is claimed by Ralf de Toeni, (and) the hundret bears him witness.

HUNDRET [OF] WAINELAND [WAYLAND]

PENNEWURDE [Panworth] was held by Harold (*Heroldus*) T.R.E. (as) 1½ ploughlands. Reynold (*idem*) holds it now. Then and afterwards (there were) 6 villeins, now 5; then as now 8 bordars. Then and afterwards 4 serfs, now 2; 10 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 100 swine. And (then) 1 rouncey, now 2. Then as now 6 beasts. Then 35 swine, now 22. Then 27 sheep, now 60; and 3 hives of bees. And 7 sokemen (with) half a plough(land) and 16 acres. Then as now (they had) 1½ ploughs. Now as then it is worth 40 shillings.

^{f. 232b.}

In ESSALAI [Ashill] he also (*idem*) holds 15 sokemen—the (the) soke is the king's (and is) in Saham [Saham (Toney)]—(with) 1 ploughland and 8 acres. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins and 3 bordars. Then (there was) 1 serf and 6 acres of meadow. Then as now (there were) 6½ ploughs. Wood(land) for 100 swine. Then as now it was worth 30 shillings. The whole is half a league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 15 pence of geld.

In TRECSTUNA [Threxton] (there were) 8 freemen (with) 3 ploughlands and 28 acres T.R.E.

¹ The scribe appears to have begun a sentence with these words and to have omitted to delete them.

² Fees in Cockley Cley and South Pickenham were held in 1302 by the earl of Gloucester, to whom Reynold's fee descended. *Feud. Aids*, iii, 447.

³ Interlined.

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Now Ranulf holds it, and 2 bordars (and) 20 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 6 ploughs, afterwards 4, now $2\frac{1}{2}$, and there might be 3 ploughs (in addition). This was delivered (to Ranulf) for 1 ploughland. It was then worth 4 pounds (*liberi*) and 10 shillings, it is now worth 60 shillings.

HUNDRET [OF] LAWENDIC [LAUNDITCH]

SUTTUNA [¹] was held by Ollova, a woman, T.R.E. for a manor (of) 2 ploughlands. Now Boteric holds it. Then and afterwards (there were) 16 villeins, now 10; then as now 2 serfs, and 10 acres of meadow. Then (there was) wood(land) for 200 swine, now (for) 100. Then (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, afterwards a half, (now) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. Then (there were) 3 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 1, and half a plough might be added (*restaurari*). Then (there were) 5 swine, now the same. Then 120 (sheep), now 100. This was held by Stigand as part of (*in*) Muleham [Mileham]. It was then worth 40 shillings, now 80. And it is half a league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 5 pence of geld.

HUNDRET [OF] MITTEFORDAM [MIDFORD]

In IACHESHAM [Yaxham] Ailid held T.R.E. 4 acres of wood(land) and 1 acre of meadow, and it is worth 12 pence.

HUNDRET OF GALGOU [GALLOW]

PENESTORPA [Pensthorp] was held by Scula T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Now Ran[ulf] holds it. Then as now 13 bordars and 2 serfs. Then and afterwards (*semper*) 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1. Wood(land) for 12 swine; 3 acres of meadow, 1 mill. Then 1 rouncey, now the same. Then as now 4 beasts. Then (there were) 20 swine, now 60. Then as now 240 sheep. Now 4 hives of bees. It was then worth 40 shillings, now the same. And it is 4 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth, and (renders) 6 pence in geld (*in gelto*).

f. 233.

HUNDRET OF BRODERCROS [BROTHERCROSS]

In REINEHAM [Rainham] T.R.E. Bond held 4 freemen; now Boteric (holds them): and Harold (held) 1, now Reynold (*Renaldus*) (holds him) with (*de*) half a ploughland. Then as now (there was) 1 plough (and) 3 acres of meadow. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 5. And the sheriff (*vicemos*) claims that Harold's man belongs to Fagenham [Fakenham], and the hundret bears him witness.

¹ Perhaps to be identified with Grenstein in Tittleshal and Mileham, which seems to be the holding in Tittleshall mentioned in A.D. 1302 as held of the earl of Gloucester (*Feud. Aids*, iii, 416).

HUNDRET OF HOLT

In WIVETUNA [Wiveton] Turchetel held 2 ploughlands T.R.E., now Reynold (*idem*) holds them. Then as now (there were) 7 villeins and 27 bordars. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then (there were) 5 ploughs belonging to the men, now $3\frac{1}{2}$; 4 acres of meadow, $1\frac{1}{2}$ mills. Now (there are) 3 beasts. Then (there were) 15 swine, now 28. Then 107 sheep, now 80. Then and afterwards (it was worth) 40 shillings, now 6 pounds. And it is 1 league in length and (the same) in breadth, and (renders) $17\frac{1}{2}$ pence in geld.

HUNDRET [OF] GRENEHOU [GREENHOE, (NORTH)]

WALSINGAHAM [Walsingham] was held by Ketel, a freeman T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 19 bordars (with) 1 plough (and) 2 ploughlands. Then (there were) 2 serfs, now 1; (and) 2 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 3. Wood(land) for 8 swine; 3 horses. When he (i.e. Reynold) received it (there were) 2 beasts, now 1. Then 15 swine (*post* for *porci*), now 19. Then as now 120 sheep. There belong to this manor 24 sokemen (with) 70 (*lx et x*) acres of land, 2 bordars, and half a mill. Then (they had) 3 ploughs, and (the same) when he received them, and now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. (The manor) was then worth 6 pounds, now the same, and is half a league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 18 pence of geld. And the other (*alia*) WALSINGAHAM [Walsingham] was held by Ketel T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins. Then (there were) 21 bordars, (now) 18, then as now 2 serfs. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, and when (Reynold) received it 1, now 2; (then 2) ploughs belonging to the men, and afterwards 1, now 1 plough. Wood(land) for 6 swine; 1 acre of meadow (and) 1 mill. (There are) 5 sokemen (with) 14 acres of land (and) 1 mill. Then (they had) half a plough, and now (the same). When he received them (they had) also 5 horses, now 4; then as now 5 (beasts?). Then 12 swine, now 14; 80 sheep then as now. Then (they had) 6 hives of bees, now 2. (The manor was) then (worth) 4 pounds, now 100 shillings. And it is 1 league in length and a half in breadth (and renders) 24 pence of geld, whoever holds there.

STIVECAI [Stiffkey] was held by Ketel (as) 2 ploughlands T.R.E., now Ran[ulf] holds it. Then as now (there were) 16 bordars. Then 3, (afterwards) 1 serf, now 3. (There are) 3 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, and then as now 1 plough belonging to the men. (There were) 2 mills then, now 1.

f. 233b.

When he received it (there were) 3 horses, now 4; and now 5 beasts. When he received it (there were) 30 swine, afterwards and now 12;

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and when he received it (there were) 180 sheep, and now 240. There belong to this vill 6 sokemen,¹ the same (holds them, *idem*).¹ (They have) 5 acres of land. Then as now they had half a plough (*car. terre*²). To this manor were added 4 sokemen (whom) he also holds (*tenet idem*) by the king's livery (*liberationem*). (They have) 1½ ploughlands (and) 7 bordars. Then as now (they had) 3 ploughs, 2 acres of meadow and 1½ mills. This vill was then worth 4 pounds.

These 4 men rendered 40 shillings, and now the same. And (the vill) is half a league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 24 pence of geld. (There is) 1 church (with) 30 acres, and it is worth 2 shillings.

HUNDRET [OF] LOTHNINGA [LODDON]

KARLENTONA [Carleton (St. Peter)] was held by Alsic, a freeman, under King Edward, for 30 acres of land. Then (there were) 7 bordars, afterwards 6, now 4. Then as now (there were) 1½ ploughs. Then (there were) 2 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards 1½, now 1. Then (there were) 14 swine, now 3. Now (there are) 60 sheep. And 14 freemen (of) Ulsi by commendation were made over (*liberati*) (to him) to make up (*ad perficiendum*) this manor of 60 acres. (They had) then 2 ploughs, afterwards and now 1, and 5 acres of meadow. And here there is free-land of the church (*de ecclesia*) 80 acres. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40. It is 1 league in length (and) 9 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 8 pence of geld.

HUNDRET OF ENSFORDA [EYNESFORD]

WITEWELLA [Whitwell] was held by Ketel, a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands and 15 acres for a manor. Then and afterwards (there were) 8 villeins, now 7. Then as now 17 bordars. Then as now (there were) 4 serfs, now 2; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then (and) afterwards (there were) 6 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 4, and 14 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 80 swine; 3 mills, now 2, and half a fishery. When he received it (there were) 2 rounceys, now 1, then as now 6 beasts. Then (there were) 80 swine, now 34. Then 50 sheep, now 60. Then as now 20 goats. Then 6 hives of bees, now 12. And 2 freemen (with) half a ploughland. Then and afterwards (they had) 1½ ploughs, now 1, and 3 acres of meadow. And 2 freemen (with) half a ploughland; then as now 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 5 swine. It was then worth 4 pounds, now 6 pounds and 16 pence. Those 2 freemen are worth 6 shillings. And (the vill) is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and renders 5 pence in geld of the hundret of 20 shillings (*sunt*).

In WITEINGEHAM [Witchingham] Ketel, a

t. 234.

freeman, held half a ploughland and 3 acres T.R.E., now Boter holds it. Then as now (there was) 1 villein and 10 bordars. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now (there was) 1 mill; then as now 4 beasts and 6 swine. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings and now 30 shillings (*sunt*).

HEVERINGALANDA [Haveringland] was held by Godwin, a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland. Then (and) afterwards (there were) 3 villeins, now 2; then as now 3 bordars; now 3 serfs; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men and afterwards and now a half, and 8 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 30 swine, and half a fishery. Then as now (there were) 2 rounceys and 5 beasts. Then (there were) 30 swine, now 20. Then 40 sheep, now 80. Then as now a goat and 20 hives of bees. And 3 sokemen (with) 5 acres of land. Then as now it was worth 60 shillings. (There is) 1 church (with) 10 acres.

There also Godwin held 100 acres of land T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins. Then and afterwards (there were) 3 bordars, now none. Then (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, afterwards and now none. Then as now (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men and 8 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 20 swine. And (there is) 1 sokeman (with) 11 acres of land. Now as then it is worth 20 shillings.

There also Edric, a freeman, held 100 acres of land T.R.E.; now Herluin holds it. Then as now (there were) 3 bordars. Then (there was) 1 serf. Then (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, afterwards none, now 1. And (there are) 2 sokemen (with) 16 acres of land and 16 acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) half a plough. Wood(land) for 20 swine. Now (they have) 4 rounceys, and 7 beasts, and 8 swine, and 85 sheep. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings.

There also Ulketel held half a ploughland T.R.E., now Ran[ulf] holds it. Then (there were) 4 bordars, afterwards and now 3. Then (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, afterwards and now a half and 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 40 swine, and it is worth 20 shillings. And (Haveringland) is 1 league in length and (1 league) in breadth and renders 7 pence to (*in*) the king's geld.

In NORTUNA [(Wood) Norton] St. Edmund held 2 ploughlands T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 8 villeins. Then (there were) 8 bordars, now 16; then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then and afterwards (there were) 3 ploughs be-

¹ Interlined.

² *terre* is apparently a mistake.

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longing to the men, now 2; and 8 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 30 swine. Then as now 6 beasts and 6 swine and 12 goats. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, now 30.

HUNDRET OF TAVERHAM [TAVERHAM]

In FALTORP [Felthorpe] Godwin held 20 acres. Then as now (there were) 1 villein and 8 bordars. Then as now (there was) half a plough, and 2 acres of meadow. And it is worth 10 shillings. This (estate) belongs to (*jacet in*) Havinkelanda [Haveringland].

HUNDRET OF SUD ERPINCHAM [SOUTH ERPINGHAM]

SCOTOHU [Scottow] was held by Ketel T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands and a half; now Roger holds

f. 234b. it. Then as now (there were) 8 bordars and 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men and now the same, and 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 5 swine. And (there was) then the third part of a mill. Then (there were) 3 swine, now 4; and 20 sheep, and 3 hives of bees. And (there are) 6 sokemen (with) 42 acres of land. Then as now (they had) 3 ploughs. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40. To this manor Wihenoc added 2 sokemen of St. Benet with (*de*) 18 acres of land whom (Roger) also (*idem*) holds. Then (they had) 1 plough, now a half. And they are included in the above valuation.

In INGHEWURDA [Ingworth] 1 freeman of Harold (had) half a ploughland, whom (*quos*) (Roger) also (*idem*) holds. Then as now (there were) 6 bordars, and 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 2 sokemen (with) 4 acres, and 2 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 5 swine and half a mill, and 30 sheep. And it is worth 15 shillings. And it is 10 furlongs in length and 8 in breadth, and (renders) 13 pence of geld.

In TORTUNA []¹ Herlwin holds half a ploughland. Then as now (there were) 5 bordars and 1 serf, and 1 plough on the demesne, and half (a plough) belonging to the men; 4 acres of meadow. And it is worth 10 shillings.

There also 2 sokemen of Harold of Caustuna [Cawston] (have) 60 acres of land and 2 bordars. Then as now (they had) 1 plough and 3 acres of meadow. And they are worth 12 shillings.

And (Tortuna) is half a league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 7 pence of geld.

In BANINCHAM [Banningham] Roger holds 1 villein of Caustuna [Cawston] (with) 16 acres, worth 2 shillings. This Wihenoc seized (*invasit*); and the same villein rendered 5 shillings in Caustuna [Cawston].

¹ 'Middletons' in Booton and Witchingham. See f. 225 above.

HUNDRET [OF] TONESTEDA [TUNSTEAD]

In SLALEIA [Sloley] (Roger) also (*idem*) holds 20 acres which Scheit held in the demesne (*dominio*) of Scotohou [Scottow]. Then as now (there was) 1 villein; and it is included in the valuation of Scotohou [Scottow].

In URDESTADA [Worstead] he also (*idem*) holds 3 acres and (it is included) in the same valuation. All the churches are (included) in the valuation with the manors.

HUNDRET OF NORWIC [NORWICH]

Ewicman held 1½ ploughlands T.R.E. under Stigand, and 16 acres of pasture (*pastura*) and 7 acres of meadow. Now Reynold son of Ivo (has it). Then and afterwards (there was) 1 plough, now 2, and 100 sheep. Then as now it was worth 30 shillings.

f. 235.

XXII. THE LAND OF RALF DE TOESNI [Toenio]

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOU [SOUTH GREENHOE]

NECHETUNA [Necton] is held by Ralf which Harold held T.R.E. Then, and now as then (*semper*) (there are) 32 villeins and 11 bordars and 6 serfs and 4 ploughs on the demesne, and 10 belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 1,000 swine; 20 acres of meadow, and 1 mill, and 1 saltpan. When he received it (there were) 4 rounceys, and now (there are) 19 beasts and 100 swine, and 100 sheep and 85 goats. (There is) 1 church with (*de*) 36 acres and it is worth 36 pence. And 5 sokemen dwell (*manent*) there, having 5 ploughs. And it is 1 mile (*m'*) in length and a half in breadth, and renders in geld 9 pence when the hundred scots (*scotat*) 20 shillings.²

And (there is) 1 sokeman in BRADENHAM. Then as now (he had) half a ploughland and 1 plough. And under him (are) 8 sokemen holding half a ploughland. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. (There is) wood(land) for 20 swine (and) 4 acres of meadow.

And in PICHENHAM [Pickenham] (is) 1 outlying estate (*beruita*) (with) 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then and afterwards (there were) 8 villeins, now 5, (and) now 2 bordars. Then and afterwards (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men, now a half. And 6 sokemen, occupying (*super*) 20 acres, have 1 plough. (There is) wood(land) for 20 swine (and) 4 acres of meadow. When he received it he found 2 rounceys, and 18 swine, and 36 sheep, and now (there is the same number).³ There is 1 church (with) 17 acres worth (MS. *silva ad*) 17 pence.³ And

² *Inq. Elien.* (Hamilton, p. 149). 'In NECTONA the monks of Ely claim 1 ploughland in demesne against Ralf de Todeneia, and the hundret bears them witness. In CALDECOTE half a ploughland in the same manner.'
³ Interlined.

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(there is) another outlying estate which they call CRESSINGAHAM [Cressingham, (Great ?)]. Then (there were) and now (there are) 5 villeins and 1 bordar and 2 serfs; 1 plough on the demesne, and 2 sokemen (with) 2 ploughs among them all (*inter omnes*). (There is) wood(land) for 8 swine (and) 3 acres of meadow, 1 mill (and) 1 fishery. Then as now (there was) 1 rouncey and 2 beasts, 60 sheep, less 2. ¹(There is) 1 church with 15 acres; it is worth 15 pence.¹

And in LITTLE CRESSINGAHAM [Little Cressingham] (is) another outlying estate. Then as now (there were) 20 villeins and 7 bordars, 4 serfs. (There were) 2 ploughs on the demesne then as now, and 6 ploughs belonging to the men. And 6 sokemen had 2 ploughs, and (still) have them. (There are) 10 acres of meadow (and) 1 mill. When he received it (there were) 2 rounceys, and now 31 swine, 32 sheep, (and) 6 beasts. And it (Little Cressingham) is 1 mile in length and a half in breadth, and renders in geld 3 pence.

In CALDACHOTA [Caldecote] (is) another outlying estate where the king has soke and sac, (containing) 1 ploughland. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins, 2 bordars, 1 serf, and 3 sokemen. Then (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, now a half, (and) 1 plough belonging to the men. When he received it (there were) 1 rouncey (and) 60 sheep, now (there are) 24 sheep. And it is f. 235b. half a league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and renders in geld, with those who hold in it, 5 pence.

In CULESTORPA [? Colveston²] (are) 3 sokemen, of whom the king had soc and sac. And they have 1 ploughland, and 1 plough and 1 bordar.

In BODENEIA [Bodney] (are) 4 sokemen (with) 1 ploughland, and 1 plough and 1 villein, (and) 2 acres of meadow. And over them the king has soke and sac, and from 1 mill 8 pence. All this (land in Greenhoe) together (*simul*) rendered Harold (*b'*) 6 nights' farm (*noctes de firma*). Now it renders 60 pounds by weight (*ad pensum*).

HUNDRET OF GRIMESHOU [GRIMSHOE]

In ESTERESTUNA [Sturston] a freeman holds 30 acres of land. Then (he had) half a plough. It was then worth 2 shillings, now 12 pence.

WANELUND [WAYLAND] HUNDRET

In CHEREBROC [Carbrooke] Harold held 3 ploughlands T.R.E. (as) an outlying estate of (*berewita in*) Nechetuna [Necton]. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne. Then (there was) 1 villein, then as now 13 sokemen and 1 serf, 16 acres of meadow, and

¹ Interlined.

² Blomefield (ix, 164) says this is Cuthorp near West Acre. Compare 'Sculatorpa' (f. 144b).

2 ploughs belonging to the men; wood(land) for 300 swine. Then (there was) 1 rouncey; and 3 cows, and 9 swine. And it is included in the valuation of Neketuna [Necton].

LAWENDIC [LAUNDITCH] HUNDRET

In FROUUESHAM [Fransham] (were) 16 sokemen of Harold (*Heroldi*) T.R.E. (with) 3 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 12 bordars and 6 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 3 ploughs, now 4; wood(land) for 60 swine. Then as now 1 mill. And it is included in the valuation of Neketuna [Necton]. Eudo son of Clamahoc had 1 ploughland of these 3 by livery (*liberatione*) as long as he lived, and Ralf de Bellfago held it (*eandem*). Now Ralf de Toeni has it in [N]eketuna [Necton] to which it belonged (*ubi jacuit*) T.R.E.

In DUNHAM [Dunham] 1 sokeman of Harold had 30½³ acres of land T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 4 bordars, then as now 1 plough. And this is included in the valuation of Neketuna [Necton].

In GODUIC [Godwick] 1 freeman of King Edward (held) 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 6 villeins and 7 bordars, and 9 acres of meadow. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs, wood(land) for 200 swine, and 1 sokeman (with) 4 acres of land. And it is included in the valuation of Neketuna [Necton]. And it is 6 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth and f. 236.

(renders) 6½ pence of geld. This land Ralf holds in Neketuna [Necton], but it did not belong to Neketuna T.R.E. nor in Harold's (*Heroldi*) time. And Roger Bigot claims (*revocat*) it (as) of the king's gift and calls on (the king to warrant him as his) feoffor (*revocat liberatorem*).

HUNDRET OF CLAKESLOSA [CLACKCLOSE]

In SCINGHAM [Shingham] 2 freemen of Harold (*H'*) (held) 80 acres of land T.R.E. Then (they had) 1 plough, now a half, and they belong to Naketuna [Necton].

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF FREDREBRUGE [FREE-BRIDGE]

In WALTUNA [Walton, (East)] (are) 2 sokemen of Acre [Acre, (West)] (with) 30 acres (of land) and 5 bordars. And it is included in the valuation of Nachetuna [Necton].

ACRE [Acre, (West)] was held by Harold T.R.E. (as) an outlying estate in Nechetuna [Necton] (containing) 3 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 6 villeins and 8 bordars and 2 serfs and 4 acres of meadow. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men, wood(land) for 40 swine, and 3 mills and a half (*dimus*) and 1

³ '½' interlined.

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fishery and 5 saltpans. Then (there were) 5 beasts and 18 swine. Then (there were) 100 sheep, now 165. To this land belong now as then 17 sokemen (with) 405 acres of land and 14 bordars and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) 5 ploughs. There also Turbern held 2 ploughlands under Harold T.R.E. Then (there were) 13 bordars, and now (the same); and 4 acres of meadow. Then there were 2 ploughs on the demesne, now $1\frac{1}{2}$. Then (and) afterwards 1 plough belonging to the men, now 2 oxen. Then as now 1 mill. To this land belong 4 sokemen (with) 30 acres. Then as now (they had) half a plough. And 1 freeman in THORP [(Gayton)thorpe] (with) 60 (acres) of land and 3 bordars and half a plough. And in KETUNA [Necton?] 3 sokemen (with) 60 acres of land and 1 bordar and 3 acres of meadow and 1 plough. And in LENA [Lynn] 5 sokemen (with) 80 acres of land and 3 bordars and 5 saltpans and 2 ploughs. And (in) ESTWINC [East Winch] 2 sokemen (with) 8 acres of land. The whole of Acra [(West) Acre] is 1 league in length¹ and (1 league in) breadth¹ and renders 16 pence of 20 shillings of geld. All this above (described) is included in the valuation of Naketuna [Necton].

HUNDRET [OF] GRIMESHOU [GRIMSHOE]

In ICHEBURNA [Igborough] 1 sokeman of Harold (*Heroldi*) (held) 30 acres of land. And f. 236b. it is valued (*appretiatum*) in Neketuna [Necton].

WANELUND [WAYLAND] HUNDRET

In BRECCLES [Breckles] 1 (freeman?) of Harold (held) 40 acres of land. And (there is) half a plough and 1 villein. And it is included in the valuation of Neketuna [Necton].

HUNDRET OF SCREPHAM [SHROPHAM]

WRETHAM [Wretham] was held by Harold T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 12 villeins, 8 bordars, and 3 serfs, and 8 acres of meadow. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne and 4 ploughs belonging to the men, wood(land) for 30 swine, and 1 rouncey, and 12 swine, (and) 80 sheep.

In another WERTHAM [Wretham] he also (*idem*) held 3 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 11 villeins, and 9 bordars, and 4 serfs, and 6 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 3 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 2, and there might be a third. Then as now (there were) 4 ploughs belonging to the men and 1 mill, and 1 rouncey, and 21 swine, and 81 sheep.

In another WERTHAM [Wretham] he also (*idem*) held 4 ploughlands T.R.E. Then and afterwards (there were) 8 villeins, afterwards and

now and² 3. Then as now 4 bordars (MS. *per*?) and 2 serfs, and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then and afterwards 3 ploughs belonging to the men, and now 1, and there can be 3 (*possunt esse*). And (there are) 2 sokemen (with) 1 ploughland and 12 acres, (and) 8 acres of meadow, and 5 bordars and 56 acres of land, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. These three are outlying estates in Neketuna [Necton] and (are included) in the valuation. The whole is 2 leagues in length and 2 in breadth, and (renders) 20 pence of geld.

f. 237.

XXIII. LANDS OF HUGH DE MONT-FORT (*de Munteforti*)

HUNDRET OF GRANAHOV [SOUTH GREENHOE]

BUDENEIA [Bodney] was held by Bond. Then (there were) 8 villeins and afterwards 4, now 7 bordars. Then (there were) 6 serfs, now 3. Then there were 3 ploughs on the demesne and afterwards 2, now 1. Then (there were) 3 ploughs among the men (*inter homines*), now a half. Wood(land) for 100 swine, 5 acres of meadow, 1 mill, and the fourth part of another. When he received it (there was) 1 rouncey, now 2. Then (there were) 13 beasts, now 3. Then 41 swine, now 9. Then 51 sheep, now 11. Then 16 goats, now 5. And it is 1 league all but 2 furlongs in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and renders in geld 8 pence, with those who hold there. It was then worth 100 shillings, now 60 shillings.

LANGAFORDA [Langford] was held by Bund T.R.E. Then and afterwards (there were) 21 villeins, now 17. Then (there were) 9 bordars and 6 serfs, and (the same) now. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then and afterwards 4 (ploughs) belonging to the men, now 2. Wood(land) for 100 swine, 25 acres of meadow, 2 mills, 1 fishery. When he received it (there were) 2 (rounceys?), now none. Then (there were) 4 beasts, now 1. Then 17 swine, now 9. Then 71 sheep, now 41; now 2 hives of bees. And it is 1 mile (*m'*) in length and a half in breadth, and renders in geld 4 pence when the hundret renders 20 shillings. It was then worth 6 pounds; it now renders 100 shillings and 5 shillings.

HUNDRET OF GALGOV [GALLOW]

SUTH CREICH [South Creak] is held by Hugh which Bund held (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins and 6 bordars. Then (there were) 4 serfs, now 2. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then (there were) 3 ploughs belonging to the men,

¹ Repeated.

² Superfluous.

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now 2; but there is room (*possunt esse*) there (for 3). Then (there were) 4 rounceys. Then 20 swine, now 7. Then 200 sheep, now 80. It was then worth 60 shillings, now 4 pounds. And it is 1 league in length and another in breadth, and renders in geld 4 shillings.

HUNDRET OF BRODERCROS [BROTHERCROSS]

In BRUNEHAM [Burnham (Westgate)] he also holds what Bond a freeman held T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 13 bordars. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men, now a half. Wood(land) for 8 swine,¹ f. 237b.

1 acre of meadow,¹ 1 mill. Then (there was) 1 saltpan. Then as now 2 rounceys. Then 7 swine, now 3. Then 100 sheep, now 20. And 7 sokemen with (*de*) 60 acres of land. Then (they had) 1½ ploughs, now 1. It was then worth 4 pounds, now the same. It renders 3 shillings of geld in this hundret, and it is measured in another (*in alio mensurata* ²).

[HUNDRET OF GALLOW]

In REINEHA[M] [Rainham] Bond held 2 ploughlands T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins, and 14 bordars, and 4 serfs, and 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 120 swine and 6 acres of meadow, 2 mills (and) 1 saltpan. Then as now (there were) 3 rounceys, and 4 beasts, and 6 swine, and 100 sheep. Then (there were) 2 hives of bees. And (there are) 14 sokemen (with) half a ploughland, and 15 bordars. Then as now (they had) 1½ ploughs and 7 acres of meadow. To this manor (belongs) 1 outlying estate, SUTREINEHA[M] [South Rainham], of (*de*) 1 ploughland. Then (there were) 5 bordars, now 4, and 2 serfs. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne. Then (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men, now a half; 5 acres of meadow (and) 1 mill. Then (there were) 3 rounceys. Then as now 6 swine.

In HELGETUNA [Helhoughton] (is) 1 sokeman with (*de*) half a ploughland. Then (he had) 8 bordars, now 12. Then as now (he had) 1 plough (and) 2 acres of meadow. It was then worth 8 pounds, and afterwards 60 shillings, now 8 pounds and 10 shillings with great difficulty (*cum magna pena*). And the whole of Scutreinha[m] [South Rainham] is 6 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth, and (renders) 10 (pence) in geld.

ERPINGAHAM NORTH [NORTH ERPINGHAM] HUNDRET

In RUGUTUNE [Roughton] Hugh also (*idem*) holds 1 ploughland which Bundo, a freeman, held T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 12

bordars. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 12 swine, 1½ acres of meadow. Then as now 1 rouncey. Then 5 beasts, and now 3. Then 5 swine, now 7. Then 20 sheep, now 15. Then 8 sokemen with (*de*) 24 acres of land. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, now 30.

In BESETUNE [Beeston (Regis)] Hugh also (*idem*) holds 1 ploughland which Bundo, a freeman, held T.R.E. Then as now (there were) f. 238.

8 bordars. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 5 swine (and) 1 acre of meadow. Then as now (there was) 1 rouncey. Then there were 2 beasts, now (the same?). Then (there were) 5 swine, and now 11. Then 20 goats, now 30. And 3 sokemen (with) 12 acres of land and half a bordar. Then as now (they had) half a plough. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, now 30.

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF CLACHESLOSA [CLACKCLOSE]

In MARHAM [Marham] (are) 26 sokemen whom³ Walter³ holds, St. Etheldreda (*Adeldræda*) (had them) T.R.E. at soke. Then (there were) 8 bordars, now 9. Then (there were) 5 ploughs, now 4, and 6 acres of meadow. They were then worth 80 shillings, afterwards 60, now 40. This land (Hugh) received by exchange (*pro exchangio*), and it is measured in the return (*brevi*) of St. Etheldreda.⁴

FREDREBURGE [FREEBRIDGE] HUNDRET AND A HALF

In ILSINGHETUNA [Islington] 2 ploughlands were held by Bundo T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 8 bordars and 15 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then as now half a plough belonging to the men. To this manor belong 11 sokemen. Then as now (they had) 1 plough and 30 acres. Of 5 Stigand had the soke. The whole is worth 100 shillings.

There also the same (sokemen) hold (*tenent idem*) half a ploughland. Then as now (there were) 4 bordars. Then (there was) 1 plough; then as now 40 acres of meadow. And it is included in the above valuation of 100 shillings (*est appretiata in superioribus c. solidis*).

MIDELTUNA [Middleton] is held by Aelod, which Bundo held T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands.

³ *Inq. Elien.* (Hamilton, p. 137) omits. The *placitum* (ibid. p. 195) says: The above-named Walter and with him Durand, men of Hugh de Monteforti, hold 26 'socamans' of the above-named custom (cf. Feltwell, f. 213) in MAREHAM.

⁴ Abbey of Ely. See f. 212b above.

¹ Interlined.

² cf. f. 169 above.

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Then as now (there were) 12 villeins and 17 bordars; wood(land) for 4 swine. Then 4 serfs, now 1, and 32 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1; then as now 3 ploughs belonging to the men, and 1 mill, and 1 fishery. Then (there were) 10 saltpans, now 8. Then (there were) 3 beasts, now 5; now (there is) 1 rouncey. Then 10 swine, now 6. Then 40 sheep, now 35. It was then worth 100 shillings, now 6 pounds. To this manor (*Hic*) belong 2 sokemen whom the same man holds (with) 84 acres. Then (they had) 1 plough, now a half. And they are worth 5 shillings and could sell their land.

BENELAI [Bilney, (West)] was held by L. Bundo for a manor T.R.E. (as) 5 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 20 villeins and 14 bordars and f. 238b.

5 serfs; 20 acres of meadow. Then as now there were 2 ploughs on the demesne and 3 ploughs belonging to the men and 3 mills. (There is) woodland for 200 swine, and half a saltpan. Then as now (there was) 1 rouncey and 3 beasts, and 10 swine and 81 sheep. It was then worth 8 pounds, afterwards 60 shillings, now 6 pounds. The whole is 8 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth and renders 6 pence in (*de*) 20 shillings of geld.

In GAITUNA [Gayton] Roger holds 1 ploughland which Bundo, a freeman, held T.R.E. Then (there were) 6 bordars, and now 3 bordars, and 1 serf and 12 acres of meadow. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men, and half a mill. Then (there were) 3 swine, and (the same) now. Then as now (there were) 60 sheep. And it is worth 45 (shillings). This is an outlying estate of (*in*) Bilenei [Bilney].

HUNDRET OF GRIMESHOU [GRIMSHOE]

In ESTANFORDA [Stanford] a freeman holds 1 ploughland. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne and 7 villeins and 1 bordar, 2 acres of meadow. Then as now (there was) half a plough belonging to the men. And it is worth 10 shillings, but he (*ipse*) renders 15, and Hugh's (*ejus*) predecessor had only commendation over him (*super hunc*) and the king the soke.

In BUCHENHAM [Buckenham Tofts] 1 freeman (held) 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins and 1 bordar and 4 acres of meadow, and 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men. (There was) half a mill, and (*sic*) 8 shillings (*so^p*). And the whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth and renders 8 pence in (*de*) 20 shillings of geld. The king and the earl have the soke.

HUNDRET OF GILDECROSS [GUILTCROSS]

In WICA ['Wykes']¹ Godmund held 2 ploughlands T.R.E. for a manor. Then (there were) 7 villeins, afterwards and now 4; then as now 4 bordars. Then (there were) 3 serfs, afterwards and now 2, and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men; wood(land) for 12 swine. And 7 sokemen (with) 90 acres of land, 5 bordars, and 1 acre of meadow. Then and afterwards (they had) 2½ ploughs, now 3; f. 239.

then as now 1 rouncey. Then (they had) 3 beasts, now 2 swine; then as now 70 sheep. Then and afterwards (the manor was worth) 60 shillings, now 6 pounds. The whole is 1 league in length and 1 league in breadth and (renders) 34½ pence of geld.

LAWENDIC [LAUNDITCH] HUNDRET

Ralf holds GATELAI [Gateley] which Bundo, a freeman, held T.R.E. for a manor (of) 4 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 23 villeins. Then (there were) 1 serf (and) 30 acres of meadow. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then and afterwards (there were) 6 ploughs belonging to the men, now 4. Then (there was) wood(land) for 300 swine, now 80; then as now 2 rounceys. Then (there were) 7 beasts, now 5. Then (there were) 23 swine, now 7; now 29 sheep. Then (there were) 60 goats, now 17. And 5 sokemen (with) 30 acres of land and 4 acres of meadow; then as now 1 plough. Then and afterwards it was worth 110 shillings, now 4 pounds. The whole is half a league in length and a half in breadth and (renders) 10 pence of geld.

HUNDRET OF HOLT

In BODHAM [Bodham] Ralf holds 2 ploughlands which Bundo, a freeman, held for a manor T.R.E. Then (there were) 17 villeins, now 4 and 4 bordars. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne and afterwards 1, now 1. Then (there were) 2 (ploughs) belonging to the men, now none; 2 acres of meadow. Then as now (there was) 1 rouncey, and 3 beasts. Then (there were) 5 swine. Then as now 17 goats. And 2 sokemen with (*de*) 30 acres of land. Then as now (they had) half a plough. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 10 shillings. And it is 10 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth and (renders) 12 pence in geld.

¹ In Garboldisham. cf. *Inq. Elien.* (Hamilton, p. 140). In Garboldesham 1 sokeman of St. Audrey with half a ploughland, whom Hugh de Mumford held and his predecessor Gudmund T.R.E. and the hundret witnesses that it always belonged to the abbey.

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i. 239b.

XXIII. THE LAND OF EUDO DAPIFER

SCEREPHAM [SHROPHAM] HUNDRET

In ROKELVNT [Rockland] Richard (*Rikardus*) holds 10 freemen (with) 1 ploughland. Then as now (they had) 1 bordar and 3 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 4 swine. Then (they had) 4 ploughs, afterwards 2, now 3; the eighth part of a mill. Then it was worth 100 shillings, afterwards and now 40. The soke lay T.R.E. in the king's (manor of) Bucha[m] [(Old) Buckenham] and (also) afterwards until Lisois [de Moustiers] (*Lisius*) had the land; and to this the hundret bears witness.

In SCEREPHA[M] [Shropham] (are) 8 freemen (with) 1½ ploughlands, (whom) Roland holds, and 6 (acres) of meadow; wood(land) for 6 swine. Then (they had) 3 ploughs, afterwards and now 2. They were then worth 60 shillings, now 37. The soke is in the king's (manor of) Bucha[m] [(Old) Buckenham], but Lisois (*Lisius*) kept it back (*retinuit*) and Eudo likewise.

In RUDHA[M] [Roudham] Ralf holds 8 freemen (with) 1 ploughland and 10 acres and 1 acre and 1 rood (*virg*) of meadow. Then as now (they had) 2 ploughs. They were then worth 40 shillings, afterwards and now 30. The soke is in Bucha[m] [(Old) Buckenham], but Lisois (*Lisius*) kept it back and E[udo] likewise.

In BRETHAM [Brettenham] Turgis held 7 freemen T.R.E. (with) 1½ ploughlands (and) 2 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards (they had) 1½ ploughs, now 1 plough, and there might (also) be a half. They were then worth 30 shillings, afterwards and now 20. The soke of 6 of them is in the king's (manor of) Bucha[m] [(Old) Buckenham]. Of the seventh St. Etheldreda (*Adeldret*) (had) soke and commendation.¹ But Lisois (*Lisius*) kept it all back, and Eudo keeps it. The whole is 1 league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth and (renders) 13½ pence of geld.

WALESSAM [WALSHAM] HUNDRET

In TUNESTALLA [Tunstall] Escule, Harold's man, held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then (there were) 6 bordars, afterwards and now 5, and 8 acres of meadow. Then as now (there was) half a plough on the demesne and a half belonging to the men. Then (there were) 200 sheep, now 240. (There is) 1 church (with) 8 acres and it is worth 8 pence. (The manor) was then worth 40 shillings, afterwards and now 3 pounds. And it is 7 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth, and f. 240. (renders) 8 pence of geld.

¹ cf. *Inq. Elien.* (Hamilton, p. 140). In BRECHEHAM Eudo Dapifer holds 1 sokeman by name Urban, of whom the abbot has sac and soke and commendation; and the hundret bears witness to this.

BLAFELDA [BLOFIELD] HUNDRET

In POSSUIC [Postwick] Escule, a freeman, held 2 ploughlands T.R.E. Then (there were) 6 villeins, afterwards and now 5; then as now 9 bordars and 2 serfs. Then (there were) 1½ ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1. Then as now 3 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 40 swine, and 15 acres of meadow; now (there is) 1 mill. Then as now (there were) 3 rounceys and 15 beasts. Then (there were) 40 swine, now 16. (There is) 1 church (with) 20 acres and it is worth 2 shillings.

To this (manor) belongs (*adjacet*) 1 outlying estate CATTUNA [Catton²] of 30 acres of land and 3 bordars. Then (there was) half a plough altogether (*inter totum*), and now 5 oxen; 5 acres of meadow. It was then worth 40 shillings, afterwards and now 4 pounds.

There also Ratho, a freeman, held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins and 5 bordars and 1 serf. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, and a half belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 20 swine and 8 (acres) of meadow. Then as now (there were) 3 swine and 2 sokemen with (*de*) 4 acres of land. It was then worth 20 (shillings) and afterwards and now 40.

There also moreover (*adhuc*) Calp (*Calpus*), a freeman, held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins. Then (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, and then as now half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 15 swine; 8 acres of meadow. It was then worth 15 shillings and now 40.

The whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 13½ pence of geld. All this was held by Lisois (*Lisius*) for 1 manor. Now Eudo his successor holds it. And T.R.E. the soke and sac was in the hundret, but now Eudo holds it.

HUNDRET OF HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD]

INTEWDA [Intwood] is held by Ralf which Coleman, a freeman of Stigand, held (as) 15 ploughlands. Then (as now) 3 villeins and 3 bordars. Then (there were) 2 serfs, now 3; then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1½ ploughs belonging to the men; 3 acres of meadow. f. 240b.

Wood(land) for 8 swine and the fourth part of a mill. Then (there were) 4 rounceys, now 3; then as now 4 beasts. Then 40 swine, now 30. Then 60 sheep, now 50. (There is) 1 church with (*de*) 14 acres of land and 1½ acres of meadow. And (there is) 1 outlying estate, Torp [Swains-thorpe] (with) 60 acres and 1 plough on the demesne, and 1½ acres of meadow. And 15 sokemen (with) 40 acres of land; then as now 2 ploughs, and 4 acres of meadow. And (there are) 5 freemen (with) 20 acres and 1 plough; of these his predecessor had commendation

² In Postwick. See Blomefield, op. cit. vi, 250.

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T.R.E. And $2\frac{1}{2}$ freemen (with) 75 acres by commendation only T.R.E. And (they have) $1\frac{1}{2}$ bordars. Then as now $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and 2 serfs. And 1 freeman with (*de*) half an acre. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 17.

And Intewida [Intwood] is 1 league in length and a half in breadth and (renders) $9\frac{1}{2}$ pence of geld. And this manor was worth 60 shillings T.R.E. (and is) now (worth) 80.

XXV. THE LANDS OF WALTER GIFFARD

HUNDRET OF ENSFORDA [EYNESFORD]

BINNETRE [Bintree] was held by Edric, a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins and 9 bordars. Then (there was) 1 serf. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne and 2 ploughs belonging to the men and 8 acres of meadow. Now (there are) 9 swine and 60 sheep. It was then worth 20 shillings, afterwards and now 60. And (there are) 4 freemen (with) 1 ploughland. Then as now (they had) 2 ploughs and 1 bordar and 3 acres of meadow. They were then worth 20 shillings, now 12 shillings. The soke of this land T.R.E. lay in the king's (manor of) Folsa [Foulsham]; now Walter has it. And it is 5 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth and renders $12\frac{1}{2}$ pence of the king's geld.

f. 24r.

In GEGESETE [Guist] (are) 5 freemen (with) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands and 5 bordars. Then as now (they had) 4 ploughs and 6 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 8 swine. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40. And the soke (was) in the king's (manor of) Folsa[m] [Foulsham] T.R.E.; now Walter has it. And it is half a league in length and (the same) in breadth and renders $8\frac{1}{2}$ pence of the king's geld whoever holds there.

In NORTUNA [(Wood) Norton] (are) 3 freemen (with) 72 acres of land. Then as now (they had) 6 bordars; then as now 2 ploughs and 4 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 8 swine. They were then worth 13 shillings, now 20. And one of these men was commended to Bishop Aylmer (*Almari*).

In DALLINGA [(Wood) Dalling] (are) 5 freemen (with) 70 acres of land. Then and afterwards (they had) $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, now $1\frac{1}{2}$, and half an acre of meadow. Then as now they were worth 10 shillings. The soke is in the king's (manor of) Folsa[m] [Foulsham].

In WITCINGEHAM [Witchingham] half a ploughland was held by 1 freeman T.R.E. Then as now (he had) 1 villein and 3 bordars. And 2 sokemen (have) 3 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 10 swine. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 20 shillings.

In SUENINGATUNA [Swannington] (are) 7 freemen (with) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands, 16 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow and 1 bordar. Then and afterwards (they had) 5 ploughs, now 3 (?).¹ And (there are) 12 sokemen (with) 40 acres of land. Then as now (they had) 2 ploughs and 3 acres of meadow. (There is) wood(land) for 6 swine. Then as now they were worth 40 shillings. The soke was in the king's (manor of) Folsa[m] [Foulsham] T.R.E.; now W[alter] has it. And it is half a league in length and (the same) in breadth, and renders 7 pence of the king's geld.

In HELMINGEHA[M] [Helmingham²] 1 freeman held 2 ploughlands T.R.E. Then as now (there was) 1 villein, and 3 bordars and 3 serfs. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1, and 1 might be added (*restaurari*). Then as now (there was) half a plough belonging to the men, and 4 acres of meadow, and 1 mill. And (there are) 12 sokemen (with) 30 acres of land. Then as now f. 24rb. (they had) 3 ploughs and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 40 shillings.

In REMINGALAND [Ringland] (are) 3 freemen (with) 60 acres of land. Then as now (they had) 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow. They are worth 10 shillings. The soke was in the king's (manor of) Folsa[m] [Foulsham] T.R.E.; now W[alter] has it.

HUNDRET OF TAVERHAM [TAVERHAM]

In ATEBRUGE [Attlebridge] (are) $3\frac{1}{2}$ freemen and 5 acres of land. Then as now (there were) 2 bordars. Then (there were) 2 ploughs, afterwards and now 1; and 2 acres of meadow. And it is worth 10 shillings.

In FELETHORP [Felthorpe] (is) 1 freeman (with) 30 acres. Then (he had) 1 plough, afterwards and now a half; 2 acres of meadow. And he is worth 8 shillings. The king and the earl (had) the soke of all this (*de toto*) T.R.E. and now Walter (*Galt*) has it.

The whole of Attebruge [Attlebridge] is 1 league in length and 3 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) $8\frac{3}{4}$ pence of geld.

ERPINCAM SUD [SOUTH ERPINGHAM] HUNDRET

In STRATUNA [Stratton (Strawless)] (were) 19 sokemen of Harold (belonging) to (*in*) Marsa[m] [Marsham]. Then as now (they had) 2 bordars. Then (they had) 4 ploughs, afterwards and now 3; 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 30 swine. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40. And it is 1 league in length and a half in breadth and (renders) 11 pence of geld.

¹ The MS. reads *m°.m°*, probably in error for *m°.iii*.

² In Morton-on-the-Hill.

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In EVINCHA[M] [Hevingham] (were) 22 soke-men of Harold (*Heroldi*) (with) 2 ploughlands and 2 bordars. Then as now (they had) 6 ploughs and 4 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 10 swine. It was then worth 30 shillings, now 50. And it is 9 furlongs and 1 perch in length and 5 furlongs and 2 perches in breadth, and (renders) 5½ pence of geld. And Rippetuna [Rippon Hall] is included in the above measurement (*est in adem mensura*) and likewise renders 5½ pence.

In ERMINCLANDA [Irmingland] 1 plough-land was held by Edric, a freeman, T.R.E. Then as now (there was) 1 villein, and 4 bordars, 3 sokemen (with) 8 acres of land. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 3 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 30 swine

f. 242. and 2 thirds (*partes*) of a mill. Then (there were) 5 beasts, now 8 and 1 rouncey and 9 swine. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 30. And it is 6 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth and (renders) 3 pence of geld.

In BECHA[M] [Beckham, (West)] (are) 3 free-men (with) 30 acres of land. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. They were then worth 6 shillings, now 12.

HUNDRET OF GRENEHO [S. GREENHOE]

In PHULDONA [Fouldon] (there was) 1 plough-land T.R.E. Then (there was) 1 plough, afterwards a half, now none; and it is worth 8 shillings.

HUNDRET OF GRIMESHOU [GRIMSHOE]

In LINEFORDA [Lyndford] and ICHEBURC [Igborough] (are) 14 freemen (with) 4 plough-lands and 35 acres. Then (there were) 6 ploughs, afterwards 3, now (3), and 3 bordars; 9 acres of meadow. They were then worth 20 shillings, now 10. These were commended to the predecessor of Ralf de Waer. Afterwards they were delivered by the king (*ex parte regis*) to Bodin de Ver. Afterwards (*Postea*) Ralf recovered (*derationavit*) them to his fee, and when he suffered forfeiture (*forisfecit*) Hervey de Ver held them of him. To this the hundret bears witness. And the whole is half a league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and renders 4 pence in (*de*) 20 shillings (of geld).

In ICHEBURNA [Igborough] 4 freemen (had) T.R.E. 1½ ploughlands and 8 acres. Then (and) afterwards (they had) 3 ploughs, now 2, (and) 3 acres of meadow. Then (they had) 4 swine, now 1. Then 100 sheep, (now) 200. Then and afterwards they were worth 20 shillings, now 30. The whole is half a league in length and a half in breadth, and renders 8 pence in (*de*) 20 shillings in the king's geld.

HUNDRET OF HOLT

In LERINGASETA [Letheringsett] Oslac, a free-man, held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 7 bordars and 1½ ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men, 2 acres of meadow, 1 mill. Then (there were) 2 rounceys. Then as now 2 beasts and 20 swine and 80 sheep; now 2 hives of bees. And 1 sokeman with (*de*) 1 acre. It was then worth

f. 242b. 20 shillings, now 25. And it is 8 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (renders) 12 pence of geld whoever holds there.

In BAIASFELDA [Bayfield] Godric, a freeman, held 40 acres of land T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 3 bordars and 1 plough and 3 quarters (*partes*) of a mill, and 1 sokeman with (*de*) 10 acres. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 20 shillings.

In GLAMFORDA [Glandford] 30 acres were held by a certain freeman T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 3 bordars and 1 plough, 1 acre of meadow. It was then worth 8 shillings, now 5 shillings.

And in ESNITTERLEA [Blakeney] Toka held 30 acres under Harold. Then (there was) 1 plough, now a half. It was then worth 5 shillings, now 10 shillings.

In BODENHAM [Bodham] (there was) 1 plough-land T.R.E., and it belongs to (*pertinet ad*) Laringaseta [Letheringsett]. Then as now (there were) 9 bordars and 2 serfs, and 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 5 swine (and) 2 acres of meadow. Then it was worth 10 shillings, now 30 shillings.

In HUNAWORDA [Hunworth] (are) 60 acres of land, and they belong to Laringaseta [Letheringsett]. Then (there were) 2 ploughs, now 1; 1 acre of meadow; 1½ mills. Then, and now as then, it was worth 10 shillings.

GRENEHOU [NORTH GREENHOE] HUNDRET

In WARHAM [Warham] Gert held 2 freemen, now Walter Gifard holds them for half a plough-land. Then as now (there was) 1 bordar. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 ploughs, now 1½ ploughs. It was then worth 16 shillings, and (the same) afterwards and now.

ERPINGEHAM NORT [NORTH ERPINGHAM] HUNDRET

In B[ER]NINGEHAM [Barningham (? Norwood)] 1 freeman Kee[n] held 20 acres of land T.R.E. and 1 bordar. It was then worth 5 shillings, now 2. And it was delivered to make up (*ad perficiendum*) Laringesere [Letheringsett].

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HEINESTEDE [HENSTEAD] HUNDRET

In SCOTESSAM [Shottesham] (were) 3 freemen of St. Benet of Holm by commendation and f. 243.

5 sokemen with all custom. Now Walter holds them from Bodin his predecessor, and they have among them all (*inter omnes*) 90 acres of land, and under them 3 bordars and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) 2 ploughs. They were then worth 10 shillings, afterwards and now 15 shillings.

In SASILINGAHA[M] [Saxlingham (Nethergate)] (were) 2 freemen of St. Benet of Holm by commendation with (*de*) 50 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow, and 2 bordars. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. They were then worth 5 shillings, they now render 10.

I[n] STOKES [Stoke (Holy Cross)] (there were) 5 sokemen of St. Benet of Holm T.R.E. with (*de*) 50 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow and 1 bordar. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. They were then worth 5 shillings and 4 pence, afterwards and now 10 shillings.

In SCOTESSA[M] [Shottesham] (there was) 1 sokeman of St. Benet with (*de*) 13 acres of land and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now (he had) half a plough. He was then worth 2 ores (*oras*),¹ afterwards and now 5 shillings.

XXVI. THE LANDS WHICH BELONGED TO ROGER OF POITOU (*Pictaviensis*)

HUNDRET OF TAVERHAM [TAVERHAM]

FRETHAM [Frettenham] was held by Edric, a freeman, T.R.E. for 4 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 18 villeins and 12 bordars. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 ploughs (on the demesne), now 1. Then (there were) 8 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards 6, now 5, and 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 60 swine. And 4 men (have) half a ploughland. Then as now (they had) 1 plough and 1 (acre) of meadow. Then (there was) 1 beast. Then (there were) 26 swine, now 24. Then (there were) 200 sheep, now 2 sheep. It was then worth 4 pounds, now 8. And it is 1 league in f. 243b. length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 15 pence of geld.

HAMFORDA [Hainford] was held by Kite under Stigand T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland. Then (there were) 7 villeins, afterwards and now 5, then as now 4 bordars. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men,

and 2 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 100 swine. And 14 men (have) 1 ploughland. Then as now (they had) 3 ploughs, (and) wood(land) for 60 swine. And 5 men (have) 30 acres of land in ESTRATUNA [Stratton (Strawless)]. Then (they had) 2 ploughs, afterwards and now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, wood(land) for 12 swine.

In MAIDESTUNA [Mayton²] Albert holds 1 ploughland, an outlying estate to this manor. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins and 1 mill, and afterwards 1 plough, and it was worth 30 shillings, now nothing.

In CROSTUEIT [Crostwick] (are) 6 men (with) 1 ploughland.³ Then and afterwards (they had) 2 ploughs, now a half. Of these men Stigand had the soke. On the demesne of this manor (there were) then 20 swine and 60 sheep and 4 beasts, and now nothing. Now as then (there are) 20 goats. Then and afterwards it was worth 100 shillings, now 7 pounds.

And the whole of Hanforda [Hainford] is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) $23\frac{1}{2}$ pence of geld. And Maidestuna [Mayton] is 3 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth. And Crostueit [Crostwick] is half a league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 10 pence of geld.

SPIKESWRDA [Spixworth] is held by Albert, which was held by Suart, a freeman, under Harold T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Then (there were) 10 villeins, afterwards and now 4; then as now 3 bordars. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, now none. Then (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men, afterwards and now half, and 6 acres of meadow. Then as now (there was) 1 mill. Then 10 swine. Then 193 sheep, now 13 sheep. In Spikeswrda [Spixworth] the above (*idem*) 6 freemen (held) 1 ploughland of Stigand. But they were added by (*quos tamen addidit*) Robert Blancar (to this manor) in King William's time. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins. Then (there were) f. 244.

2 ploughs, afterwards and now 1, and 4 acres of meadow. And the whole was worth 4 pounds, then as now. And it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length and 1 league in breadth, and (renders) 10 pence of geld. Stigand had the soke, and Roger held it (with) the land (*eam ten' terra*).

ERPINCAM SUD [SOUTH ERPINGHAM] HUNDRET

In COKETESHALA [Coltishall] (Roger) also (*idem*) held 4 sokemen of Stigand belonging to (*de*) Fretha[m] [Frettenham] (with) 30 acres of land, and 180 acres of the demesne (*de dominio*) of Fretha[m] [Frettenham]. Then as now

¹ 2s. 8d. an ore being 16 pence.

² In Horstead.

³ Compare Horstead (f. 140).

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(there were) 4 bordars and 5 acres of meadow, and 4 villeins. Then there were 2 ploughs, now $1\frac{1}{2}$. This is included in the valuation (*est in pretio*) of Freta[m] [Frettenham].

TONESTEDA [TUNSTEAD] HUNDRET

TUNESTEDA [Tunstead] is (also) held by Roger (*idem*). Ælfere, a thegn of Harold, (held it) T.R.E. (as) $5\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 23 villeins and 16 bordars. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 ploughs, now a half. Then (there were) 12 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 7; 8 acres of meadow: wood(land) for 12 swine. Then (there were) 3 beasts. Then (there were) 4 swine, now 1. Then 140 sheep, now 100. And 24 sokemen (with) 1 ploughland. Then (they had) 12 ploughs, afterwards and now 5, and 2 acres of meadow. And they (*idem*) were added in King William's time. And Earl R[alf] added 6 freemen (with) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands. Of these St. Benet has the soke, and the commendation of one (of them); and of (the) 24 (sokemen) the three forfeitures. And the 6 freemen have under them 4 bordars. Then (they had) 4 ploughs, afterwards and now 3, and 2 acres of meadow. To this manor Robert Arblaster (*Arbal'*), after Earl Ralf suffered forfeiture (*forisfecit*), added—by Godric's order as he says, but Godric (*ipse*) denies it—1 ploughland which belonged to (*jacebat in*) Hovetuna [Hoveton (St. Peter¹)] T.R.E., which Earl Robert gave to St. Benet with his wife. Then (there were) 7 villeins, and when Robert took it (*tulit*) 7, now 6, and it is worth 10 shillings. Then there were $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and when Robert took it the same (*similiter*), now 1 plough and 4 acres of meadow. (The whole) was then worth 100 shillings, and 10 pounds when Robert Arblaster (*Arb'*) held it in the king's hand of Godric, now 11: and it is 1 league and 1 furlong in length, and 1 league in breadth, and f. 244b.

(renders) 18 pence of geld. In RISTUNA [Sco Ruston] (there is) 1 freeman (with) 6 acres of land and 1 acre of meadow (included) in the same valuation. In WESTWIC [Westwick] (there are) $1\frac{1}{2}$ freemen (with) 12 acres (included) in the same valuation.

HERSAM [EARSHAM] HALF HUNDRET

In SCOTOFORD [Shotford²] Ulfriz, a freeman, held 1 ploughland and 15 acres T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 10 villeins, and 4 bordars. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 40 swine, and 7 acres of meadow. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 20.

¹ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 619.

² Near Mendham; Blomefield, v, 276.

XXVII. THE LANDS OF IVO TAILGEBOSC³

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOV [GREENHOE, (SOUTH)]

NOUTUNA [Newton (by Castleacre)], where a freeman, Ælfere, held, is held by Odo. Then (there were) 6 villeins and now 8. Then (there were) 3 bordars, now 5, and 1 serf. Then and now 1 plough on the demesne. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1. When he received it (there were) 4 (rounceys), afterwards and now 6. Then and now 5 beasts. Then 12 sheep (*piues*), now 16. And 2 freemen dwell (*manent*) there whom his predecessor held, holding 1 ploughland and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. It is 4 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth, and renders 6 pence in geld. It was then worth 40 shillings, now 4 pounds.

HUNDRET OF DOCHINGA [DOCKING]⁴

In SERLEBRUNA [Shernborne] (there were) 16 freemen T.R.E., whom Harold held, holding 5 ploughlands, and when (Ivo) received it, the same, now 3. And they (*idem*) now hold of Ivo. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow, and 1 mill. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, now 4 pounds. This land was held by Ralf when he suffered forfeiture (*forisfecit*). The whole is 1 league in length, and a half in breadth who-
f. 245.
ever holds there, and renders 27 pence in (*de*) 20 shillings. From this land Earl Ralf took (*tulit*) 1 ploughland one year before he suffered forfeiture, for Roger son of Reynard (*Rainardi*): as the hundret witnesses.

XXVIII. THE LANDS OF RALF DE LIMESIO (*Limesio*)⁵

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOU [GREENHOE, (SOUTH)]

OXENBURH [Oxborough] was held by Turchill. Then (there were) 15 villeins, now 7. Then as now (there were) 9 bordars and 3 serfs. Then and afterwards (there were) 3 ploughs on the demesne, now 3. Then (there were) 2 (ploughs) among (*inter*) the men, now 1. (There is) wood(land) for 20 swine, 12 acres of meadow, 2 mills and 1 fishery. When he received it (there was) 1 rouncey and now (the same). Then (there were) 31 swine, now 15. Then 220 sheep, now 180. And 8 freemen hold 100 acres and (had) 6 ploughs, now (they have) 3 ploughs (and) 12 acres of meadow. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins and 4 bordars. And it is 1 mile in length and a half in breadth and renders

³ Against his name is written in the margin *n' f' r*, probably for *non fecit retorum*—'he made no return'; see Introduction, p. 2.

⁴ Now in Smithdon hundred.

⁵ In margin *r n' f*=*retorum non fecit*.

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11 pence in geld, when the hundret renders 20 shillings. Then as now it was worth 100 shillings. And one of these freemen is claimed as Ralf de Toeni's (*Toenio*) because his predecessor had him with soke and sac as the hundret witnesses.

DUDELINGATUNA [Didlington] was held by Hardwin. Then and now 3 bordars and 1 serf and 1 plough. Wood(land) for 16 swine, 2 acres of meadow, 1 mill, 1 fishery. When he received it, and now, 1 rouncey. Then 11 swine, now 5. Then 60 sheep, now 6. It was then worth 20 (shillings), now the same.

f. 245b.

XXIX. THE LANDS OF EUDO SON SPIRUWIN¹

FREDREBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE] HUNDRET AND A HALF

In IDLINGHETUNA [Hillington] Geoffrey (*Gaufridus*) holds 2 ploughlands, and 15 acres of land which Godric, a freeman (*bo't*), held under Harold T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 8 villeins and 4 bordars, and 8 acres of meadow, and 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 1 mill and half a saltpan. And (there is) 1 freeman (with) 2½ acres. Now (there are) 17 swine and 60 sheep. The whole is worth 4 pounds.

MASINCHAM [Massingham], which Scula, a freeman, held T.R.E., is held by B[er]uold. Then, as now, there were 3 ploughlands. Then (there were) 8 villeins, now 7 and 1 serf. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, and (the same) now, and 1 plough belonging to the men. And 3 ploughs can be added (*restaurari*). Then as now (there were) 5 swine and 40 sheep. And it is worth 20 shillings.

BABINGHELEA [Babingley] is held by Geoffrey, which Scula held T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins and 25 bordars and 1 serf and 16 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards (and) now 1; then as now 1 plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 60 swine, and, then as now, 1 swine and 60 sheep. To this manor belong (*Hic jacent*) 62 acres which (*quod*) 7 freemen hold (*ten'*) and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) 1 plough and 1 mill. Then (there were) 9 salt pans. Now as then it is worth 60 shillings.

DERSINCHA[M] [Dersingham] is held by Rivold, which Schett, a freeman, held T.R.E. as a manor. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men. Then as now 1 villein and 4 bordars and 1 serf

and 7½ acres of meadow. Then (there was) 1 saltpan. And (there are) 4 freemen (with) 44 acres. These he received to make up his manors (*pro perficiendis suis maneriis*), and (also) 1 freeman with (*de*) 20 (acres). Then as now (he had) half a plough and 4 bordars. The whole is worth 20 shillings.

HUNDRET OF DOCHINGE [DOCKING²]

DOCHINGE [Docking] is also held by him (*tenet idem*), where Alvrice held T.R.E. under Stigand. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, and 5 villeins and 5 bordars. Then (there were) 2 serfs. Then (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men, now 1½ ploughs. Then as now 1 rouncey and 1 cow and 17 swine, 80 sheep. And 1 plough might be added (*restaurari*). And it is worth 20 shillings. The

f. 246.

whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and renders 5 shillings and 2½ pence of geld, whoever holds there.

HERSAM [EARSHAM] HALF HUNDRET

In DENTUNA [Denton] Tarmoht, a freeman of King Edward, holds 2 ploughlands. Then (there were) 10 villeins, and 6 bordars then, 8 now. Then as now 3 serfs. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, now a half. Then 6 ploughs belonging to the men, now 4. Now (there is) wood(land) for 30 swine, 5 acres of meadow and half a mill: and 4 (sokemen?) with (*de*) 20 acres of land. It was then worth 60 shillings, now 4 pounds.

There also Alfriz, a freeman of Stigand, held 2 ploughlands T.R.E. Then (there were) 10 villeins, now 8. Then 8 bordars, now 6. Then as now 3 serfs. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, now a half. Then 6 ploughs belonging to the men, now 4. Now (there is) wood(land) for 30 swine, 6 acres of meadow, and half a mill: and 4 sokemen with (*de*) 20 acres of land. It was then worth 60 shillings, now 4 pounds. It is 1 league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 18 pence of geld, whoever holds there. The soke is in Hersam [Earsham].

In ALDEB[ER]GA [Alburgh] Moruan holds—where Alfriz held T.R.E.—1 outlying estate (*berwitam*) belonging to Tybenha[m] [Tibenhams], of 1 ploughland. Then (there was) half a plough, now nothing. It has been included in the valuation (*appreciata est*).

There³ also he (*idem*) held 1 freeman (*homo*) of St. Etheldreda (*Aldride*) by commendation, who could neither give nor sell his land⁴ away from the church (*extra ecclesiam*).⁴ Herfrind⁵ had (him)

² Now part of Smithdon hundred.

³ Compare *Inq. Elien.* (Hamilton), p. 140.

⁴ *Inq. Elien.* 'without the abbot's leave.'

⁵ *Inq. Elien.* Anfric.

¹ In margin, *n' = non* (*fecit retortum*).

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made over to him (*ex liberatione*) to make up his manors : now Eudo his successor has (him). He has half a ploughland. Then as now (he had) 1 bordar and 1 serf. ¹ Then as now half a plough¹ and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now he was worth 10 shillings.

LOTHNINGA [LODDON] HUNDRET

TOPECROFT [Topcroft] was held by Godwin, a freeman of Gert by commendation only, T.R.E. for a manor (of) 3 ploughlands. Then (there were) 12 villeins, afterwards and now 2. Then (there were) 30 bordars, afterwards and now 36. Then 7 serfs, now 4. Then (there were) 4 ploughs on the demesne, now 2. Then 7 ploughs belonging to the men, now 5. Wood-

f. 246b.

(land) for 20 swine, and 4 acres of meadow. And under him (*eodem*) 4 freemen (with) 1 ploughland delivered to Henfrid his predecessor instead of land (*pro terra*). And under them 5 villeins and 12 bordars. Then (they had) 5 ploughs among (them) all, now 4, and 1 horse in the homestead (*aula*), now 40 swine and 20 goats. The whole was then worth 6 pounds, now 8. There also Godwin, a freeman—half Edric's and half St. Edmund's by commendation only—T.R.E. held 1½ ploughlands, where Covin (*Couinus*) held. Then as now (there were) 8 villeins and 11 bordars. Then as now 4 serfs. Then (there were) 2 ploughs, now none. Then (there were) 8½ ploughs belonging to the men, now 5½, and 3 acres of meadow. Then the whole was worth 30 shillings, now 40. It is 1 league and 1 furlong in length and 9 furlongs in breadth and (renders) 20 pence of geld whoever holds there.

In WODETUNA [Woodton] he also (*idem*) holds 11 freemen of Godwin (*Goduini*) Tokesone and another Godwin under King Edward and (? of) Gert, (with) half a ploughland and 4 bordars. Then (they had) 3 ploughs, now 2, and 1½ acres of meadow. It has been included in the valuation (*Appretiatum est*). The soke (is) in the hundret.

HUNDRET OF DEPWADA [DEPWADE]

TIBENHAM [Tibenham] was held by Alric, a thegn, T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins and 21 bordars. Then 4 serfs, now 2. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then (there were) 6 ploughs belonging to the men, now 3, and 12 acres of meadow ; wood(land) for 12 swine. Then (there was) 1 mill. Now 40 swine and 17 sheep and 9 goats. And (there were) 26 men (holding) by foldsoke and commendation, and they could sell their land, but (only) after they had offered it to their lord. The king

and the earl (have) the soke. And (these men) have 50 acres. Then (they had) 4 ploughs, now 2, and 1 acre of meadow.

In CARLETUNA [Carleton (Rode)] 1 freeman (has) 8 acres. It was then worth 7 pounds, now 8. These freemen were received by Hainfrid instead of land (*pro terra*). The whole of Carletuna [Carlton (Rode)] is 1 league and 4 furlongs in length, and 10 furlongs and 4 perches (*por*³) in breadth, and (renders) 22½ pence of geld.

f. 247.

XXX. THE LAND OF DROGO DE BEVRARIA²

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOGA [GREENHOE (NORTH)]

HINDRINGHAM [Hindringham] was held by Ulf and Oswald (as) 2 ploughlands, and now Drogo de Beuraria holds it for 1 manor. Then, T.R.E. (there were) 8 villeins and 8 bordars, now 2 villeins, and 8 bordars now as then. Then there were 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1 between Drogo (*se*) and the men (*illos*) ; 3 acres of meadow. It was then worth 4 pounds, now 30 shillings.

ERPINGEHAM NORTH [NORTH ERPINGHAM]

BASINGEHAM [Bessingham] was held by 1 freeman T.R.E. (who was) Edric's by commendation (as) 1 ploughland. And Robert Malet's father had him on the day on which he went on the king's service, and Drogo's man keeps (him) back (*prohibet*). Then as now (there were) 8 villeins and 7 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne, and 2 belonging to the men ; 1 acre of meadow ; now 2 swine. It was then worth 20 (shillings), now 60.

In B[ER]NINGEHA[M] (Barningham) Alwin,³ a freeman, holds 1 ploughland. Then (there were) 5 bordars, now 3. Wood(land) for 100 swine, 1 acre of meadow ; now 4 swine (*post*), now 8 sheep. It was then worth 20 shillings, and now the same (*similiter*).

HEINESTEDA [HENSTED] HUNDRET

In SASILINGAHAM [Saxlingham (Nethergate)] Ailward, a freeman of King Edward, holds 2 ploughlands. Then (there were) 12 bordars, afterwards 12, now 9. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, now none. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, and 1½ acres of meadow. And 5 sokemen (with) 17 acres of land. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. It was then worth 20 shillings, afterwards and now the same.

² In margin f. r. = *fecit retornum* ; see Introduction, p. 2.

³ i.e. 'Alwin Cil,' cf. f. 172 above.

¹ *Inq. Elien.* omits.

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There also Ulnoht holds a freeman of Stigand by commendation, with (*de*) 30 acres of land. Then as now (there were) 5 bordars. Then 1 plough on the demesne, now none. Then and afterwards 1 plough belonging to the men,

f. 247b.

now 1½, and 3 acres of meadow. And (there are) 5 sokemen with (*de*) 17 acres of land. Then (they had) 1 plough, afterwards the same, now a half. And (there is) 1 free(man) with (*de*) 6 acres of land. It was then worth 20 shillings, afterwards and now 20 shillings.

ERPINCAM SUD [SOUTH ERPINGHAM] HUNDRET

BURC [Burgh (next Aylsham)] was held by one Marwen, a free woman, T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 8 villeins and 9 bordars and 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then and afterwards (there were) 3 ploughs belonging to the men, now 4, and 7 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 60 swine; then as now 1 mill. Then 24 swine, now 12; now 3 beasts and 16 sheep and 20 goats. It was then worth 40 shillings, now 60. And it is 1 league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth and (renders) 5 pence of geld. The king and the earl (have) the soke.

In ERPINCAM [Erpingham] (is) 1 ploughland (held by) 1 freeman T.R.E. Then as now (he had) 2 bordars and 1 plough and 1 acre of meadow. And (there are) 2 sokemen (with) 4 acres of land; and 1 church with (*de*) 6 acres, and it is worth 6 pence. And (the whole) is worth 10 shillings. The king and the earl have the soke.

XXXI. THE LANDS OF RALF BANIARD¹

HUNDRET OF ENSFORD [EYNESFORD]

In KERDESTUNA [Kerdiston] Tord, a freeman, held 2 ploughlands for a manor T.R.E.; now Geoffrey (*Gaosfridus*) Bainard holds (them). Then and afterwards (there were) 30 villeins and now 16; and now 14 bordars. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 serfs, now 1. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then and afterwards 4 ploughs belonging to the men, now 3; and 5 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 20 swine. When (he received it) (there were) 2 rounceys, now 4. Then 4 beasts, now 10. Then as now 40 swine, now 50 sheep. Then 60 goats, now 28; and 2 hives of bees. And (there are) 3½ sokemen (with) 25 acres of land and, then as now, half a plough. Then as now it was worth 4 pounds and 5 shillings. To this land belong (*iacent*) (some) men in in Refham [Reepham] and they are valued

(*appretiati*) with the above (*ipsa*) land. And Refham, whoever holds there, is half a league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 3 pence of geld.

f. 248.

HUNDRET OF ERPINGHAM SUTH [SOUTH ERPINGHAM]

SCEDGETUNA [Skeyton] was held by Asgar, a freeman, (as) 2 ploughlands and 27 acres T.R.E. Now Geoffrey (*Gaosfridus*) Bainard holds it. Then and afterwards (there were) 7 villeins, now 6. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then and afterwards 1 plough belonging to the men, now a half. Wood(land) for 60 swine, 20 acres of meadow, and 1 mill. When he received it (there were) 2 rounceys, now 4; and now 17 beasts. Then 12 swine, now 20. Then 24 sheep, now 15. Then 24 goats, now 37. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, now 30. And 3 sokemen (held) 78 acres T.R.E., and 2 bordars. Then (they had) 1 plough, now a half, and 8 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 15 swine. And they are worth 6 shillings. T.R.E. St. Benet held all this except 4 acres. And it is 1 league in length, and a half in breadth, and renders 8 pence towards (*in*) the king's geld.

TONSTEDA [TUNSTEAD] HUNDRET

In CROSTWIT [Crostwight] Geoffrey holds 12 freemen (*liberi homines*) (with) 150 acres. Then as now (they had) 12 bordars, and 16 acres of meadow, and 3½ ploughs. They were then worth 27 shillings, now 22 shillings and 4 pence. And the whole is 1 league in length, and 7 furlongs in breadth, whoever holds there and (renders) 10 pence of geld. St. Benet (has) the commendation of one half man, and soke over all.

In B[ER]TUNA [Barton (Turf)] Geoffrey holds 3 free (*liberi*) men (with) 90 acres. Then as now (they had) 12 bordars, and 2½ ploughs, and 1½ acres of meadow. And they are worth 24 shillings and 8 pence. St. Benet (has) the soke. And the whole is 10 furlongs in length, and 6 in breadth, and (renders) 18 pence of geld, whoever holds there. One of those three was a sokeman of St. Benet on the terms (*ita*) that he could in no wise withdraw (*recedere*).

HAPINGA [HAPPING] HUNDRET

In RISTUNA [Ruston, (East)] Geoffrey holds 1 freeman (with the land) which Ansger held under Anger Stalra (as) 2 ploughlands. Then (there were) 15 villeins, now 10. Then 5 serfs, now 1. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1. Wood(land) for 4 swine and 5 acres of meadow.

f. 248b.

Then (there were) 5 rounceys and 10 beasts,

¹ In margin *n*=*non* (*fecit retortum*).

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now 2. Then 40 swine, now 14. Then 12 sheep, now 26. Then 40 goats, now 51. Then as now it was worth 60 shillings. And 41 freemen (have) 1 ploughland. Then and afterwards (they had) 8 ploughs, now 4; and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 4 pounds. There also 1 freeman (had) 30 acres of land; then as now 2 bordars. Then and afterwards 1 plough, now a half; and it is worth 6 shillings. There also (there was) 1 freeman (holding) 2 ploughlands under Stigand. Then (there were) 15 villeins, now 11. Then 3 serfs, now 1. Then and afterwards $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs on the demesne, now 1. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, and 5 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 4 swine. Then as now it was worth 40 shillings. And 3 freemen (hold) 12 acres. Then as now (they had) half a plough, and they are worth 4 shillings.

There also 1 freeman of Bishop Aylmer (held) 2 ploughlands. Then (there were) 15 villeins, now 11. Then 3 serfs. Then and afterwards 1 plough, now none. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, and 5 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 4 swine. And it is worth 20 shillings. And (there are) 3 sokemen (with) 5 acres. Then (there was) 1 mill, and it was worth 2 shillings. Altogether it amounted to (*Inter totum erant*) 10 pounds and 12 shillings. Now the whole renders 20 pounds. The whole is $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length, and 1 league and 4 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) $19\frac{1}{2}$ pence of geld.

DEPWADE HUNDRET

HAMEHALA [Hempnall] was held by Torn T.R.E. for a manor (of) 8 ploughlands¹ and 16 acres.¹ Then (there were) 54 villeins, now 34. Then 41 bordars, now 58; and a priest (*pr.*). Two churches (with) 1 ploughland, and 4 villeins, and 4 bordars, and 2 ploughs. And they are worth 15 shillings. Then and afterwards 7 (serfs), now none. Then and afterwards 3 ploughs on the demesne, now 4. Then and afterwards 35 ploughs belonging to the men, now 24; 12 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 200 swine. St. Benet claims part of this wood which the abbey held T.R.E., and it is called SCHIETESHAGA []. Then (there was) 1 mill, now 2; then as now 5 rounceys. Then 9 beasts, now 12. Then 100 swine, now 60. Then 5 sheep, now 186. Then and afterwards it was worth 15 pounds, now 24 pounds and 5 shillings. And 3 freemen and the fourth part of one (hold)

f. 249.

53 acres and 2 acres of meadow, and 8 bordars. Then (they had) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, now 1. And they are worth 15 shillings. Besides all this this manor renders 6 cows, and 20 swine, and 20 rams. And it is 2 leagues in length and $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in breadth, and (renders) 18 pence of geld. Bainard (has) soc and sac.

¹ Interlined.

BOIELVND [Boyland] is held by Randolph (*Randulfus*), where Torn held T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins and 5 bordars. Then 2 serfs; then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 acres of meadow, now 1. Wood(land) for 3 swine. Now 1 mill, and 20 sheep, and 3 hives of bees. And $1\frac{1}{2}$ sokemen and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40. Bainard (has) soke and sac.

HATESTUNA [Hudeston²] is held by Geoffrey (*Gaofridus*), where Torn held T.R.E. (as) 4 ploughlands and 1 acre. Then (there were) 2 villeins, now 1. Then 34 bordars, now 28. Then 4 serfs, now 1. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 4. Then 5 ploughs belonging to the men, now 2. Wood(land) for 20 swine (and) 15 acres of meadow. Then 4 rounceys, now 1. Then 8 beasts, now 11. Then 40 swine, now 33. Then 1 sheep, now 190; and 1 hive of bees. Then and afterwards it was worth 100 shillings, now 10 pounds, and 12 shillings. And to this manor there belonged (*jacebunt*) 18 freemen by commendation only, now 12 (with) 1 ploughland and 20 acres, and 5 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards (they had) 4 ploughs, now 2. They were then worth 20 shillings, now 28. These freemen are (acquired) by exchange. The whole is 2 leagues and 1 furlong in length and 1 league and 15 perches in breadth, and (renders) 9 pence of geld.

In FRIETUNA [Fritton] and in HERDUIC [Hardwick] 10 acres were held by a freeman T.R.E. and they are worth 20 pence. And this was added to the above (*buic*) manor. That is in Hamehala [Hempnall].

CLAVELINGA [CLAVERING] HUNDRET

RAVENICHAM [Raveningham] is held by Einbold, where Torn held T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins and 6 bordars. Then 2 serfs. Then and afterwards

f. 249b.
1 plough on the demesne, now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs; then as now half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 5 swine, 8 acres of meadow. Now 1 rouncey and 8 swine. And (there are) 15 sokemen (with) 56 acres. Then as now (they had) 3 ploughs and 1 acre of meadow. It was then worth 30 shillings, now 50. And it is 1 league in length and $9\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 12 pence of geld.

In SUDWDA [Southwood³] Wimund, a freeman, of whom Godric's predecessor had the commendation T.R.E. holds 60 acres. Then as now (there were) 2 bordars. Then and afterwards

² In Bunwell. See Blomefield, op. cit. v, 131.

³ In Blofeld hundred.

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1 plough and 3 acres of meadow. And (there are) 26 freemen under him by commendation (with) 83½ acres. Then and afterwards (they had) 6 ploughs, now 2. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40. This is by way of exchange (*pro escangio*). This land Robert son of Corbution claims of the king's grant and calls on (the king to warrant him as his) feoffor (*re-vocat liberatorem*), but the hundred testifies that Baignard was seised of it before. All Sudwada [? Southwood] is 1 league in length and half (a league) in breadth, and (renders) 8 pence of geld.

In KERKEBY [Kirby (Cane)] 1 freeman of King Edward's, Ulmar by name, (held) 30 acres. This Robert son of Corbueun (*sic*) claims and produces his feoffor (*habet liberatorem*). Then as now 2 bordars. Then 1 serf. Then 2 ploughs, afterwards and now 1. Then half a plough belonging to the men, now 2 oxen. Wood(land) for 2 swine, 3 acres of meadow. And 8 freemen (hold) by soke of the fold and commendation 20 acres. Then as now 2 ploughs and half an acre of meadow. Then it was worth 20 shillings, now 40. This is by way of exchange.

In NORTUNA [Norton (Subcourse)] 1 freeman (holds) 30 acres, and 2 freemen 2½ acres. Then as now (they had) 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow. And they are worth 10 shillings.

In IERPSTUNA [] 1 freeman (holds) 30 acres. Half this man belonged to Baingnard's predecessor by commendation only, and the other half to St. Edmund with half the land. Then and afterwards (he had) 1 plough, now none; and half an acre of meadow. And he is worth 5 shillings.

In RAVINCHAM [Raveningham] 1 freeman (has) 30 acres and 3 bordars. Then and afterwards (he had) 1 plough, now a half. Another plough might be added (*restaurari*); 3 acres of meadow. This man also Robert claims, and f. 250. produces his feoffor (*habet liberatorem*).

There also 4 freemen (have) 30 acres and 1 plough. They were then worth 20 shillings, now 30.

In HALS [Hales], a freeman of Stigand, Toka—Frenchmen (*francigine*) (now hold him)—(with) 30 acres of land. Then (there were) 3 villeins, now 2. Then as now 1 plough and 3 acres of meadow. Now 12 swine and 60 sheep. And (there were) 12 freemen under him by fold-soke and commendation, and now there are 10. And they have 41 acres of land; now as then 1½ ploughs and 3 acres of meadow. And 2 freemen by commendation only (hold) 18½ acres of land and half a plough. And one freeman by commendation only (has) 30 acres of land and 1 bordar and 1 plough. The whole, then and afterwards, was worth 17 shillings, now 30 shillings.

In HWATEAKER [Wheatacre] 1 freeman of Harold (had) 2 ploughlands, where Franokus¹ holds. Then as now there were 10 villeins and 5 bordars. Then (there were) 4 serfs, now 2. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne and 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 8 swine and 30 acres of meadow. R[obert] son of Corbution (*Corbucini*) claims him, and produces his feoffor (*habet liberatorem*). (There is) pasture (*Partura*) for 200 sheep; now as then 2 rounceys. Then 7 beasts. Then 12 swine, now 17. Then 200 sheep, now 100. Then 6 hives of bees. And 7 freemen by fold-soke (and) commendation (hold) 18 acres, then as now 2 ploughs and 1 acre of meadow. Then it was worth 30 shillings, now 45. The whole (was received) by way of exchange (*pro escangio*).

WATEAKER [Wheatacre] is held by Geoffrey, where Toreth a thegn held T.R.E. 2 ploughlands. Then as now 6 villeins and 12 bordars. Then 2 serfs. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 8 swine; 30 acres of meadow. Then as now (there were) 2 rounceys and 11 beasts. Then 15 swine, now 30. Then 160 sheep, now 176. And 6 freemen by fold-soke and commendation T.R.E. (held) 18 acres. Then as now (they had) 1½ ploughs and 1 acre of meadow. And (there are) 2 churches (with) 60 acres in frank-almoigne (*in elemosina*) and they are worth 5 shillings. Then the manor was worth 30 shillings, now 50. And it is 1 league in f. 250b. length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 16 pence of geld.

In HADESCOU [Haddiscoe] 1 freeman of Stigand (had) 15 acres. Then as now (there was) half a plough and 1 acre of meadow. And he is worth 2 shillings. This is (Ralf's) by way of exchange. Stigand (had) the soke.

In THURUERTUNA [Thurlton] 1 freeman by commendation (has) 12 acres and is worth 12 pence.

HUNDRET OF CLACHESLOSA [CLACKCLOSE]

In PHINCHAM² [Fincham] Alid, a freewoman, held 1 ploughland. Then as now (there were) 4 bordars. Then 3 serfs. Then as now 1 plough (and) 12 acres of meadow. When (Ralf) received it (there were) 2 rounceys,³ now 1. Then 8 swine. Then 40 sheep, now 18.⁴ It was then worth 50 shillings, afterwards 60, now 40. St. Etheldreda claims this land⁵ and the hundret bears (her) witness.

¹ Or possibly 'a Frenchman (*frankus*)'; cf. however f. 172b above.

² *Inq. Elien.* (Hamilton), p. 137.

³ *Inq. Elien.* 'horses.'

⁵ *Inq. Elien.* adds 'in demesne.'

⁴ *Inq. Elien.* '24.'

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There also (were) $6\frac{1}{2}$ freemen T.R.E., now $7\frac{1}{2}$, who hold 1 ploughland. Then as now (they had) 2 bordars, and 1 plough, (and) 9 acres of meadow.

In B[ER]TUNA [Barton (Bendish)] Ailid, a freewoman, held 2 ploughlands T.R.E. and 2 ploughs. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins and 7 bordars. Then 4 serfs: 20 acres of meadow. When Ralf (received it there were) 2 rounceys, now 3. Then 2 beasts. Then 60 swine, now 15. Then 140 sheep (*b'*), now 40. Then and afterwards it was worth 80 shillings, now 60 shillings. (There is) 1 church (with) 24 acres and (it is worth) 2 shillings. To this manor belong (*adjacent*) now as then 4 men with (*de*) all custom, and other 4 at soke only. And they have 1 plough and 6 acres of meadow. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 30.

SCULDEHAM [Shouldham] was held by Ailid T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now $1\frac{1}{2}$. Then 14 villeins, now 15. (Then) 2 bordars, now 12. Then 4 serfs as now (*semper*), and 10 acres of meadow, and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mill, and 1 fishery. Then 2 rounceys, now 1. Then 6 beasts. Then 16 swine, now 9. Then 60 sheep, now 50. (There are) 2 churches (with) 73 acres and (they are worth) 6 shillings and 1 penny. It was then worth 7 pounds, and (the same) now.

In the other SCULDEHAM [[?] Shouldham Thorpe] Ailid held 2 ploughlands in demesne. Then (there were) 8 villeins, now 6.

f. 251.
Then 7 bordars, now 6. Then 4 serfs, 10 acres of meadow, and 1 saltpan. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men. Then 2 rounceys, and 15 swine, and 60 sheep, now nothing. It was then worth 100 shillings, now 8 pounds. To this manor belong (*ja-cent*) 15 sokemen with (*de*) 23 acres. Then as now (they had) half a plough, and they are included in the above valuation (*sunt in superiori censu*). The whole of Sculdeham [Shouldham] is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and renders 12 pence in (*de*) 20 shillings of the king's geld.

In CARBOISTORP [[?] Shouldham Thorpe¹] and in TOTTENHELLA [Tottenhill] $22\frac{1}{2}$ freemen with (*de*) 110 acres (were) tenants of Ailid T.R.E. Then as now (they had) 1 plough and they are worth 40 shillings. The whole is 4 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth, and renders 6 pence of geld. This (Ralf) claims (*reclamat*) by way of exchange.

WIGGHENHAM [Wiggenhall] was held by Ailid (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 13 villeins and 11 bordars. Then (there

were) 5 serfs. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men, and half a mill, and 1 fishery, and 20 acres of meadow. Then 2 rounceys, and (the same) now. Then 5 beasts, now 4. Then as now 20 swine. Then 400 sheep, now 160. It was then worth 6 pounds, now 12.

BUCHETUNA [Boughton] was held by Ailid (as) 1 ploughland. Then (there were) 5 bordars, now 7. Then 1 serf. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, now a half; and 6 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 rouncey and 1 cow. Then 11 swine; then as now 100 sheep. And (there is) 1 church (with) 20 acres and (worth) 20 pence. And (the whole) is worth 40 shillings. To this manor belong by soke (*ja-cent ad sokam*) 7 sokemen with (*de*) 30 acres of land, and 4 acres of meadow, and 1 plough. And they are worth 10 shillings.

In STOCHEs [Stoke (Ferry)] (there are) 13 free-men at soke (*ad socam*). Then as now (they had) 6 bordars, and 1 fishery, and 2 ploughs. And they are worth 60 shillings. The fourth part of a church (has) 5 acres, and is worth 5 pence. And another church (has) 37 acres (and is worth) 27 pence. This (Ralf) claims (*reclamat*) by way of exchange.

In PHORDHAM [Fordham] 30 acres are held by 3 freemen with 1 bordar (*tenent iii. i. bor' liberi homines*). They are included in the above valuation (*Appretiati sunt superius*).

In DEREHAM [Dereham, (West)] Lovel (*luvel-lus*) holds 1 ploughland and 1 plough. Then as now (there was) 1 villein. Out of this (*De hoc*) St. Benet had 20 shillings T.R.E., as the hundred

f. 251b.
bears witness. There belong (*adjacent*) to this manor 50 acres which freemen held T.R.E. Then (they had) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, now 1 plough. And it is worth 10 shillings.

Of these (freemen) St. Benet has the soke. The whole of Stokes [Stoke (Ferry)] is 6 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and renders $6\frac{1}{2}$ pence, whoever holds there.

In HEKESWELLA² [Beechamwell] (there are) 12 freemen with (*de*) 1 ploughland, and 4 villeins. Then (there were) 3 ploughs, afterwards (and) now 2: 10 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 20 swine. Then as now they were worth 40 shillings. W[illiam] de Warenne claims (*reclamat*) one of these (freemen) and vouches the feoffor (*revocat liberatorem*). He claims this (*hoc*) by way of exchange (*pro escangio*). The whole of Becheswella [Beechamwell] is half a league in length and (the same) in breadth, and renders 8 pence in (*de*) 20 shillings of geld.

¹ Blomefield, vii, 427.

² In error for 'Bekeswella.'

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In DEREHAM [Dereham, (West)] 2 free-men (have) 6 acres and they have been valued (*pretiate*).

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF FREDREBRUGA [FREEBRIDGE] 1 ploughland

TILINGHETUNA [Terrington] is held by Geoffrey (as) 1 ploughland, where Tort held T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 5 villeins, and 4 bordars, and 24 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 5 salt pans. Now 1 rouncey, and 5 beasts, and 7 swine. Then 15 sheep, now 200. It was then worth 40 shillings, afterwards 10, now 60.

In LUN [Lynn] (Ralf has) 58 acres of meadow, and 3 acres of land, and 2 salt pans, and 1 freeman with (*de*) 3 acres and 8 acres of meadow and half a salt pan, by way of exchange. And over him Stigand had the soke.

HUNDRET OF GRISMESHOU [GRIMSHOE]

In STEIRTON [Sturston] Lovel holds 6 ploughlands, where Torp held (*tenet*). Then and afterwards (there were) 9 villeins, now 2. Then as now 2 bordars; 10 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and there might be (*potest esse*) a third. Then 3 ploughs belonging to the men, now 2 oxen. Then 2 rounceys, now 3. Then 8 beasts, now 11. Then 20 swine, now 11. Then 3 sheep, now 200. Then 11 mares, now none. Then as now it was worth 60 shillings.

And there also 16 freemen hold 2 ploughlands and 1 acre. Then and afterwards (they had) 6 ploughs among them, now three. They were then worth 20 shillings, and (Ralf) has them by way of exchange. The whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth and (renders) 11 pence in geld.

f. 252.

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOU [GREENHOE, (SOUTH)]

BRADHEHA[M] [Bradenham] was held by Ailid, a freewoman, T.R.E. Now B[aignard] (has it) for a manor. Then and afterwards (there were) 12 villeins, now 15. Then and afterwards 6 bordars, now 8. Then 4 serfs, now none. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, now the same (*similiter*). Then as now 3 ploughs belonging to the men; 8 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 250 swine (*ad cc porcos et d[imidium]*). When (Ralf) received it (there were) 2 rounceys, now 1. Then as now 1 [?]. Then and now 9 beasts, and 18 swine, and 75 sheep. Then 80 goats, now 26. And it is half a league and 2 furlongs in length, and 3 furlongs in breadth, and renders in geld 18 pence. And 8 sokemen belong (*pertinent*) to this manor and they have 1½ ploughs and always (had). Then and afterwards it was worth 6 pounds, now 12.

(There is) 1 church (with) 15 acres and it is worth 15 pence.

HUNDRET OF WANELUND [WAYLAND]

MERETUNA [Merton] was held by Ailid T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands and 1 virgate. Then and afterwards (there were) 17 villeins, now 6. Then and afterwards 3 bordars, now 1. Then and afterwards 6 serfs, now none. Wood(land) for 240 swine; 36 acres of meadow. Then as now 3 ploughs on the demesne. Then 4 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards 2, now none. Then 5 rounceys, now 4. Then 18 beasts, now 22. Then as now 24 swine. Then 150 sheep, now 90. Then as now 29 sokemen (held) 2 ploughlands, with all custom except (the) 6 (forfeitures). Then (they had) 7 ploughs, afterwards (and) now 6. And in GRESTUNA [Griston] 1 sokeman (has) 20 acres. It was then worth 100 shillings, now 6 pounds, but it has rendered (*reddidit*) 8 pounds. The whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 15 pence of geld.

HUNDRET OF SCREPHAM [SHROPHAM]

WILLEBEIH [Wilby] was held by Ailid (as) 1 ploughland T.R.E. Now a soldier (*solidarius*)¹ holds it. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins and 2 bordars. Then 1 serf; and 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 5 swine. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men. Then as now 1 rouncey. Then 3 beasts, now 5. Now [] swine. Then 120 sheep, now 109. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, now 60.

f. 252b.

HUNDRET OF LAWEDIC [LAUNDITCH]

TITESHALA [Tittleshall] was held by Norman, a freeman, T.R.E., now Ralf Turmit holds (it as) 4 ploughlands. Then and afterwards (there were) 12 villeins, now 8. Then and afterwards 4 bordars, now 14. Then and afterwards 6 serfs, now 2; 10 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then and afterwards 4 ploughs belonging to the men, now 2; and wood(land) for 100 swine. Then as now 1 mill. Then 6 beasts. Then 30 swine, now 19. Then 100 sheep, now 80. Then 40 goats, now 73; and 4 hives of bees, and 1 sokeman (with) 6 acres. It was then worth 70 shillings, and now the same. And (there is) 1 church (with) 6 acres, and it is worth 5 pence. The whole is 9 furlongs in length, and half a league in breadth, and (renders) 5 pence of geld.

WALNCCHAM [Wellingham] is also held by Ralf where Harold held T.R.E., for a manor of 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 9 villeins. Then 3 bordars, afterwards and now

¹ 'Solidarius' usually implies a mercenary or paid soldier, possibly here it may mean a military pensioner.

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2; 14 acres of meadow. Then (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, and it might be re-placed (*restaurari*). Then as now 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 60 swine. And 7 sokemen (have) 20 acres of land. Then and afterwards (they had) half a plough, now nothing. And (there are) 3 sokemen of Stigand who then belonged to the king's (manor of) Muleham [Mileham] with all custom. But in Stigand's lifetime (their land) was delivered to Baignard by way of exchange, as his men say. And they have 40 acres of land. Then and afterwards 1 plough, now none. The manor was worth 20 shillings T.R.E., and now 10. And the 3 sokemen were worth 4 shillings T.R.E., now 40 pence. The whole is 1 league in length and 9 furlongs in breadth and (renders) 10 pence of geld whoever holds land there.

In SCHERNINGA [Scarning] there are 80 acres of land. This belongs to Brehendam [Bradenham] and (it is included) in the valuation (*et in p'ti*). And (there are) 2 sokemen (with) 12 acres of land. The soke, now as then, is lawfully (*juste*) in Muleham [Mileham].

FEORHOU [FOREHOE] HUNDRET

WICLURDE [Wicklewood] was held by Ulf (*Olfus*), a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland. f. 253.

Now Ralf Sturm' holds it. Then as now (there were) 11 villeins and 8 bordars. Then 3 serfs, now 1. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men; 6 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 mill. And 8 sokemen (hold) 24 acres of land. The soke is in Hincham [Hingham], and they have 1 plough. Then (there was) 1 rouncey. Then 7 swine, now 30. Then 6 sheep. Now 4 hives of bees. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, now 60. And it is 1 league in length and 7 furlongs and 1 perch in breadth, whoever holds (*habeat*) there, and (renders) 17½ pence of geld.

IDIKETHORPE [¹] was held by Norman, a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 1 (plough)land. Then as now (there was) 1 villein; and then 1 bordar, now 4. Then 3 serfs. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 4 acres of meadow. Now 1 rouncey. Then as now 4 beasts. Now 22 swine. Then 5 sheep, now 40. It was then worth 40 shillings, now 80. The fourth part (of a church has) 5 acres, and is worth 5 pence. And it is 4 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (renders) 11½ pence of geld.

HUNDRET OF LOTHNINGA [LODDON]

In SCATAGRAVA [Chedgrave] Toret held 2 ploughlands. Now Einbold holds them for 1

¹ Identified by Blomefield (ii, 499) as Dykebeck in Wymondham.

manor. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins and 19 bordars and 4 serfs. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1½ ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 15 swine, and 12 acres of meadow and 1 mill. Then 2 rounceys. Then 4 beasts, now 3. Then 7 swine. Then 200 sheep, now 160. Then as now it was worth 40 shillings. And it is 9 furlongs in length and 8 in breadth, and (renders) 2 pence of geld. And 13½ sokemen, freemen of Toret, (have) 99 acres. Then as now 4½ plough[lands] (*car' terre*) among the men, and 5 acres of meadow. And they are worth 10 shillings. And he claims (*reclamat*) these by way of exchange.

In SCATAGRAVA [Chedgrave] Levric, a freeman of Harold by commendation held 2 ploughlands, now Geoffrey holds them for a manor. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins and 6

f. 253b. bordars. Then 1 serf, now none. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards a half, now 1. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 1½. Wood(land) for 15 swine, and 12 acres of meadow and 1 mill. Then 2 beasts, now 1. Then 5 swine, now none. (There is) 1 church (with) 50 acres—1 of meadow—it is worth 2 ores [*sc. 32d*]. And (there are) 6½ sokemen with 23 acres, and 1 freeman of Lefric by commendation with (*de*) 17½ sokemen. Then (they had) 1 plough, now 1½. Then as now half a ploughland and a half-acre of meadow. Then and afterwards (the manor) was worth 30 shillings, now 40. ²This is (Ralf's) by way of exchange.³ Robert (*Robertus*) son of Corbutio claims (*calumpniatur*) this land by feoffment (*ex liberatione*), but Bainard was first seised, and afterwards Robert, and the hundret does not know by what title (*quomodo*). The soke is in the hundret.

In KARLENTONA [Carleton (St. Peter)] 1 freeman held 30 acres of land under Toret T.R.E. Now Nigel holds it. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins. Then 2 bordars, now 4. Then as now 1 plough amongst the men, and 3 acres of meadow, and 3 sokemen with (*de*) 24 acres. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 20. The soke is in the hundret. This is (Ralf's) by way of exchange.

f. 254.

XXXII. THE LANDS OF RANULF PEVEREL [PEVERELLI]³

HUNDRET OF ENSFORDA [EYNESFORD]

BILLINGEFORDA [Billingford] was held by Tord, a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands.

² Interlined.

³ In the margin is what appears to be *f* (*fecit re-tornum*) altered into *n* (*non*). See Introduction, p. 2.

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Now Humfrey (*Humfridus*) holds it. Then as now (there were) 7 villeins and 8 bordars and 2 serfs. Then 3 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards 1, now 2. Then and afterwards 8 ploughs belonging to the men, now 5, and 3 ploughs could be added (*feri*). Wood(land) for 12 swine, and 1 mill, and 6 acres of meadow. To this manor belonged (*Hic pertinebant*) T.R.E. 6 sokemen (with) 48 acres. And Earl Ralf took them away (*abstulit*) and now Count Alan has them. Then as now (there was) 1 rouncey and 10 beasts, and 16 swine (and) 70 sheep. Now 4 hives of bees. Then as now it was worth 4 pounds. And it is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and renders 8½ pence (of geld) whoever holds there. The soke is in the king's (manor of) Folsa[m] [Foulsham].

HUNDRET OF HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD]

WALSINCHAM []¹ is held by Warin (*Garinus*) where Ketel, a thegn of Stigand, held T.R.E., for 1½ ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins and 3 serfs; and 2 ploughs on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men; 4 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 12 swine. Then 4 rounceys. Then 4 beasts. Then 35 swine, now 20. Then 25 sheep, now 60; 2 hives of bees. And 13 freemen (held) 30 acres by fold-soke and commendation only T.R.E. Then (they had) 1 plough, afterwards (and) now a half; 2 acres of meadow. (There is) 1 church (with) 60 acres (included) in the valuation of the manor.

In CARLETUNA [Carlton, (East)] the same Warin holds 75 acres, where Godric, a freeman of Kitel, held T.R.E. Then (there was) 1 plough, afterwards 1, now nothing. (There are) 2½ bordars, and 9 freemen (holding) by fold-soke and commendation only. The king and the earl (have) the soke. And they have 33 acres. Then and afterwards (they had) 2 ploughs, now 1, and 2 acres of meadow. And 1 freeman (holding) by commendation only (has) 24 acres. Then as now (he had) half a plough and 2 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards it [Walsincham] was worth 60 shillings, now 110, and Carletuna [Carlton] is worth 20 shillings. And the freeman is worth 2 shillings, f. 254b.

but he is included in (*in numero de*) the 110 shillings. And Walsincham [] is 6 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (renders) 6¾ pence of geld.

MELTUNA [Melton, (Great)] is also held by (*tenet idem*) Warin (*Garinus*), where Ketel held T.R.E., (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins, and 17 bordars, and 2 serfs, and 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 5 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 4: 20 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for

100 swine. Then as now 1 mill and 2 rounceys. Then 4 beasts, now 6. Then 30 swine, now 45. Then 60 sheep, now 114; 2 hives of bees. And (there are) 6 freemen with (*de*) 17 acres, by fold-soke T.R.E.; and by commendation only, then as now 77 acres. (There is) 1 church (with) 3 acres, (included) in the valuation of the manor. And (the freemen) are worth 2 shillings, and are (included) in the valuation of 7 pounds. Then and afterwards (the manor) was worth 6 pounds, now 7. And it is 1 league and 3 furlongs in length and half a league in breadth, and (renders) 16½ pence of geld, whoever holds there.

KETERINCHAM [Ketteringham] is also held by Warin, where Ketel held T.R.E., (as) 1½ ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 3 bordars, and 1½ ploughs on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men: 4 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 rouncey and 7 swine. Now 40 sheep. And 4 freemen (holding) by fold-soke and commendation only 15 acres, and half a plough, and 1 acre of meadow. It was then worth 30 shillings, afterwards 40, now 60. And the freemen are worth 2 shillings, and are included in the above valuation (*eodem pretio*).

In MELTUNANA [Melton, (Great)] Warin also holds 1 freeman (with) 6 acres of meadow. And he is worth 6 pence. This R[anulf] Pevrel seized (*invasit*).

HALF HUNDRET OF HERSA[M] [EARSHAM]

RIUESSALA [Rushall] is held by Warin (*Warincus*) where Henry held of St. Edmund, entirely within the church (*omnino inter ecclesiam*), T.R.E. for 1½ ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 7 villeins and 3 bordars. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 40 swine, and 5 acres of meadow. Now 1 horse (*equus*) and 3 beasts. Then 50 swine, now 17. Then 19 sheep, now 18. Now 12 goats. f. 255.

Then 3 hives of bees, now 1. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, now 60. It is half a league in length and 5 (furlongs) in breadth, and (renders) 8 pence of geld. But more than one (*plures*) hold there. Ranulf now holds this land as a fief of the king (*ad feudum regis*).

XXXIII. THE LAND OF ROBERT GERNON (*GRENONIS*)²

HUNDRET OF ENSFORD [EYNESFORD]

SPARHAM [Sparham] is held by Osbert, where Ulric, a freeman, held T.R.E., for a

² In margin *f r*—(*fecit retortum*); see Introduction, p. 2.

¹ In East Carleton.

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manor (of) 3 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 6 villeins and 5 bordars. Then 2 serfs, now none. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men, and 6 acres of meadow and half a mill. Wood(land) for 100 swine. When he received it (there were) 9 swine, now 6 sheep and 25 goats. And 3 sokemen (have) 20 acres of land. Then as now half a plough. Then and afterwards it was worth 60 shillings, and now 4 pounds.

ERPINCAM SUD [SOUTH ERPINGHAM] HUNDRET.

TORP [(Bacons)thorpe] is held by Osbert, where Ulvic, a freeman of Guerd, held 2 ploughlands T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins and 10 bordars. Then 2 serfs, now 1. Then 3 ploughs on the demesne, now 2. Then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men, and 1 church with (*de*) 30 acres in frankalmoin (*elemosina*). Then (there was)

f. 255b.
wood(land) for 40 swine, now 30. Then as now 2 rounceys and 17 swine. Then 100 sheep, now 80; and 40 goats. And (there is) 1 sokeman (with) 8 acres. Then as now (he had) half a plough. Then as now it was worth 30 shillings. And it is 6 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (renders) $6\frac{3}{4}$ pence of geld.

HUNDRET OF CLAYDINGA [CLAVERING]

In NORTUNA [Norton (Subcourse)] (Robert) also (*idem*) holds 12 acres of the demesne of Lodues [Loddon], and it is worth 12 pence.

In NARUESTUNA [] (there are) 4 acres of land, and (there was) 1 freeman, Ulvic by name, T.R.E.; and it is worth 4 pence.

HUNDRET OF ERPINGEHAM NORTH

In TORP [Thorpe (Market)] Osbert holds 7 freemen (*liberi homines*) with (*de*) 40 acres of land (and) 1 acre of meadow. Then as now (there was) 1 plough. And it is worth 12 shillings.

HUNDRET OF LOTHNINGA [LODDON]

In LOTHNA [Loddon] Osbert holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands where Ulvic, a freeman, held T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins and 12 bordars. Then 1 serf. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now $1\frac{1}{2}$. Wood(land) for 20 swine, and 4 acres of meadow, and half a mill. Now 3 horses in the homestead (*aula*), and 4 beasts. Then 100 sheep, now 60. Then 10 swine, now 21; and 1 sokeman with 10 acres. Then as now 1 plough between (them) all. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, now 40. The king and the earl (have) the soke.

In LATHAHAM [? Loddon¹] (are) 4 acres of land. It is (included) in (the above) valuation of 40 shillings.

f. 256.

XXXIII. THE LANDS OF PETER DE VALOGNES (*VALONIENSIS*)²

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF FREDREBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

BABINKELEIA [Babingley] is held by William, which Tort, a freeman, held T.R.E., for a manor of 1 ploughland. (There are) 4 villeins and 15 bordars, and 5 serfs, and 16 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 60 swine. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1. Then 3 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 2; and the half of 2 mills, and 5 salt pans. When he received (*cec'*) it 1 rouncey. Then 10 beasts, now 8. Then 12 swine, now 13. Then 160 sheep, now 177. To this manor belong (*Hic jacent*) 7 sokemen (with) 6 acres of land. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. But of these (*Tam' exb't'*) Stigand had the soke. The whole is worth 40 shillings. The whole is 2 leagues in length and 1 league in breadth whoever holds there, and renders 2 shillings of (every) 20 shillings of geld.

DERSINCAM [Dersingham] was held by 1 freeman T.R.E. for a manor. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne and 7 villeins and 4 bordars. Then and afterwards 4 serfs, now 2, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow, and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 1 salt pan. Then 5 rounceys, now 1. Then 3 beasts and 18 swine and 300 sheep, now nothing.

There also Anant, a freeman, holds 2 ploughlands in demesne for a manor. Then as now (there were) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and 30 villeins and 6 bordars and 7 serfs, and 18 acres of meadow, and 1 mill and 1 fishery, and 1 salt pan. Then 6 rounceys, now 5. Then 4 beasts and (the same) now. Then 40 swine, now 21. Then 560 sheep, now 646 (?) (*de cxlvi*).

In APPLETONA [Appleton] Turgis holds 1 outlying estate, which belongs, now as then, to this manor (and consists of) 1 ploughland, and 1 plough on the demesne. Then and afterwards (there were) 3 bordars, now 5, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow. Then and afterwards (there was) 1 serf. Then 100 sheep, now 2 sheep. The whole (of Dersingham) is worth 15 pounds, but yet (*tm'*) it renders 17 pounds and 13 shillings. The whole of Dersincham [Dersingham]

f. 256b.

is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, who-

¹ Blomefield (x, 156) suggests that this is for 'Loth-naham,' i.e. Loddon.

² In margin *n=non* (*fecit retournum*); see Introduction, p. 2.

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ever holds there, and renders 16 pence towards 20 (shillings) of gold.

HUNDRET OF SMETHEDUNA [SMETHDEN]

In EYLVESTORP [Ingoldisthorpe¹] Torvert, a freeman, held 3 ploughs on the demesne T.R.E. Then and afterwards (there were) 10 villeins, now 7. Then as now 15 bordars. Then and afterwards 2 serfs, now 5; and 50 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 3 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 2. Then as now 2 mills and 1 saltpan. Then 1 fishery. Then 8 rounceys, now 4. Then 14 mares. Then 5 beasts. Then 60 swine, now 15. Then 340 sheep, now 420. And (there are) 3 freemen (with) 38 acres of land (and) 1 plough. Of these his predecessor had fold-soke and commendation. Stigand (had) the other soke. Then and afterwards it was worth 9 pounds, now 10: but it renders 12 pounds. The whole is half a league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth, whoever holds there, and renders 12 pence of (every) 20 shillings of gold.

HUNDRET OF LAWENDIC [LAUNDITCH]

PATESLEIA [Pattesley] is held by Roger, which Alestan, a freeman, held T.R.E., for a manor of 2 ploughlands in demesne. Then and afterwards (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men, now none, but there might be (one). Wood(land) for 10 swine, and half a fishery. Now 1 rouncey and 15 beasts. Then 4 swine. Now 13 beasts. Now 59 sheep. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings. And it is 4 furlongs in length and 2 in breadth, and (renders) 3 pence of gold. The soke (is) in Mele(m) [Mileham] a manor of the king.

And in GATELEA [Gateley] Ralf holds 2 sokemen (with) 34 acres of land. Of these Hugh de Montfort's predecessor had fold-soke and commendation, and the other soke (is) in the king's (manor of) Muleham [Mileham]. Now Peter

f. 257. holds them by feoffment (*de liberatione*). Then as now (they had) 1 (plough) and 1½ acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings.

HUNDRET OF GALGOU [GALLOW]

In ESNARINGA [Snoring, (Little)] Ralf holds 1 ploughland, which Manna, a freeman, held T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 24 bordars. Then as now 1 serf. Then and afterwards 1 plough on the demesne, now 2. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men; 4 acres of meadow. Then 1 mill. Then as now 6 beasts, and now 60 swine. Then 80 sheep,

now 50. And (there are) 6 sokemen with (*de*) 40 acres of land, and 2 bordars, and 1 plough; 5 acres of meadow. To this manor belongs (*pertinet*) 1 sokeman with (*de*) 3 acres in Halgetuna [Helhoughton]. It was then worth 40 shillings, now the same (*similiter*). And it is half a league in length and 3 furlongs in breadth and (renders) 12 pence in geld.

In LITTLE REIENBURH [Little Ryburgh] Tiriis holds 1 ploughland which 1 freeman held T.R.E. Then (there were) 9 bordars, now 6. Then 2 serfs. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, now a half. Wood(land) for 6 swine, 4 acres of meadow (and) 1 mill. Then 2 rounceys, now 1. Then as now 8 beasts. Then 4 swine, now 11. Then 30 sheep (*pv'*), now 20 sheep. Then as now it was worth 40 shillings. And it is 3 furlongs in length and 2 in breadth and (renders) 12 pence in geld.

HUNDRET OF BRODERCROS [BROTHERCROSS]

In REIENBURH [(Great) Ryburgh] Ralf Fawn (*Faeto*) holds 2 ploughlands which Goerth held T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 1 villein and 11 bordars and 4 serfs, and 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 40 swine, 6 acres of meadow (and) 1 mill. Then as now 2 rounceys, now 9 beasts. Then as now 40 swine. Then 7 sheep, now 60. To this manor belongs (*pertinet*) 1 outlying estate (*beruita*) TOFTES [Toft (Trees)] (consisting) of 30 acres of land. Then as now (there were) 4 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then and still (*semper*) half a plough belonging to the men. It was then worth 4 pounds, now 5 pounds. Reienburh [Ryburgh] is 7 furlongs in length

f. 257b. and 5 in breadth, and (renders) 9½ pence in geld. And Totes [Toft (Trees)] is 4 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth and (renders) 15 pence in geld.

In ESTRETONA [Testerton] Richard holds half a ploughland which Toka, a freeman, held T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 7 bordars and 1 serf. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then and afterwards 1 plough belonging to the men, now half a plough; (and) half an acre of meadow. It was then worth 10 shillings, now the same (*similiter*).

In RUDEHA[M] [Rudham] Turgis holds, a freeman with (*de*) half a ploughland. Then as now (there were) 3 bordars and 1 serf. Then 1 plough, afterwards also (*et*) a half, now 1, and 1 acre of meadow; and 4 sokemen with (*de*) 6 acres. Then as now (they had) half a plough. Then as now it was worth 10 shillings.

¹ Afterwards held of the barony of Valoignes; *Fcod. Aids*, iii, 440.

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HUNDRET OF GALGOU [GALLOW]¹

In SAXELINGAHA[M] [Saxlingham] Thierrī (*Theodricus*) holds, a freeman with (*de*) half a ploughland. Then (there was) 1 plough, now the same (*similiter*). Then as now 2 bordars, (and) 2 acres of meadow. It was then worth 2 shillings, now 5 shillings.

HUNDRET OF HOLT

In GUNATORP [Gunthorpe] (is) 1 freeman of Harold with (*de*) half a ploughland. Then as now (there were) 6 bordars and 1 serf. Then as now 2 ploughs. Wood(land) for 4 swine; 1 acre of meadow. And it is worth 10 shillings. This land was delivered to Peter (*sibi*) to make up 1 manor (*viz.*) Berneia [Barney].

In EDISFELDA [Edgefield] Scet, a freeman, held 60 and 20 acres T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 5 villeins and 1 bordar and 1 plough. Wood(land) for 100 swine, 2 acres of meadow; and 2 sokemen with (*de*) 12 acres of land. And it belongs to (*jacet ad*) Bineham [Binham].

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOGA [GREENHOE, (NORTH)]

BINNEHAM [Binham] was held by Esket T.R.E. (as) 3 ploughlands. Then as now there were 3 villeins. Then as now 13 bordars (and) 2 serfs. And then 2 ploughs, and afterwards and now 6 on the demesne. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs belonging to the men, and now 1½; 11 acres of meadow. Then 1 mill, and 16 shillings (*sic, rectius* sokemen) belonging (*solp. spertinentes*) to this vill (*villam*) (with) 30 acres of land. Then (they had) 2 ploughs, now a plough and a half; (and) 2 acres of meadow. In the lord's homestead (*in aula dominica*) (there were) 8 horses, now 5. Then 3 beasts, now 1.

f. 258.

Then 16 swine (*post*), now 10. Then 120 (sheep), now half a hundred (*d'c*) sheep.

ETDWELLA² [] belongs to this manor, half a ploughland (and) 1 bordar. It (Binham) was then and afterwards worth 4 pounds, now it is worth 20 pounds. And it is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and renders 2 shillings of geld.

f. 258.

BERLEI [Barney] is held by William, which Turketel held T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Then and afterwards (there were) 14 bordars, now 13. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men. Then and afterwards 2 serfs, now 1. Wood(land) for 60 swine, 14 acres of meadow; then as now 1 rouncey. Then (there were) 14 wild mares. Then and

afterwards 10 beasts, now 14. Then 20 swine, now 28. Then 60 sheep, now 100. Then 40 goats, now 38. Now 2 hives of bees. And (he has) 17 freemen (with) 80 acres of land. These he claims (*reclamat*) (to hold) by feoffment (*ex deliberatione*) to make up this manor. Then as now (they had) 2 ploughs (and) 6 acres of meadow. Then, and then as now (*semper*) (the manor) was worth 4 pounds. And it is half a league in length and half in breadth, and (renders) 6 pence of geld. And one of the king's serjeants (*i serviens regis*) claims (*calumpniatur*) (to hold) 13½ of those (freemen) as of the fief of Earl Ralf (*ad feudum Radulfi comitis*), whom (Ralf) held when he suffered forfeiture (*se forisfecit*), (and will uphold his claim) by whatever mode of trial be adopted (*quocunque judicio judicatur*), and to this the hundret bears witness. And they hold 80 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow, and render 17 shillings and 4 pence in Snaringa [Snoring, (Great)].

In GREAT WALSINGEHAM [Walsingham, (Great)] Humphrey holds 1½ ploughlands which Bund, a thegn, held. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins and 7 bordars and 2 ploughs on the demesne (and) 4 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards (there were) 1½ ploughs belonging to the men, and now 1. Afterwards 3 serfs, now 4. Then 5 beasts, now 1. Then 20 swine, now 25. Then as now 180 sheep. Then 9 hives of bees, now 5; and 1 sokeman (with) 4 acres of land. Then and afterwards it was worth 30 shillings, and now 40. This land was delivered to Peter to make up a manor, his men know not which (*ad perficiendum homines sui nesciunt quod manerium*).

In HOCHAHA[M] [Holkham] Tocho, a freeman, holds 33 acres of land. Then as now (there were) 2 bordars. Then as now it was worth 2 ounces (*oras*) (sc. 32 pence). And (Peter) holds this as (he holds) that mentioned above (*sicut supradictam*).

f. 258b.

HUNDRET OF ENSFORD [EYNESFORD]

In DALLINGA [(Wood) Dalling] 1 freeman, Fisc, held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 9 villeins and 16 bordars and 2 serfs. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, and 3 ploughs belonging to the men, and 2 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 6 swine. When he received it (there was) 1 rouncey, now 2. Then 6 beasts, now 20. Then 6 swine, now 30. Then 16 sheep, now 80; and 30 goats. And (there are) 5 sokemen (with) 20 acres of land. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. The soke (is) in the king's (manor of) Folsam [Foulsham]. And it is worth 40 shillings. And it is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and renders 19 pence to (*in*) the king's geld, whoever holds there.

¹ This should be Hundred of Holt.

² This is probably meant for *Et in Wella* [Wells-next-the-Sea].

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XXXV. THE LANDS OF ROBERT SON OF CORBUTIO¹

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF FREDREE[RUGE] [FREEBRIDGE]

SANTDERSINCHAM [Sandringham] is held by Ranulf, which 1 freeman held under Harold T.R.E. Then and afterwards (there was) 1 plough, now none. Then and afterwards 5 bordars, now none. Then and afterwards 3 serfs, now 1; and $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow. Then and afterwards (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men. Then and afterwards 1 saltpan. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings.

HUNDRET OF HEINESTEDE [HENSTEAD]

In SASILINGAHAM [Saxlingham (? Thorpe)] Gunfrid holds what was held by Lefolt, a freeman of Harold (*Heroldi*) by commendation with (*de*) 30 acres of land. Then as now (there were) 5 bordars. Then 2 serfs. Then and afterwards 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men; and 2 freemen with (*de*) 3 acres of land, and 2 acres of meadow. It was then worth 16 shillings, now 22 shillings.

In STOKES [Stoke (Holy Cross)] Gifart holds 1 ploughland (which was held by) 3 freemen (*liberi homines*) of Stigand by commendation. Then as now (there were) 10 bordars and 2 serfs. Then as now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs on the demesne

f. 259.
and a half belonging to the men, and 3 acres of meadow. Then 1 horse (*equus*). Then as now it was worth 30 shillings.

HALF HUNDRET OF HERSAM [EARSHAM]

In RIUESSALA [Rushall] Gunfrid holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands, which Brictric, a freeman of Stigand, held by commendation; but he could neither give nor sell his land without Stigand's (*ejus*) leave. Then (there were) 6 villeins, afterwards and now 3. Then $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, now a half. Then as now half a plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 40 swine and 6 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, now 10.

In STERESTUNA [Starston] (Gunfrid) also (*idem*) holds 1 ploughland, which Leustan, a freeman of Ulf by commendation, held T.R.E. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, and 3 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, now 15.

HUNDRET OF LOTHNINGA [LODDON]

In LOTHNA [Loddon] Humphrey holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands which Alvrice, a freeman, held under Stigand T.R.E. And then as now (there was)

1 villein, and 3 bordars, and 1 serf. Then $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs on the demesne, afterwards 1, now $1\frac{1}{2}$. Then $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 1. Wood(land) for 12 swine, and half a mill, and 4 acres of meadow. Then 50 sheep, now 55. Then 13, now 14 swine; and 4 sokemen with (*de*) 12 acres of land. Then (they had) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs among them all, afterwards and now 1. It was then worth 20 shillings, afterwards and now 30.

In GOLOSA [Ingloss in Loddon²] (Hunfrey) also (*idem*) holds 1 ploughland which Ulvrice held T.R.E. under Stigand. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins and 7 bordars. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, afterwards and now $1\frac{1}{2}$. Wood(land) for 4 swine. Then as now 1 horse. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings. And (he has) 9 sokemen under him (*sub eo*) with (*de*) 20 acres. Then (they had) 3 ploughs, afterwards and now 2. They were then worth 7 shillings, now 10 shillings. The king and the earl (have) the soke.

HUNDRET OF LOTNINGA [LODDON]

In MUNDAHAM [Mundham] Nigel holds 30 acres of land which Goduin, a freeman by commendation of Eduin the predecessor of Godric the Sewer (*dapiferi*), held T.R.E. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne. Wood(land) for 2 swine and 4 acres of meadow. And

f. 259b.
11 freemen of Edgar (*Etgari*) (have) 30 acres. Then as now (they had) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. It was then worth 10 (shillings), now 20. The king and the earl (have) the soke.

In MUNDAHAM [Mundham] Anger holds 1 ploughland which was held as a manor T.R.E., under Stigand, by Ealgar, a freeman. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs on the demesne, now half a plough. Then as now half a plough belonging to the men, and half an acre of meadow. Then as now 1 horse (*equus*) in the homestead (*aula*). Then (there were) 2 beasts, now none. Then 8 swine, now 4. Then 20 sheep, now 5. And (there are) $4\frac{1}{2}$ sokemen with (*de*) $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land, and 1 freeman of Algar by commendation only (with) 6 acres of land. (These have) 1 plough among them all. Then as now it was worth 10 shillings.

In BROM [Broome] Humphrey (*Hunfridus*) holds 2 ploughlands, which Anant, a thegn, held T.R.E. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 bordars, now none. Then as now 1 serf. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 2 oxen (belonging to the men?), now 1. Wood(land) for 20 swine, and 20 acres of meadow,

¹ In margin *n=non* (*fecit retortum*); see Introduction, p. 2.

² Half a knight's fee in Loddon 'called Inglose' occurs in 1401; *Feud. Aids*, iii, 623.

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and 1 mill, and half a fishery (*piscina*), and 3 beasts. Now 50 sheep. Then 40 swine, now 20, and 2 hives of bees. And (there are) 5 freemen by commendation under him (with) 10 acres of land. Then as now they had all half a plough. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, now 50. And it is 1 league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth and (renders) 8 pence of geld. Mundaham [Mundham] is 20 furlongs in length and 10 in breadth and (renders) 2 shillings of geld.

In LOTNA [Loddon] Humfrey holds under R[obert] half an acre of land which St. Benet of Holm (*de Holme*) claims : and the hundred bears witness that it was St. Benet's in demesne.

HUNDRET OF SUD ERPINCHAM [SOUTH ERPINGHAM]

In BERNINCHAM [(Little) Barningham] 1 freeman held 82 acres of land. 1 Brant holds it of R[obert].¹ Then as now (there were) 5 bordars and one plough on the demesne, and half belonging to the men, and 2 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 15 swine. And it is worth 10 shillings. And it is 7 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (renders) 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ pence of geld.

HUNDRET OF DEPWADE

SCILTUNA [Shelton], which Alduin, a freeman of Stigand, held, is held by Nigel (as) 30 acres. Then as now (there was) 1 villein, and 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ bordars, and 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 plough f. 260. belonging to the men, and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 20.

In STERSTUNA [Tharston] (Nigel) also (*idem*) holds 1 ploughland (which was held by) 1 freeman. Then as now (there was) 1 villein, and 5 bordars, and 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men (and) 3 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 4 swine and 1 mill. And (there is) 1 freeman (with) 2 acres, and 1 rouncey and 3 beasts. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 20.

STRATUNA [Stratton], which 1 thegn held T.R.E., is held by Humfrey (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 17 bordars, and 2 ploughs on the demesne. And (there were) then 3 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards 2, now 1 : (and) 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 6 swine. Then as now 1 rouncey, and then 5 swine, now 11. Then 10 sheep, now 26 ; and 6 goats. And (there are) 7 freemen (with) 17 acres, of whom his predecessor had the commendation T.R.E., and he has held them instead of (*pro*) land. Then (they had) 1 plough (and) 1 acre of meadow. It was then worth 30 shillings, now 40.

¹ Interlined.

FRIDETUNA [Fritton] is held by Gifart, which was held by Olketel, a freeman of Edric of Laxfield (*Laxfelda*) the predecessor of Robert Malet, (as) 30 acres and 3 bordars. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 ploughs. Then 16 swine, now 8. Then 6 beasts and 60 sheep, now nothing. Then as now half a plough belonging to the men, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow (and) fold-soke. And 7 men who could sell their land if they had first offered it to their lord. And they have 14 acres. And 1 freeman (has) 4 acres (and) now as then half a plough. Then as now it was worth 25 shillings. And it is 1 league in length and half in breadth, and (renders) 9 pence of geld. William Malet was seized of this land when he went into the Fens (*ivit in maresc[os]*).

GNAVERINGA [CLAVERING] HUNDRET

In HATESCOU [Haddiscoe] he also holds (*tenet idem*) 1 sokeman of Stigand (with) 30 acres and 3 bordars, and then 1 plough, and 4 acres of meadow. And under him 2 sokemen (have) 4 acres and half a plough. It was then worth 5 shillings, now 11.

In IARPESTUNA [] (there is) 1 sokeman of St. Edmund (with) 46 acres and 2 bordars. f. 260b. Then (there was) 1 plough, now 2 oxen. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 10.

XXXVI. THE LANDS OF RANULF BROTHER OF ILGER¹

HUNDRET OF SUDERPINCHA[M] [SOUTH ERPINGHAM]

In ERPINCHA[M] [Erpingham] Humfrey holds 1 ploughland which was held by Bund, a freeman of Harold. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins and 9 bordars and 1 plough on the demesne and 1 (plough) belonging to the men and 2 acres of meadow. And (there was) then 1 rouncey, and 3 beasts. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 20.

HUNDRET OF CONSTEDA [TUNSTEAD]

In HANINGA [Honing] (Humfrey) also (*idem*) holds 1 ploughland (which) 1 freeman (held) T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 8 villeins and 1 bordar and 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men and 9 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 4 swine. Then as now 1 mill and 3 beasts and 3 swine ; and 2 sokemen (with) 15 acres of land and 1 plough, and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings. St. B[enet] of Holme (has) the soke. (In) SUAFELDA [Swafeld] (there are) 18 acres (and) 2 freemen. Then as now (they had)

¹ In margin *f r=fecit retornum* ; see Introduction, p. 2.

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half a plough and half an acre of meadow : and they are worth 16 pence.

In RIDLINKETUNA [Ridlington] (there are) 16 sokemen (with) 120 acres of land. Then as now (they had) 5 ploughs and 1 acre of meadow. And they are worth 20 shillings.

HUNDRET OF HAPINGA [HAPPING]

WALECOTA [Walcot] is also (*idem*) held (by Humfrey) which Edric, a thegn, held T.R.E. (as) 4 ploughlands and 6 acres. Then as now (there were) 8 villeins and 16 bordars. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 3. Then as now 2 ploughs belonging to the men, 8 acres of meadow, and 1 mill. Now 2 rounceys. Then 3 beasts, now 16. Then 4 swine, now 24. Then 80 sheep, now 70; and 4 hives of bees. (There is) 1 church (with) 20 acres, and it is worth 20 pence.

f. 261.

And $7\frac{1}{2}$ freemen by commendation only (with) 7 acres are also (*idem*) held (by Humfrey). Then and afterwards (they had) 2 ploughs, now $2\frac{1}{2}$. And he also (*idem*) holds 4 freemen, who were added to this manor in King William's time (with) 90 acres. And they (*quos*) were added by Ranulf brother of Ilger, and Humfrey holds them. Then (they had) 3 ploughs, now $2\frac{1}{2}$, and they were worth 15 shillings. Of two his predecessor had only the commendation, and of one Robert Malet's predecessor in like manner (*similiter*). The king and the earl (have) the soke. And the manor was then worth 40 shillings, now 60. And it is one league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 15 pence of geld, whoever holds there.

HUNDRET OF HOLT

In EDISFELDAM [Edgefield] Humfrey holds 2 ploughlands, which Bond, a freeman of Harold, held T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins and 7 bordars and 2 serfs. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 100 swine, 5 acres of meadow (and) 1 mill. Now 2 rounceys. Then 7 swine, now 23. Then 7 sheep, now 80. Then 13 goats, now 21. Then a hive of bees, now 2. And (there are) 17 sokemen with (*de*) 24 acres of land. Their ploughs are included in the above total (*Isti sunt in superius car'*). It was then worth 30 shillings, now 40. And it is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) 9 pence in geld.

In ESTODEIA [Stody] Humfrey (*idem*) holds 1 freeman (formerly) Harold's, now Ro[bert]'s,¹ with (*de*) 2 ploughlands, as (*pro*) a manor. Then as now (there were) 8 villeins and 7 bordars and 1 serf, and 2 ploughs on the demesne, and $1\frac{1}{2}$

¹ Probably a mistake for 'Ranulf's.'

ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 40 swine, 6 acres of meadow (and) 3 mills. Then (there were) 2 rounceys, now 1: now 9 beasts. Then 5 swine, now 12. Now 40 sheep. Then 60 goats, now 25: and 3 hives of bees; and 4 sokemen with (*de*) 16 acres and half a plough. It was then worth 30 shillings, now 40. To this manor belong (*pertinent*) 25 acres and half a plough in Laringaseta [Letheringsett]. This is included in the valuation of the manor (*Appretiata est cum manerio*).

65—120—90.²

f. 261b.

XXXVII. THE LANDS OF TEHEL³

HUNDRET OF ENSFORD [EYNESFORD]

GUTHEKETUNA⁴ [Guton], which Lefstan, a freeman, held T.R.E., is held by Osbert (as) 4 ploughlands. Then and afterwards (there were) 9 villeins, now 4. Then and afterwards 17 bordars, now 15; and 2 serfs. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 3. Then as now 4 ploughs belonging to the men, and 30 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 60 swine, and 1 mill. Then as now 4 rounceys. Then 8 beasts, now 14. Then also (*et*) 14 hives of bees. And he also (*idem*) holds 18 sokemen (with) 113 acres of land, and 1 bordar. Then and afterwards (they had) 4 ploughs, now 3; and $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow. The king and the earl (have) soke over the whole (*totum*). Then and afterwards it was worth 4 pounds, now 6 pounds. And it is 1 league in length, and a half in breadth; and renders 7 pence towards (*in*) the king's geld.

HUNDRET OF SUD ERPINCHAM [SOUTH ERPINGHAM]

In CALETORP [Calthorpe] Gueric and Osbert hold 1 ploughland, which was held by Lestan, a freeman. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins and 8 bordars, and 1 plough on the demesne, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men: 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 15 swine. The third part of a mill. ⁶ Then 3 rounceys.⁵ Then 13 beasts, now 1. Then 30 swine, now 10. Then 7 hives of bees, now 2. It was then worth ⁶ 20 shillings,⁵ now 30.

BOTUNA [Booton] is held by the same persons (*idem homines*) (as) 1 ploughland; a sokeman of Harold (held it) T.R.E. Then as now (there

² These figures are jotted down at the bottom of the page, but what they referred to is not clear; possibly the acreage of the holdings of the freemen and sokemen. If so 65 is probably a mistake for 70.

³ In margin *f=fecit retornum*; see Introduction, p. 2.

⁴ In Brandeston; Blomefield, viii, 195.

⁵ Repeated.

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was) 1 villein; and 4 bordars, and 1 serf, and 1 plough on the demesne, and half (a plough) belonging to the men; and 2 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 16 swine. It was then worth 10 shillings, and (the same) now. The soke is in Caustuna [Cawston]. All this was delivered for 1 manor.

f. 262.

XXXVIII. THE LANDS OF ROBERT DE VERLI¹

HUNDRET OF GILDECROS [GUILTCROSS]

HERLINGA [Harling (East)²] was held by Auti T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins and 3 bordars, and 2 serfs; 4 acres of meadow. Then (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, and afterwards 2 oxen, now 1 plough. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, and afterwards a half, now 1 plough. Wood(land) for 12 swine. Then 8 beasts, now 3, and 8 swine. Then 14 sheep, now 120. And 5 sokemen (with) 30 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. And it is worth 30 shillings, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land.³

HUNDRET OF GALGOU [GALLOW]

In BRUNEHAM TORP [Burnham Thorpe] Goduin held 1 ploughland T.R.E., and afterwards Ralf, when he suffered forfeiture (*se forisfecit*). Then as now (there were) 8 bordars. Then 1 serf. Then 1 plough on the demesne, now a half. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, now a half. Then 2 rounceys, now 1. Then 180 sheep, now 21. And there are 2 freemen on this ploughland (*ii liberi homines manent in hanc carucata terre*). It was then worth 40 shillings, now 30.

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOGA [GREENHOE, (NORTH)]

In DALLINGA [Field Dalling] G[oduin], uncle of Ralf, held T.R.E. 11 freemen (*liberi homines*) (with) 1 ploughland. Now R[obert] de Verlei holds, saying that he holds it in exchange for Rochinges in another county [Roding⁴] (*pro mutuo de Rochinges. Alterius terre*). Then (there were) 2 ploughs, now 1, and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings. And he vouches (*revocat*) Robert Blund (*Blondum*) as the feoffor of it (*inde . . . liberatorem*).

HUNDRET OF WALESSA[M] [WALSHAM]

In TUNESTALLE [Tunstall] Calp held (*tenet*) 80 acres of land T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 6 bordars. Then as now (there was)

¹ In margin *f=fecit (retornum)*, see Introduction, p. 2.

² *Feud. Aids*, iii, 441.

³ Perhaps this should read 'and renders $7\frac{1}{2}$ pence of geld.'

⁴ In Essex; see Introduction, p. 20.

1 plough on the demesne, 1 plough belonging to the men, (and) 10 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 60, now 50, sheep (and) 1 saltpan. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings.

XXXVIII. THE LANDS OF HUMFREY SON OF AUBREY (*Alb[eric]i*)⁵

HUNDRET OF GILDEGROS [GUILTCROSS]

REDELEFWORDA [Riddlesworth] was held by Orgar, a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland.

f. 262b.

Then and afterwards (there were) 2 bordars, now none. Then as now 1 serf, and 9 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. And (there are) 4 freemen (with) 27 acres of land, and 3 bordars, and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. Then as now (there was) 1 rouncey. Then 9 swine, now 13. Then 26 sheep, now 21. Then as now it was worth 30 shillings. The soke of the 4 men is in Keninghehala [Kenninghall]. The whole is half a league in length and a half in breadth, and (renders) $11\frac{1}{2}$ pence of geld.

HUNDRET OF ENSFORD [EYNESFORD]

In BILLINGEFORDA [Billingford] 1 ploughland was held as a manor by a freewoman T.R.E. Then as now (there was) 1 villein, and 7 bordars. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 2 acres of meadow and 1 mill. When he (Humfrey) received it (there was) 1 rouncey, now none. Then as now 5 beasts and 60 sheep. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings. The soke was in the king's (manor of) Folsa[m] [Foulsham] T.R.E. Now Humfrey has it.

XL. THE LAND OF HUMFREY DE BOHUM⁶

HUNDRET OF BRODERCROS [BROTHERCROSS]

In TATERFORDA [Tatterford] Ulnoth held 1 ploughland T.R.E. of Bishop Stigand. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins and 11 (*or* 9, MS. *ixi*.) bordars, and 2 serfs. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne. Then (there were) 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now $1\frac{1}{2}$; 3 acres of meadow; (and) 1 mill. Then as now (there were) 2 beasts. Then 10 swine, now 14 and 100 sheep. And (there is) 1 outlying estate (*beruita*) (belonging) to this manor, of half a ploughland. Then as now (there were) 3 bordars and 1 plough; 2 acres of meadow (and) 1 mill. It was then worth 40 shil-

⁵ In margin *f=fecit (retornum)*; see Introduction, p. 2.

⁶ In margin *f*; see last note.

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lings and still (*semper*) is. And it is half a league in length and 3 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) $3\frac{3}{4}$ pence in geld. From this manor have been taken away (*ablati*) 4 sokemen (with) 40 acres; and W[illiam] de Warenne holds them.

f. 203.

XL. THE LANDS OF RALF DE FELGERES¹

DICE [DISS] HALF HUNDRET

OSMUNDESTUNA [Osmondiston²] was held (*tenet*) by Algar under Harold T.R.E. for half a ploughland. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins. Then as now 6 bordars. Then 2 serfs, now 1. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne, but there might be (*possunt esse*) 2. Then as now 2 ploughs belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 10 swine, (and) 6 acres of meadow. Then as now (there was) 1 horse in the home-stead (*aula*), and 2 beasts, and 10 swine. And (there are) 4 freemen with (*de*) 40 acres of land. Then (they had) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, afterwards and now 1, and 4 acres of meadow. It was then worth 40 shillings, afterwards 50, and (the same) now. It is 5 furlongs in length and 4 in breadth, and (renders) 2 pence of geld.

XLII. THE LANDS OF GILBERT (GISLEBERTI), SON OF RICHER³

HUNDRET OF CLAKESLOSA [CLACKCLOSE]

MIDELHALE [Mildenhall⁴] was held by Ailiet T.R.E. Then (there were) 2 ploughs, now 1. Then as now 15 villeins and 5 bordars. Then 4 serfs, now 2. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1. Then 1 rouncey. Then 16 swine, now 8 and 2 beasts. Then as now 29 sheep and 10 acres of meadow. It was then worth 5 pounds, now 4.

XLIII. THE LANDS OF ROGER DE RAMIS

HUNDRET OF WANELUND [WAYLAND]

TOTINTUNA [Tottington], which Alwin, a freeman, held T.R.E., is held by Warenger (*Waregius*) (as) 3 ploughlands. Then and afterwards (there were) 9 villeins, now 7. Then 1 bordar. Then and afterwards 2 serfs, now none; 12 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, now $1\frac{1}{2}$. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs be-

longing to the men, now a half. Then as now 2 rounceys and 15 beasts. Then 20 swine, now 5. Then 80 (sheep), now 14, (and) 6 goats. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, now 20.

HALF HUNDRET OF HERSA[M] [EARSHAM]

In PLESTUNA [Pirlestone⁵] he also (*idem*) holds 24 acres of land, but they were in St. Edmund's

f. 263b.

manor (*aula*). And (there are) 12 freemen of St. Edmund, who could neither give nor sell their land without the leave of the saint, and of Stigand who had soke and sac in Ersam [Earsham]. The men have 60 acres, and 2 bordars. Then and afterwards (they had) 2 ploughs, now $1\frac{1}{2}$. Then and afterwards it was worth 10 shillings, now 5.

There also Roger (*idem*) holds 40 acres of land besides (*ad hoc*), which St. Edmund held (*tenet*) T.R.E. (as) witness the hundret. Now Warenger holds it, but the hundret knows not how.

In STERESTUNA [Starston] he also (*idem*) holds 2 freemen (*liberi homines*), of Stigand T.R.E., belonging to (*pertinentes in*) Hersam [Earsham]; whom Warenger holds under R[oger] de Ramis, with (*de*) 16 acres of land. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. Then and afterwards they were worth 4 shillings, now 32 pence.

HUNDRET OF HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD]

RAINILTORP [Rainthorpe⁶] was held by Alwin, a freeman, (as) 60 acres of land; now William holds it. Then as now (there was) 1 plough, and 7 acres of meadow, and 2 mills and the fifth part of a mill. And 6 freemen (hold) 7 acres. Then as now (they had) half a plough. And 1 freeman by commendation (holds) 30 acres. Then (there were) 2 villeins, now 1. Then as now half a plough, and 1 acre of meadow. It was then worth 30 shillings, now 43.

XLIII. THE LAND OF JUIKEL THE PRIEST⁷

HUNDRET OF HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD]

In HETHELLA [Hethel] Alger held half a ploughland by commendation only T.R.E., under Edric the predecessor of Robert Malet. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins and 2 bordars, and 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough belonging to the men, (and) 3 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 4 swine. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 30.

⁵ Now Billingford.

⁶ In Newton-Flotman; Blomefield, v, 65.

⁷ In margin *f=fecit (retornum)*; see Introduction, p. 2.

¹ In margin *f*; see note ⁵ p. 184. ² Now Scole.

³ In margin *nich*='no return'; see Introduction, p. 2.

⁴ In Cambridge, but formerly partly in Norfolk; Rye, *Norf. Topog.* 214.

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XLV. THE LAND OF COLEB[ER]N THE PRIEST¹

In the HUNDRET OF HUMILIART [HUMBLE-YARD] Coleb[er]n built (*fecit*) a certain church of St. NICHOLAS [in Bracondale²] with the king's leave (*concessu*). And if the king allows he will give (it) 20 acres. And therefore he sings mass and the psalms (*psalterium*) every week for the king. And it is worth 2 shillings.

f. 264.

XLVI. THE LANDS OF EADMUND SON OF PAIN (PAGANI)³

In D[u]NHAM [Dunham]⁴ Pain (*Paganus*) held 4 ploughlands T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 12 villeins. Then and afterwards (there were) 4 bordars, now 13. Then 4 serfs, afterwards and now 2; 14 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 plough on the demesne. Then and afterwards 5 ploughs belonging to the men, now 4, and 1 plough could be added (*potest restaurari*). Wood(land) for 100 swine. Then as now 1 mill. Then 1 rouncey, now 2. Then 4 beasts, now 9. Then 4 swine, now 17. Now 100 sheep, and 3 hives of bees. And 3 sokemen (have) 43 acres of land. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. Then and afterwards it was worth 100 shillings, now 8 pounds. This is held by Reynold (*Rainaldus*) the priest, with the daughter of Pain. And it is 1 league and 3 furlongs in length and 1 league in breadth, and (renders) 5 pence of geld.

XLVII. THE LANDS OF ISAC

HUNDRET [OF] WANELUND [WAYLAND]

In TOMESTUNA [Thompson] a freeman (held) 1 ploughland. Then as now there was 1 plough. And it is worth 20 shillings. This is of Earl Ralf's fee (*feudo*) of Stou [Stow (Bedon)]. Robert Blund delivered it (to Isac).

WALESSAM [WALSHAM] HUNDRET

BEGETONA [Beighton] was held by a freeman, Hofward, T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins and 7 bordars. (There was) 1 plough among them all (and) 7 acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 40 shillings, and it is of the soke of Earl R[alf].

HUNDRET [OF] LOTHNINGA [LODDON]

In WUDETUNA [Woodton] 2 freemen, Godwin's by commendation only T.R.E., were delivered instead of (*pro*) 60 acres. Then (they

¹ In margin *n=non* (*fecit retorum*).

² This is said by Blomefield (iv, 523) to be the church of St. Nicholas outside the gates of Norwich in Bracondale; *Feud. Aids*, iii, 606.

³ In margin *f*; see note ⁵ p. 184.

⁴ Probably Dunham in Launditch hundred.

had) 2 ploughs and afterwards, now 1; and half an acre of meadow. Then and afterwards they were worth 10 shillings, now 5. The king and the earl (have) the soke.

In LANGAHALA [Langhale] 1 freeman commended to Tholi the sheriff T.R.E. (holds) 1 ploughland. Then as now there was 1 plough on the demesne, but another might be added (*restaurari*). And 5 freemen under him (have) 8 acres of land, and 3 bordars, and half a plough. It was then worth 7 shillings, now 10.

In SILINGA [Seething] 3 freemen of Godwin by commendation (held) 80 acres of land T.R.E., and under them 2 villeins. Then (there were) 3 ploughs, afterwards 1½ ploughs, now 2. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 30. In MUNDAHAM [Mundham] (there is) 1 freeman of Godwin by commendation with (*de*) 10 acres of land and 1 bordar. He is included in the

f. 264b.

above valuation (*appretiatus est superius*).

In SITHINGA [Seething] a certain poor nun (*monialis*) claims 4 acres of land which she held under Ralf both before and since he suffered forfeiture (*forisfecisset*), and so the hundret bears witness. And Isac claims it as part of his fee (*revocat . . . ad feudum suum*) of the king's gift.

XLVIII. THE LAND OF TOVI⁵

HUNDRET [OF] FEORHOU [FOREHOE]

HAKEFORDA [Hackford] was held by Ketel, a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 60 acres of land. And (there are) 6 bordars and 1 acre (of meadow). Wood(land) for 10 swine. And it is worth 10 shillings. And (it is) 3 furlongs in length and 2 in breadth, and (renders) 7½ pence of geld.

HUNDRET [OF] GRENEOV [NORTH GREENHOE]

HOLCHA[M] [Holkham] was held by Ketel, a freeman, (as) 3 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins and 8 bordars. Then 5 serfs. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 1½ ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 1; and 1 rood⁶ (*virga*) of meadow. Then as now 1 mill. Then 4 beasts, now 1. Then 21 swine, now 5. Then as now 300 sheep. And (there are) 18 sokemen with all custom, but he has the soke. (They have) 56 acres of land (and) now as then 2 ploughs. To this manor have been added 3 freemen, 2 Harold's by commendation, and 1 Gert's, (with) 1½ ploughlands. These his predecessor held. Under them (are) 9 bordars. Then as now (there were) 7 sokemen (with) 16 acres of land. They had then

⁵ In margin, *n æs* (?)

⁶ Or rod (?)

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4 ploughs among them (*inter eos*), and afterwards and now 1. (The manor) was then worth 6 pounds, afterwards and now 8. It is 1 league in length and (the same) in breadth, and (renders) 2 shillings of geld.

HUNDRET OF HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD]

In STOKES [Stoke (Holy Cross)]¹ 'Galtlus' ² a thegn (*tennus*) held 60 acres of land T.R.E. Then (there were) 7 villeins, now 1; then as now 8 bordars and 2 ploughs (on the demesne), and 2 ploughs belonging to the men, and 6 acres of meadow. Of this meadow St. Benet [of Holme] claims 4 acres, which he held T.R.E. (There is) wood(land) for 5 swine, and now as then 1 mill.

There also Ketel, a freeman of Stigand, held 30 acres. Then as now (there was) 1 villein ^{f. 265.}

and 5 bordars. Then (there was) 1 plough (on the demesne). Then half a plough belonging to the men (and) 4 acres of meadow.

There also 1 freeman of Stigand (held) 30 (acres). Then (there was) 1 plough. These three manors are held by Tovi as (*pro*) one. Then as now (there was) 1 rouncey. Then 1 beast, now 3. Then 3 swine, now 20. Then 40 sheep, now 25, and 1 hive of bees. And (there were) 5 freemen by commendation and foldsoke T.R.E. (with) 25 acres. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. Then as now (the whole) was worth 4 pounds and 17 pence. And (there are) 1½ churches (with) 23 acres.

In TORP [Swainsthorpe] (there are) 15 freemen (with) 155 acres. And of 11½ of them Ralf Stalra had the commendation T.R.E., and Stigand the like (*similiter*) of 3; and the predecessor of Godric the Sewer (*Dapiferi*) (had) the like (*similiter*) of a half. Then (they had) 6 ploughs, now 7½, and 11 acres of meadow, and half a mill, and 12 bordars; and it is worth 29 shillings. (There is) 1 church (with) 23 acres and 1½ bordars. And Stokes [Stoke (Holy Cross)] is 1 league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 11 pence of geld; and Torp [Swainsthorpe] is half a league in length and half a league in breadth, and (renders) 11 pence of geld.

In NIWETUNA [Newton (Flotman)] (there are) 2 freemen (with) 30 acres. And Roger Bigot's predecessor had the commendation of 1½ T.R.E., and (that of) the half (belonged to) the predecessor of Ralf de Bella Fago. Then as now (there were) 5 bordars, and 1 plough, and 3 acres of meadow, and 4 freemen with (*de*) 12½ acres. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 13 shillings and 4 pence.

¹ Actually in Henstead hundred.

² Or 'STOKES was held by Ingaltlus.'

In KENINCHA[M] [Keningham³] (there are) 3 free(men). Of 2 of these Roger Bigot's predecessor had the commendation T.R.E., and of one the predecessor of Ralf de Bella Fago. And they have 75 acres. And (there are) 5 freemen under them with (*de*) 18½ acres, and 2 bordars, and 2 ploughs. (They were) then (worth) 10 shillings, now 13 (shillings) and 3 pence. There also (is) half a freeman (with) 7½ acres and 2 oxen, and he is worth 16 pence. And it is half a league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth, and (renders) 11 pence of geld.

HUNDRET OF HENESTEDA [HENSTEAD]

(There was) 1 freeman of St. Benet [of Holme] T.R.E., (with) 5 acres and 2½ bordars and half a plough. And he is worth 8 shillings. All the churches are (included) in the valuation with the manors.

5, 75, 30, 2½, 155, 30, 30, 60, 60, 25, and 18.⁴

^{f. 265b.}

XLIX. THE LANDS OF JOHN NEPHEW (NEPOTIS) OF W[ALERAN]⁵

HUNDRET OF SMETHETUNA [SMETHDEN]

RINC[s]TEDA [Ringstead], was held by Bou, a freeman, T.R.E. Then (there were) 4 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 3. Then and afterwards (there were) 8 bordars, now 16. Then 6 serfs, afterwards 4, now 5; 10 acres of meadow. Then as now (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men and 1 mill. Then as now 1 rouncey. Then 1 swine, now 20. Then 3 sheep, now 100. It was then worth 4 pounds, afterwards 40 shillings, now 6 pounds.

HUNESTANESTUNA [Hunstanton] is held by John, (Bou) also (*idem*) (held it) T.R.E. Then (there were) 2 ploughs, afterwards 1, now 2. Then as now 4 (villeins). Then and afterwards 5 bordars, now 7. Then and afterwards 3 serfs, now 4. And 2 acres of meadow then as now (belonged) to the men. Then (there was) 1 cow (*vacca*), now 8 beasts (*animalia*). Now 40 swine. Then 1 sheep, now 40, and 3 hives of bees; and 1 sokeman (with) 5 acres. Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, now 40. (There is) 1 church without land. The whole of Rincsteda [Ringstead] is 1½ leagues in length and a half in breadth, and renders 8 pence in 20 shillings (geld).

HUNDRET [OF] WANELUNT [WAYLAND]

CHEREBOC [Carbrooke] was held by Alfere, a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 4½ ploughlands. Then and

³ In Mulbarton.

⁴ These figures, jotted down at the bottom of the page, apparently refer to the number of acres in Tovi's different estates.

⁵ In margin, *f r=fecit retornum*; see Introd. p. 2.

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afterwards (there were) 10 villeins, now 6; then as now 18 bordars; 24 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 3 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards 1, now 3; then as now 6 ploughs belonging to the men; wood(land) for 400 swine. Now (there is) 1 mill (and) half a fishery. To this manor belong (*Hic jacent*) now as then 24 sokemen (holding) 1 ploughland by all custom (*ad omnem consuetudinem*).

In GRESTUNA [Griston] Osbert holds an outlying estate (*bereuita*) which belongs now as then to this manor, and 2 villeins, and 2 serfs, and 2 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards (there was) 1 plough, now 1½ ploughs, on the demesne. Then (there were) 4 rounceys, and (the same) now, and now 10 beasts. Then 20 swine, now 30. Then 40 sheep, now 44. Now 10 hives of bees. The whole is worth 7 pounds. (There is) 1 church (with) 24 acres and it is worth 2 shillings.

In WESKEREBROC [West Carbrooke] he also (*idem*) holds 1 freeman (*homo*) (with) 40 acres of land. Then as now (there was) 1 bordar and 1 serf. Then and afterwards (there was) 1 plough.

f. 266.

And it is worth 10 shillings. The soke is in the king's (manor of) Saham [Saham (Toney)]. Roger Bigot's predecessor (had) only the commendation. The whole of Cherebroc [Carbrooke] is 8 furlongs in length and half a league in breadth, and (renders) 15 pence of geld. (There is) 1 church (with) 20 acres, worth 12 pence.

HUNDRET [OF] SCREPHA[M] [SHROPHAM]

BRETHA[M] [Brettenham], which a freeman held T.R.E., is held by William (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins, and 1 bordar and 1 serf; 12 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, and 1 mill. Then as now 60 sheep; and 2 free(men with) 19 acres of land, whom he had by commendation only. The soke is in Bucha[m] [Buckenham, (Old)]. And 1 freeman (holds) 30 acres of land. (His) soke belongs to St. Etheldreda (*in Sancta Adel[dreda]*).¹ The whole is worth 60 shillings. There also 1 freeman (held) 2 ploughlands T.R.E. Then (there were) 12 villeins, afterwards and now 3. Then as now 3 bordars, and 8 acres of meadow. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then (there were) 3 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards and now 2. Then as now 1 mill. Then as now 2 beasts. Now 14 swine and 70 sheep and 5 hives of bees. It was then worth 60 shillings, now 40. The soke is in Bucha[m] [Buckenham, (Old)].

HUNDRET [OF] HEINSTEDE [HENSTEAD]

In SASILINGAHA[M] [Saxlingham (Nethergate)] Stergar the Huscarl (*Huscarla*) (held) 30 acres of

¹ Compare *Inq. Elien.* (Hamilton), pp. 140, 195.

land T.R.E. Then as now (there was) half a bordar. Then 2 serfs, now 1, and half a mill; (and) 1½ acres of meadow. Then (there was) 1 plough, now none and ² Then and afterwards it was worth 20 shillings, now 13. (There is) 1 church (with) 10 acres, and it is worth 16 pence.

In T[UR]MENTUNA [? Thurton] Ketel, a freeman, held 8 acres and half an acre of meadow under Stigand T.R.E. Then (there were) 2 oxen. It was then worth 2 shillings, now 12 pence.

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF FREDREBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

WALPOLA [Walpole] was held by a freeman T.R.E. (as) half a ploughland. Then as now (there were) 6 bordars, and half a plough. And it is worth 5 shillings.

f. 266b.

L. THE LANDS OF ROGER SON OF RENARD³

HUNDRET OF GRIMESHOU [GRIMSHOE]

STANFORDA [Stanford] was held by Alstan T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 5 villeins, and 2 bordars. Then and afterwards 5 serfs, now 2; (and) 8 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then and afterwards 1 plough belonging to the men, now 2 oxen. Then as now 1½ mills. Then and now 2 rounceys. Then 8 beasts, now 12. Then 8 swine, now 10. Then 200 sheep, now 80 (*iiii viginti*). It was then and now is worth 40 shillings. There also there are 8 freemen with (*de*) 2 ploughlands and 36 acres, and 1 bordar, and 1 serf, (and) 4 acres of meadow. Then (they had) 3 ploughs, now 2. Then as now they were worth 20 shillings. He claims (*reclamat*) these (as) of the king's gift (*dono*). The whole is 1 league in length and a half in breadth, and renders 15 pence of geld out of (every) 20 shillings. And over these (freemen) the king and the earl have soke.

In BUCKENHAM [Buckenham (Tofts)] 7 freemen (have) 1 ploughland and 20 acres and 6 villeins. Then as now (they had) 2 ploughs. And they are worth 11 shillings. The king and the earl (have) the soke.

In ICHEBURC [Igborough] (there is) 1 freeman (with) 40 acres. Then as now (he had) half a plough, and 2 acres of meadow. And he is worth 16 pence.

HUNDRET [OF] SMETHEDUNA [SMETHDEN]

TORP [(Ingoldes)thorp] was held T.R.E. by Turchetel, a freeman, (with) 1½ ploughlands, and

² Blank in MS.

³ In margin, f. r.; see Introduction, p. 2.

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5 bordars. Then (there were) 2 serfs, now 1; and 3 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards 6 oxen, now $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. Then as now (there was) half a plough belonging to the men, and half a mill, and 1 fishery. Then as now 1 rouncey, now 12 swine. Then 16 sheep, now 100. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 30. The soke (was) Stigand's.

WANELUND [WAYLAND]

SCULETUNA [Scoulton] was held by a freeman T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands. Then and afterwards (there were) 5 villeins, now 6. Then and afterwards 1 bordar, now 3. Then and afterwards 2 serfs, now 1; (and) 16 acres of meadow. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then (there were) $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs belonging to the men, now 2. Wood(land) for 300 swine. Then 10 beasts. Then 30 swine, now 15. Then 65 sheep, now 18. And (there are) 4 sokemen (with) 12 acres of land. And it is worth 40 shillings.

f. 267.

HUNDRET OF SCREPHA[M] [SHROPHAM]

ATLEBUR [Attleborough] was held by Toradre T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands and 3 acres. Then as now (there were) 6 villeins and 5 bordars. Then 1 serf, now 3; (and) 23 acres of meadow. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men: wood(land) for 60 swine, and 2 thirds (*partes*) of a mill (and) half a fishery. Then 2 rounceys, ¹ now 1. Then as now 1 cow. Then 6 swine, now 5, and 8 sheep. And (there are) 21 sokemen (with) 80 acres of land, and 12 acres of meadow (and) wood(land) for 8 swine. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs, now 3. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, now 60.

In another ATLEBURC [Attleborough] Turchill held 2 ploughlands T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 6 villeins and 5 bordars: 24 acres of meadow (and) wood(land) for 60 swine. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men, and 1 plough might be added (*posset esse*). Now (there is) half a mill and half a fishery. And 17 sokemen (have) 47 acres of land, 8 acres of meadow, wood(land) for 12 swine, (and) now as then 3 ploughs. Then (there was) 1 rouncey. Then as now 2 beasts. Then 6 swine, now 4. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, now 60. The whole is 2 leagues in length, and 1 league in breadth, whoever holds there, and (renders) $34\frac{1}{2}$ pence of geld.

In ROKELUND [Rockland] 1 ploughland was held by Ringul, a freeman, T.R.E. Then as now (there was) 1 villein, and 8 bordars. Then

¹ Repeated.

2 serfs, now 1: and 8 acres of meadow (and) wood(land) for 8 swine. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1. Then and afterwards (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men, now a half, and 1 plough might be added (*posset esse*). (There is) now 1 beast, and 5 swine, and 24 sheep. Now as then it is worth 20 shillings.

HUNDRET OF HOLT²

In KELLINGA [Kelling] Wester, a freeman of Guert, held 2 ploughlands T.R.E.; now Ralf son of Hagana (holds them). Then as now (there were) 6 villeins and 20 bordars. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, and afterwards 1, now 2. Then as now 2 (ploughs) belonging to the men: (and) 1 acre of meadow. Then as now 1 rouncey. Then 16 swine (*post*), now 20. Then as now 40 sheep and 29 goats. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40 shillings.

HUNDRET [OF] LOTHNINGA [LODDON]³

In MUNDAHAM [Mundham] St. Etheldreda held T.R.E. 20 acres in demesne. Now

f. 267b.

Ro[ger] holds (them). Then as now (there were) 2 bordars; and it is worth 3 shillings.

HUNDRET [OF] DEPWADE

HATESTUNA [Hudeston]³ was held by Osbern, a thegn, T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins and 20 bordars. Then (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, now $1\frac{1}{2}$. Then as now 3 ploughs belonging to the men; (and) 6 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 24 swine, now 12, and 20 sheep. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40.

HUNDRET [OF] CLAVELINGA [CLAVERING]

RAVELINCHAM [Raveningham] was held by O[s]bern, a thegn, T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands and $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Then (there were) 2 villeins, now 3. Then 2 serfs. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 plough might be added (*posset fieri*); and 1 plough belonging to the men, 8 acres of meadow, (and) wood(land) for 5 swine. Then (there were) 4 beasts, now 12 swine, and 5 sokemen (with) 13 acres, and 1 church (with) 60 acres. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40.

In TURUERTUNA [Thurlton] a freeman (held) 20 acres under the predecessor of R[alf] de Bellafago by commendation only, and 2 acres of meadow, and half a plough. And he is worth 8 shillings.

² These two entries are cancelled. They belong to the fee of Ralf son of Hagon (f. 270 below).

³ In Bunwell.

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LI. THE LANDS OF BERNER THE ARBLASTER¹

FRIDEBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE] HUNDRET AND A HALF

In GRIMESTUNA [Grimston] Ulueru[n], a freewoman, held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 6 bordars and 1 serf, and 10 acres of meadow. Then (there was) 1 plough, afterwards none (*nichil*), now 1. Then as now 1 mill. To this manor belong (*Hic jacent*) 2 sokemen (with) 3 acres, and 3 freemen (with) 4 acres. The whole is worth 20 shillings.

In CONCHAM [Congham] (there is) 1 freeman (with) 60 acres of land, and 1 bordar, and 3 acres of meadow. Then (there was) half a plough. There also (are) 4 freemen (with) 3 acres. The whole is worth 10 shillings. He claims (*revocat*) all those freemen of the king's gift (*dono*).

In HELINGETUNA [Hillington] the same Uluerun held 2 ploughlands and 15 acres T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 7 villeins and 8 bordars, and 2 serfs; (and) 10 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards 1, now 2. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men: 1 mill, and 1 saltpan. Then 100 sheep, now 80. Then 12 swine,

f. 268.

now 7. Then and afterwards it was worth 4 pounds, now 100 shillings. The whole is 1½ leagues in length and a half in breadth, whoever holds there, and renders 8 pence of geld in 20 shillings.

HUNDRET [OF] DECHINGA [DOCKING]²

SCERNEBRUNE [Shernborne] was held by a freeman T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland. Then (there was) 1 (plough) on the demesne, afterwards none, now 1. (There are) 5 bordars, 1 mill, the twelfth part of a saltpan, and the twelfth part of a mill; (and) 2½ acres of meadow. Then and afterwards (it was worth) 16 (shillings), but now 20.

HUNDRET [OF] WANELUND [WAYLAND]

ASSCELEA [Ashill] was held T.R.E. by Alvríc, a thegn of Harold, (as) 2 ploughlands. Then (there were) 10 villeins, afterwards and now 7; then as now 11 bordars; (and) 13 acres of meadow. Then (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, afterwards 1, now 2. Then (there were) 5 ploughs belonging to the men, afterwards 3, now 2. (There is) wood(land) for 120 swine, and 1 fishery. Now (there is) 1 beast. Then 10 swine, now 8, and 24 goats; and (then) 60 sheep, now 67. Now as then it is worth 50 shillings. There also 6 freemen

(have) half a ploughland, and 7 acres of land. Then (they had) 4 ploughs, afterwards and now 2; (and 2) acres of meadow. And they are worth 10 shillings. This is (Berners') by way of exchange (*pro esc[angio]*), and was one of (*de*) the manors of Earl Ralf.

In SCULETUNA [Scoulton] 1 freeman held 3 ploughlands under Harold T.R.E. Then and afterwards (there were) 6 villeins, now 5; then as now 5 bordars, 26 acres of meadow, and 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then as now (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men; (and) wood(land) for 300 swine. Then as now (there were) 2 rounceys; and (then) 4 beasts, now 10; and 24 swine, now 10; and 15 sheep, now 110; and then as now 30 goats. Then as now it was worth 50 shillings. The whole is 1½ leagues in length, and 1 league in breadth, whoever holds there, and (renders) 15 pence of geld. This is one of (*de*) Ralf's manors.

In TOMESTUNA [Thompson] 1 ploughland was held T.R.E. Then (there was) 1 plough, afterwards and now a half; (and) 1 bordar. And it is worth 16 shillings. This also is of Ralf's fee (*feudo*).

HUNDRET [OF] ERPINGEHA[M] NORT [NORTH ERPINGHAM]

In OTHESTRANDA [Overstrand] Eschet held (an estate rated) at (*pro*) 2 ploughlands T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 6 villeins, and 18 bordars, and 2 serfs. Then 2 ploughs on the demesne, afterwards and now 1, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men, (and) 1 mill. Wood(land) for 3 swine. Then (there was) 1 rouncey, now

f. 268b.

2. Then 2 beasts, now 6. Then 4 (swine), now 5 swine. Now 19 sheep, then 15. (There are) 3 goats. And (there are) 5 sokemen with (*de*) 32 acres of land, and 1 acre of meadow. And the king has the soke. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. It was then worth 40 shillings, and (is) still (*semper*). And it is 7 furlongs in length, and 4 in breadth, and (renders) 6¾ pence of geld.

HUNDRET OF GRREHOU [SOUTH GREENHOE]

In PIKEHAM [Pickenham] 1 freeman has 12 acres and a house (*domum*) of the fee (*feudo*) of Earl R[alf], and is in the soke of the hundred. Now as then he has 1 mill, and is worth 7 shillings. R[obert] Blund gave (him) livery (*liberavit*) of this (land).

HUNDRET OF ENSFORDA [EYNESFORD]

In HACFORDA [Hackford] 1 freeman held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins and 3 bordars. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, and half a plough

¹ In margin, *f. = fecit (retornum)*; see Introduction, p. 2.

² Now in Smithdon.

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belonging to the men, and 2 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for 30 swine. Then as now 1 rouncey, and 5 swine, and 12 sheep. And it is worth 20 shillings.

LII. THE LANDS OF GILBERT (GISLEBERTI) THE ARBLASTER¹

HUNDRET [OF] SCEREPHAM [SHROPHAM]

(In SHROPHAM) Alvrice held 1 ploughland for (*pro*) a manor T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 3 bordars. Then and afterwards 2 serfs, now 1; and 10 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 2 ploughs, afterwards and now 1. Then as now 1 mill. And 1 freeman was added to this manor (*hic*) by way of exchange (*pro escangio*) with (*de*) 30 acres, (and) 4 acres of meadow, and 1 bordar, and now as then half a plough. Now (there is) 1 rouncey and 2 beasts. Then (there were) 3 swine, now 8. Then 80 (sheep), now 40; and 3 hives of bees. The whole is worth 30 shillings. The soke of the freeman (is) in Bucham [Buckenham, (Old)].

HUNDRET [OF] WALESSA[M] [WALSHAM]

In TUNESTALLE [Tunstall], a freeman, Ratho, held half a ploughland. Then as now (there were) 6 bordars, (and) 8 acres of meadow. Then (there was) half a plough, now 1 plough on the demesne. Then as now half a plough belonging to the men; (and) 3 beasts. Then 52 sheep, now 28. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 22 shillings.

HUNDRET [OF] BLAFELDA [BLOFIELD]

In BRUNDALA [Brundall] (an estate rated) at (*pro*) 1 ploughland, was held by a freeman, Godf. 259.

win, commended to Gert. After the king came Earl R[alf] received it (*accepit*), now Gilbert the Arblaster holds it as (*pro*) 2 ploughlands. (There were) then 5, and now 4 bordars. Then and afterwards (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, now 2. The men plough, now as then, with 2 oxen. (There is) wood(land) for 5 swine, and 25 acres of meadow. And (there are) there 12½ freemen with 90 acres (*lxxx ac' et x*) of land. Then as now (they had) 1½ ploughs. It was then worth 25 shillings, now 40. And it is 1 league in length, and a half in breadth, and (renders) 7 pence of geld.

HALF HUNDRET [OF] DICE [DISS]

In TELVENTUNA [Thelverton] Alsic held under King Edward (an estate rated) at (*pro*) 2 ploughlands. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins and 2 bordars. Then and afterwards (there were) 2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1. Then as now (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men.

¹ In margin, *f.* = *fecit (retornum)*; see Introduction, p. 2.

Wood(land) for 30 swine, and 4 acres of meadow. Now (there is) 1 horse (*equus*) in the homestead (*aula*). Then (there were) 9 beasts, now 8. Then 8 swine, now 11. Now 20 sheep and 1 hive of bees. And (there are) 6 freemen belonging to Gilbert (*ejusdem*) by commendation, with (*de*) 60 acres of land. Then as now (they had) 2 ploughs among them all (*inter omnes*) and 2 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, now 20.

LIII. THE LANDS OF RALF THE ARBLASTER

HUNDRET [OF] BLAFELDA [BLOFIELD]

In PLUMESTEDE [Plumstead] Tovi, a freeman of Gert, held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then as now (there was) 1 villein. Then (there was) half a plough, afterwards none (*nichil*), now a half; and 2 acres of land. Then 11 sheep. In this manor dwelt (*manebant*) 6½ freemen (with) 20 acres of land (and) 2 acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. These he claims to hold (*reclamat*) by livery (*ex liberatione*). The demesne land (*Hoc quod est in dominio*) was then worth 5 shillings, now 10 shillings; and the freemen 5 shillings. And it is 1 league in length (*latitudine*) and a half in breadth, and (renders) 14 pence of geld, whoever holds there.

LIIII. THE LANDS OF ROBERT THE ARBLASTER

HUNDRET [OF] FEORHOU [FOREHOE]

In APPETHORP []² Alfere, a freeman, held 1 ploughland T.R.E. (as) 30 acres of land for (*pro*) a manor. Then (there were) 2 villeins, f. 259b.

now 4, and 15 sokemen; then as now 3 ploughs, wood(land) for 15 swine, and 4 acres of meadow. Now (there are) 6 swine, 20 sheep, (and) 20 goats. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 32. And it is 4 furlongs in length and 2 in breadth, and (renders) 5 pence of geld.

LV. THE LANDS OF RABELLUS THE CARPENTER (*Artificis*)³

HUNDRET [OF] BLAFELDA [BLOFIELD]

In MORA [? The Moor⁴] Siric, a freeman, held 2 ploughlands T.R.E. Then (there were) 8 vil-

² See f. 145b, and note.

³ In margin, *f.* = *fecit (retornum)*; see previous note.

⁴ That is to say Mousehold Heath. In Norwich Book of Pleas, fol. xxvi, dors., Extracts from Pipe Roll, 'Item in Norf.' in 34 Hen. III. Th. Grelley accuses the citizens of Norwich of taking toll of his tenants of Mor', in Blofield Hundred:

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leins, afterwards and now 5. Then 4 serfs, afterwards and now 2. Then $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs on the demesne, afterwards 1, and now 2. Then as now half a plough belonging to the men, and 10 acres of meadow. Now (there is) 1 rouncey. Then as now 3 beasts. Then 3 swine (*post*), and now 12; now 100 sheep and 1 saltpan. It was then worth 40 (shillings), afterwards 30, now 40. And it is 8 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth, and (renders 20 pence?) in a geld of 20 shillings. And the soc and sac belong to the king and the earl.

EAST HUNDRET OF FLEC [EAST FLEGG]

In PHILEBEY [Filby] R[alf] Stalara held 2 ploughlands and 47 acres as (*pro*) a manor T.R.E. Then (there were) 8 villeins, afterwards and now 6; and 2 bordars. Then as now (there was) 1 plough on the demesne and 1 plough belonging to the men, and 14 acres of meadow. Then as now 2 rounceys and 1 beast. Then (there were) 7 swine, now 10. And (there are) 3 sokemen (with) 15 acres. Then as now (they had) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and 1 acre of meadow. And (there are) 14 freemen (with) half a ploughland and 6 acres. Then as now (they had) $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and 1 acre of meadow. It was then worth 40 shillings, afterwards and now 50. The king and the earl (have) soke over (*de*) the freemen. And it is 1 league and $3\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs in length, and half a league and 25 perches in breadth, and (renders) 2 shillings of geld, whoever holds there.

LVI. THE LANDS OF HAGON

HUNDRET OF ENSFORD [EYNESFORD]

In BINNETRE [Bintree] Hagon (*Hagonus*) the king's reeve holds 100 acres of land. Then as now (there were) 10 sokemen. Then as now the men (had) 4 ploughs among them (*inter se*), and 7 acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings.

In GEGETE [Guist] (there are) 100 acres of land. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins and 5 bordars. Then as now the men (had) 2 ploughs among them (*inter se*), and 4 acres of meadow. (There is) wood(land) for 8 swine. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings.

¹ 270.

In NORTUNA [(Wood) Norton] (there are) 50 acres of land, and 5 sokemen dwelling (*manentes*) on the said (*ipsa*) land. Then as now the men (had) 2 ploughs among them (*inter se*), and 2

(*ex inform.* Rev. W. Hudson, F.S.A.). As, however, Rabell held other lands in the neighbourhood of Limpenhoe and Southwood (p. 203) it seems possible that 'the moor' may refer to the marshlands lying between the rivers Yare and Bure; as indeed seems implied by the reference in *Feud. Aids*, iii, 418.

acres of meadow. (There is) wood(land) for 5 swine. Then as now it was worth 10 shillings.

In GEGESTUEIT [Guestwick] (there are) 50 acres of land, (and) then as now 2 sokemen and 1 bordar (dwelling) on the said (*ipsa*) land. Then as now the men (had) $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs among them (*inter se*) and 5 acres of meadow. (There is) wood(land) for 10 swine. Then as now it was worth 10 shillings. And in WESTUNA [Weston] (there is) 1 sokeman (with) 16 acres of land. Then as now (he had) half a plough. And he is worth 2 shillings.

And in SPARHAM [Sparham] (there is) 1 freeman (with) 30 acres of land and 1 bordar, over whom his predecessor had only commendation. Then as now (he had) half a plough and 2 acres of meadow. And he is worth 4 shillings.

And in TYTHEBY [Tyby¹] (there is) 1 freeman (with) 15 acres, and 2 bordars. Then as now (he had) half a plough, and half an acre of meadow; wood(land) for 3 swine. Then as now he was worth 3 shillings. And in SALLA [Sall] (there is) 1 sokeman. And in TIRNINGA [Thurning] (there is) 1 (sokeman with) 20 acres of land. Then as now (he had) 1 plough. And he is worth 4 shillings.

LVII. THE LANDS OF RALF SON OF HAGON

HUNDRET OF HOLT²

In KELLINGA [Kelling] Wester, a freeman of Guert, held 2 ploughlands T.R.E. Now Ralf son of Hagon (*Hagana*) (holds them). Then as now (there were) 6 villeins and 20 bordars. (Then) and afterwards (there was) 1 (plough), now 2 (ploughs). Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs belonging to the men, and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now (there was) 1 rouncey. Then 16 swine, now 20. Then as now 40 sheep and 24 goats. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40.

HUNDRET [OF] LOTHNINGA [LODDON]

In MUNDAHAM³ [Mundham] St. Etheldreda (*Aldreda*) held 20 acres in demesne T.R.E. Now R[alf]⁴ holds them. Then as now (there were) 2 bordars. And it is worth 3 shillings.

HUNDRET OF ENSFORDA [EYNESFORD]

In SALLA [Sall] Wester, a freeman, held 1 ploughland T.R.E. Then as now (there was) 1 villain, and 10 bordars. Then as now 1 plough

¹ In Wood Dalling.

² Compare f. 267 above.

³ See *Inq. Elten.* (Hamilton), p. 140.

⁴ *Inq. Elten.* adds 'son of Rainard,' cf. f. 267 above. This mistake must have been made in the *breve* from which both *Inq. Elten.* and Domesday were copied.

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on the demesne, and 2 ploughs belonging to the men. And 1 acre of meadow. Wood(land) for 6 swine; and half a mill, and 4 beasts, and 6 swine. And it is worth 20 shillings.

f. 270b.

LVIII. THE LANDS OF VLCHETEL¹

HUNDRET OF SCERPHA[M] [SHROPHAM]

In LURINGA [Larling] this same (*idem*) Ulchetel held 2 ploughlands T.R.E. Then and afterwards (there were) 6 villeins, now 4; then as now 1 bordar. Then and still (*semper*) 8 acres (of meadow). Then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then 2 ploughs belonging to the men, now 1. Now (there is) 1 mill (*mulina*). And now as then (there are) 2 freemen (holding) 26 acres by commendation only. And (their) soke is in the king's (manor of) Bucha[m] [(Old) Buckenham]. Then as now (they had) 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow. Then as now (the manor) was worth 40 shillings. The whole is half a league in length and a half in breadth, whoever holds there, and (renders) 8½ pence of geld.

HUNDRET [OF] GILLECROS [GUILTCROSS]

In RUSCEWORDA [Rushford] Bundo, a freeman, held 2 ploughlands T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 6 villeins, and 1 bordar, and 1 serf, and 12 acres of meadow, and 2 ploughs on the demesne. Then (there were) 2² ploughs² belonging to the men, now 1; and another might be added (*posset restaurari*). And (there is) 1 freeman (with) 14 acres of land whom he claims (*revocat*) (as) of the king's gift. Then as now (he had) 1 plough. Now (there are) 100 sheep, and 52 goats, and 7 swine. And the whole is worth 40 shillings. And it is 1½ leagues in length and 4 furlongs in breadth, whoever holds there, and (renders) 11½ pence of geld. The soke of the freeman is in Keninchala [Kenninghall].

HUNDRET [OF] WALESSA[M] [WALSHAM]

In WITONA [Witton] 2 freemen of Gert held 140 acres of land T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 6 bordars and 10 acres of meadow. Then (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, now 1½. Then as now 1 plough belonging to the men. Then as now it was worth 15 shillings. When Ralf suffered forfeiture (*se forisfecit*) he held it in his hand, and afterwards (Robert) Blond, and afterwards it was again seized (*resaitus*) into the king's hand (*in manu Regis*) by the king's writ.

LIX. THE LAND OF ALFRED

HUNDRET [OF] SCERPHA[M] [SHROPHAM]

In ATLEBURC [Attleborough] (Alfred holds) 2 ploughlands as (*pro*) a manor. Then as now

(there were) 8 villeins, and 16 acres of meadow; and then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, and 1 plough belonging to the men. Wood(land) for 40 swine. And (there are) 20 sokemen (with) half a ploughland (and) 6 acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) 4 ploughs. And 5 freemen (have) 1½ ploughlands and 3 bordars and 12 f. 271.

acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) 3 ploughs (and) wood(land) for 8 swine. Then as now (there were) 2 rounceys; and then 6 beasts, now 8. Then 20 swine, now 28. Then 20 sheep, now 38. Then as now 26 goats. It was then worth 60 shillings, afterwards and now 4 pounds. The soke of those 5 (freemen is) in Bucha[m] [(Old) Buckenham].

LX. THE LAND OF ALDIT

HUNDRET OF GRENEHOU [GREENHOE, (NORTH)]

GUILLA [Wells-next-the-Sea] was held by Ketel, a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 2 ploughlands; now Aldit holds (it). Then as now (there were) 5 villeins; then as now 7 bordars, then as now 2 ploughs on the demesne, then as now 1 plough belonging to the men. Pasture (*Pastura*) for 200 sheep (and) 4 beasts. Then (there were) 4 swine, now 16. When she received it (there were) 60 sheep, now 200. (There is) 1 mill. And 19 sokemen (have) 2 ploughlands (and) half a mill. And these men dwell (*manent*) in WARHAM [Warham] and belong to (*pertinent in*) Guella [Wells]. It was then worth 100 shillings, now 4 pounds. And it is 3 leagues in length and 1 league in breadth (*et latitudine alia*), but several (*plures*) hold land there (*ubi*). And (it renders) 24 pence of geld between Guella [Wells] and Warham.

LXI. THE LANDS OF GODUIN

HALDEIN³

HUNDRET OF TAVERHAM [TAVERHALL]

In HAILESUNA [Hellesdon] Stigand held 2 ploughlands T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 12 villeins and 11 bordars. Then (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, now 2. Then 1 plough belonging to the men, now 1½ ploughs. Wood(land) for 60 swine (and) 12 acres of meadow. Then as now (there were) 2 mills and 1 fishery (*psec'*). Then as now 1 beast and 10 swine. Then 10 sheep, now 29. Now f. 271b.

60 goats. And (there are) 6 sokemen (with) 1 acre of land (? 1 ploughland). Then as now (they had) 1½ ploughs and 4 acres of meadow. Then as now it was worth 4 pounds and 12 shillings and 8 pence. (There is) 1 church without land. And it is 1½ leagues and 20 perches in

¹ In margin, *f.* = *fecit* (*retornum*); see Introd. p. 2.

² Repeated.

³ In margin, *f.* = *fecit* (*retornum*); see Introduction, p. 2.

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length (*late*) and 1 league and 3 furlongs in breadth, and renders 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ pence of geld.

HUNDRET OF SUD HERPINGEHAM [SOUTH ERPINGHAM]

OXENEDES [Oxnead] was held by Aildeig, a freeman under Guert, T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland. Then as now (there were) 5 villeins and 7 bordars. Then (there was) 1 plough on the demesne, afterwards 1 ox (*bos*), now 2; then as now 1 plough belonging to the men, and 12 acres of meadow; wood(land) for 30 swine, and 1 mill. Now (there are) 20 swine and 6 hives of bees. And (there are) 3 sokemen (with) 60 acres of land. Then as now (they had) half a plough and 4 acres of meadow. (There is) 1 church (with) 24 acres, and it is worth 2 shillings. It was then worth 20 shillings, afterwards 10 shillings, now 30 shillings. And it is 7 furlongs in length and 6 in breadth, and renders 5 pence to (*in*) the king's geld. The king and the earl (have) the soke.

HUNDRET OF SMETHEDUNA [SMETHDEN]

NETTINGHETUNA [Gnatingdon¹] was held by Godwin himself (*idem*), a freeman, T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland, under Guert and (then) under Ralf and now of (*de*) the king. Then as now (there were) 2 bordars, and 1 sokeman (with) 1 acre. It was then worth 10 shillings, now 20.

HUNDRET OF FEORHOU [FOREHOE]

BERNHAM [Barnham (Broom)] was held by a freeman T.R.E. (as) 1 ploughland. Then as now (there were) 2 villeins and 3 bordars. Then as now 1 plough and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now 1 mill. And it is worth 20 shillings.

LXII. THE LANDS OF STARCOLF

HUNDRET OF FEORHOU [FOREHOE]

(In) BERNHAM [Barnham (Broom)] the said (*idem*) (Starcolf) held T.R.E. 60 acres of land and 3 bordars, and 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow. And it is worth 10 shillings.

HUNDRED AND A HALF OF MITTEFORD [MIDFORD]

In TODDENHA[M] [Tuddenham, (North)] (there are) 40 acres of land. Then as now (there were) 3 bordars, and 1 plough and 3 acres of meadow. And it is worth 10 shillings.

LXIII. THE LANDS OF EDRIC THE FALCONER (*Accipitari*)

HALF HUNDRET OF DICE [DISS]

In SCELNANGRA [Shelfanger] Edric holds 15 acres. Then as now (there were) 2 bordars, and

¹ Near Sedgeford; Blomefield, x, 390.

half a plough. Wood(land) for 3 swine, and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now it was worth 2 shillings.

LXIII. THESE ARE THE FREEMEN, BELONGING TO NO FARM IN KING EDWARD'S TIME, WHOM ALMAR KEEPS; (AND) WHO WERE ADDED TO THE FARM IN KING WILLIAM'S TIME.

HUNDRET OF FLEC WEST [WEST FLEGG]

In BURC [Burgh (St. Margaret)] the well-known (*iste*) Guert held 60 acres freely T.R.E., and 8 acres of meadow, and 1 villein. And (he had) 8 freemen under him with (*de*) 27 acres of land and 6 acres of meadow. And now as then (there are) 2 ploughs among them all, and 2 salt pans. They were then worth 10 shillings: now (they pay) 20 shillings in the farm of Caluestune [Cawston] to which they did not belong: and Roger [Bigot?] appointed a reeve (*fecit prepositum*). And Burc [Burgh (St. Margaret)] is 10 furlongs in length and 8 in breadth and (renders) 2 shillings and 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pence of geld. But several (*plures*) hold there.

And in ROTHBFUESBEE [Rollesby] the above-named (*idem*) Almar holds 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ freemen (who were) under Gert, (with) 55 acres of land in soke, and 6 acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. They were then worth 4 shillings, now 8 (paid) in the aforesaid farm. But T.R.E. they did not belong (to it) and they have been added to it (*ibi*).

In REPES [Repps] the same (*idem*) (Almar) holds 20 acres of land, and 7 freemen with (*de*) 30 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now (there was) 1 plough. It was then worth 3 shillings, now 4.

In CLEPEBEE [Clippesby] he also (*idem*) holds 5 freemen with (*de*) 46 acres of land and 5 acres of meadow and a quarter of 1 salt pan. Then as now (there was) 1 plough. It was then worth 3 shillings, now 4.

f. 272b.

In BASTUIC [Bastwick] he also (*idem*) holds 2 freemen with (*de*) 25 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) half a plough. They were then worth 12 pence, now 15.

In BITLAKEBEE [Billockby] he also (*idem*) holds 4 freemen with (*de*) 30 acres of land, and, now as then, half a plough. They were then worth 16 pence, now 20.

In SOMERTUNA [Somerton] he also (*idem*) holds 20 acres of land in demesne, and 5 freemen with (*de*) 15 acres, and, now as then, half a plough. Then as now it was worth 2 shillings.

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In WINTRETUNA [Winterton] he also (*idem*) holds 8 free(men) with (*de*) 54 acres of land, and 1 acre of meadow. Then as now (they had) 1½ ploughs. They were then worth 4 shillings, now 6.

In MARTHAM [Martham] he also (*idem*) holds 1 freeman with (*de*) 10 acres of land. Then as now he ploughed with 2 oxen, and then as now he was worth 8 pence. And all this is (included) in the farm above-mentioned.

LXV. THESE ARE THE KING'S FREEMEN

HUNDRET OF HAPINGA [HAPPING]

In HORSEIA [Horsey] Rolf (has) 31½ acres. Then as now (he had) 3 bordars and half a plough and 4½ acres of meadow.

In STALHAM [Stalham] Ailmar son of Goduin has 7 freemen with (*de*) 50 acres and 1 bordar, and half a plough, and 1 acre of meadow. And they are worth 2 shillings.

In LUDHAM [Ludham] he also (*idem*) holds 4 freemen (with) 12 acres and half a plough : and they are worth 16 pence. And in ECCLES 4 freemen (with) 20 acres and half a plough : and they are worth 3 shillings.

In WACTANESHAM [Waxham] (he has) 3 freemen (with) 10 acres and half a plough : and they are worth 16 pence. In HORSEIA [Horsey] (he has) 4 score acres and half a plough ; and it is worth 2 shillings.

In ECHAM [(Potter) Heigham] 2 free(men have) 2 acres and are worth 2 pence. These Godric of Hecham holds.

f. 273.

EAST HUNDRET OF FLEC [EAST FLEGG]

In HARINGEBEI [Herringby] 100 acres (are held by) 1 freeman (who belonged to) Bishop Almar T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 12 villeins, and 2 bordars, and 1 plough on the demesne, and 1½ ploughs belonging to the men ; 4 acres of meadow and 4½ salt pans. To this land belong (*iacent*) 8 freemen (with) 43½ acres and 1½ ploughs and 3 acres of meadow and 1 salt pan. (There is) pasture (*pastura*) for 100 sheep. Then as now it was worth 20 shillings. This (land) is held by Rainbald the Goldsmith (*aurifaber*), and it was (part) of Earl R[alr's] fief.

In RONHAM [Runham] 4 freemen (hold) 17 acres. Then as now (they had) 1 plough and 2 acres of meadow and half a salt pan. There also 1 freeman (has) 30 acres and ploughs with

2 oxen and (has) 2 acres of meadow and 1 salt pan. And he is worth 2 shillings and 4 pence. These (freemen) are held by Ailmar, son of Goduin.

In SCROUTEBEY [Scratby] 1 freeman (holds) 10 acres. Now as then (he has) half a plough and 1 acre of meadow. And he is worth 10 pence. Ailuin of Tedfort [Thetford] added this to the rent (*censum*) of Ormesbey [Ormsby] in King William's time.

HUNDRET OF HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD]

In CARLETUNA [(East) Carlton] 1 freeman (holds) 32 acres. Then as now (he had) half a plough and 1 acre of meadow. And he is worth 3 shillings. In DUSTUNA [Dunston] 1 freeman (holds) 13 acres, and is worth 12 pence.

HUNDRET [OF] DEPWADE

In MULETUNA [Moulton (St. Michael)], Gouta and Osketel, 2 freemen (hold) 2½ acres, and are worth 2½ pence. Asci the priest, a freeman of the abbot of Holme (*Holmo*), held them, and has given surety (*vadem*) (for his claim).

In HERDUWIC [Hardwick], 1 freeman, by name Wistret, (holds) 30 acres. Then as now (he had) 4 villeins and 5 bordars, and 2 ploughs, and 2 acres of meadow. And he is worth 10 shillings. The whole of Herduwic [Hardwick] is 1 league in length and a half in breadth and (renders) 9 pence of geld.

HUNDRET [OF] GNAVERINGA [CLAVERING]

In NORTUNA [Norton (Subcourse)] 1 freeman of St. Benet (of Holme) (has) 30 acres and 2 bordars, and half a plough, and half an acre of meadow : and (is worth) 4 shillings. Goscelin of Norwic [Norwich] holds him.

In TURUERTUNA [Thurlton] 8 acres (were held by) 1 freeman of the predecessor of Ralf f. 273b. de Belf[a]go. And he is worth 12 pence. This (*hoc*) was held by H[] Malesman[us] (*as*) witness the hundret, but he conceals it (*celat*).

In RUVERINCHAM [Raveningham] (there is) 1 freeman, Chetel Friedai, (with) 7 acres and 1 bordar and 1 marsh (*maresc'*), and he is worth 12 pence.¹ This is (part) of Earl [Ralf's] fief, and it was board-land (*mensa*) of the same manor (of Raveningham) when R[alf] suffered forfeiture (*forisfecit*). Afterwards he held his land so that (*ita quod*) he rendered no service to the king. And of this he has given pledge. (*Ex hoc dedit vadem*.)

¹ Duplicate entry of that on f. 135b.

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LXVI. ENCROACHMENTS (*Invasiones*) IN NORDFULC

ENCROACHMENT OF HERMER DE FERRERS (*Ferrariis*)

HUNDRET OF CLACHESLOSA [CLACKCLOSE]

In PHINCHAM [Fincham] (there were) 20 freemen T.R.E. holding 2 ploughlands: however (*set tamen*) 8 of them were his predecessor's customary tenants by foldsoke (*consuetudinarii ad faldam*), the others were free except the commendation. In their land there are now as then 2 ploughs, and 10 acres of meadow. It was then worth 40 shillings, now 58 (shillings) and 4 pence. There also (there are) 16 acres of land, worth 16 pence.

In BERTUNA [Barton (Bendish)] (there was) 1 freeman (with) 12 acres, whom W[] now holds of Hermer. Then as now (he had) half a plough. He is worth 3 shillings. Of this his predecessor had only the commendation.

There also (is) 1 freeman, commended only to his predecessor, (holding) 60 acres. Then as now (he had) 1 bordar, half a plough (and) 8 acres of meadow. He is worth 2 shillings and 8 pence.

In WERMEGAI [Wormegay] (he has) 2 freemen holding 4 acres: but his predecessor had the whole custom (*totam consuetudinem*).

In WESBRUGE [Westbriggs¹] (there are) 3 freemen (with) half a plough, worth 5 shillings. Of these his predecessor had only the commendation, and St. Benet (of Ramsey) the soke. There also (are) 8 freemen, by commendation and fold-soke, with (*de*) 10 acres. They are worth 9 shillings.

In TORPELANDA [Thorpland] (there are) 8½ free(men) with (*de*) 20 acres and 2 acres of meadow. They are worth 12 shillings. There also (are) 8 customary tenants (*consuetudinarii*) (owing suit) to the fold of his predecessor. They are worth 10 shillings. And (there are)

f. 274.

3 besides (*adbuc*) with (*de*) 28 acres; and they are worth 2 shillings and 8 pence. And (there are) besides (*adbuc*) 30 acres of land which were held by Goduin, a freeman, who was afterwards outlawed (*utlagavit*). And ² Hermer² has 3 acres of meadow, and 1 plough, and 2 rounceys, and 1 pig, 40 sheep, and 4 ploughlands (*carrucas*) under corn? (*de blato*).³ And he has given pledge for this (*inde dedit vadem*) and for other things.

In STOU [Stow (Bardolph)] (there are) 34 acres of land which were held by a freeman in King Edward's time. Then (there was) 1 plough,

now none. In HIDLINGHEIA [Hilgay] (there are) 6 acres of land which St. Edmund held by commendation only, and it is worth 8 pence. There also (are) 2 freemen with (*de*) 2 acres; they are worth 8 pence. These men (*istos*) Hermer's predecessor held by commendation only, and now Hermer holds (*tenebat*) them.

In WINEBOTESHAM [Wimbotsham] 3 freemen held 40 acres T.R.E.: and (there were) 4 freemen in STOU [Stow (Bardolph)] with (*de*) 40 acres. These together (*Isti omnes*) have 2 ploughs. In these Hermer's predecessor only had the commendation, and half the soke, (sharing) with St. Benet. And they are worth 20 shillings. In BEKESWELLA [Bexwell] (there are) 7 freemen with (*de*) 1 ploughland. Then as now (they had) 3 bordars. Then (they had) 3 ploughs, afterwards and now 2: 5 acres of meadow (and) half a fishery. ⁴ The church has 24 acres, and is worth 16 pence.⁴ They are worth 12 shillings. Of these his predecessor had only the commendation. In RISTUNA [Ryston] 3 freemen by commendation only (hold) 90 acres. Then as now (they had) 2 ploughs. They are worth 5 shillings. In FORDEHAM [Fordham] 3 freemen (hold) 24 acres by commendation only. Then as now (they had) half a plough. They are worth 2 shillings. Of these his predecessor had nothing besides the commendation. In DEREHAM [Dereham, (West)] (there were) 32 freemen with (*de*) 120 acres T.R.E. Of 25 of these Hermer's predecessor had the commendation. Then as now (they had) 2 ploughs. They are worth 35 shillings. Bordin holds of Hermer 3 in full moiety (*de omni medietate*). And 7 were commended to Roger Bigot's predecessor, and in them Hermer's predecessor had nothing; and they are worth 5 shillings. These 7 Hermer seized (*invasit*).

In DUNEHAM [Downham (Market)] (there are) 13 freemen (with) 40 acres. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. And they are worth 10 shillings. Of these his predecessor had only the commendation. In CARBOISTORP [Shouldham Thorpe] 11½ freemen (have) 80 acres and 5 acres of meadow (and) 1 bordar. Then (they had) 3 ploughs, now 2. They are worth 17 shillings. And in these (Hermer's predecessor had nothing) except the commendation. Half a church (has) 16 acres and is worth 12 pence.

In FOTESTORP [Fodderstone⁵] 6 freemen (have) 40 acres, 1 plough, (and) 3 acres of meadow. They are worth 5 shillings. And in these (Hermer's predecessor had nothing) but the commendation. And they render him custom because they cannot do without (*non possunt carere*) their pasture.

¹ In Wormegay.

² Interlined.

³ Or possibly 'four loads of corn.' But neither interpretation seems satisfactory.

⁴ Interlined.

⁵ In Shouldham Thorpe.

HOLDERS OF LANDS

In WALLINGHETUNA [Wallington] Turstin, a freeman, held 100 acres T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 11 bordars (and) 15 acres of meadow (and) 1 plough. It is worth 12 shillings. And in this (his predecessor had nothing) but the commendation.

The church has 26 acres, worth 16 pence. There also (there were) 7 freemen T.R.E. (with) 60 acres. Then (they had) 1½ ploughs, afterwards and now 1. They are worth 14 shillings. His predecessor had the commendation of 6 of these, and Earl Guert of the 7th; and he is worth 20 pence. Him Hermer seized. The whole is 4 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth, and (renders) 6 pence of geld. In all those (freemen) St. Benet (of Ramsey) has soke.

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF FREDEBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

In LENA [Lynn] Hermer holds 2 freemen, with (de) 25 acres and 1 saltpan, whom his predecessor held by commendation only. They are worth 4 shillings and 6 pence. In WESWENIC [West Winch] (there is) 1 freeman (with) 1 ploughland, and 12 bordars. He is worth 6 shillings and 8 pence. And in him (his predecessor had nothing) but the commendation. In WIGREHALA [Wiggenhall] a freeman held half a ploughland T.R.E. And he is worth 3 shillings. And in him (his predecessor had nothing) but the commendation. In ESTWNIC [East Winch] 2 freemen (had) 30 acres which (*quod*) Bordin holds. Then as now (there was) half a plough (and) 2 acres of meadow. They are worth 15 pence. And in them (his predecessor had nothing) but the commendation. Stigand (had) the soke. In WALTUNA [(West) Walton] 3 freemen (had) 91 acres, which (*quod*) Bordin holds. Then as now (there were) 9 bordars (and) 12 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 1½ ploughs, now 1. It is worth 9 shillings and 4 pence. And in this (his predecessor had nothing) but the commendation. Half a church (holds) 15 acres, and is worth 2 shillings.

In TORP [Gaytonthorpe?] (there is) 1 ploughland, which a freeman, Turchill, held. Then as now (there were) 9 villeins, 8 bordars, 1 plough on the demesne, 1 plough belonging to the men, 6 acres of meadow, and a quarter of a fishery. It is worth 20 shillings. And in this (his predecessor had) the commendation only. Stigand (had) the soke. Half a church (holds) 30 acres (and) is worth 12 shillings. In GAITUNA [Gayton] a freeman (held) 60 acres, which Bordin holds, 2 bordars, 6 acres of meadow, (and) half a plough. It is worth 3 shillings. And in this (his predecessor had nothing) but the commendation. Stigand (had) the soke.

SCREPHAM [SHROPHAM] HUNDRET

In HELINGHAM [Ellingham] 3 freemen (held) 110 acres, which Wari[m]bold holds, and 5 acres of meadow. Then as now (there were) 2 ploughs. Wood(land) for 12 swine. It is worth 15 shillings. And in these (freemen his predecessor had) the commendation only. The soke (is) in the king's (manor of) Bucham [(Old) Buckenham].

LAWENDIC [LAUNDITCH] HUNDRET

In LAWINGHAM [Longham] 1 freeman (holds) half a ploughland. Then as now (he had) 1 villein and 1 bordar and half a plough, (and) 2 acres of meadow. (There is) wood(land) for 10 swine. He is worth 5 shillings. And in him (Hermer's predecessor had nothing) but the commendation. The soke is in the king's (manor of) Muleham [Mileham].

MITTEFORT [MIDFORD] HUNDRET

In TORUESTUNA [Thuxton] 7 freemen (hold) 100 acres. Then (they had) 4 ploughs, now 3; (and) 5 acres of meadow. They were then worth 20 shillings, now 26 (shillings) and 8 pence. And in them (his predecessor had nothing) but the commendation.

f. 275.

In RAIMERESTUNA [Reymerston] 5 freemen (held) 30 acres T.R.E. Then (they had) 1 plough, now a half; (and) 2 acres of meadow. They were then worth 10 shillings, now 6. And in this (his predecessor had nothing) but the commendation.

In IACHESHAM [Yaxham] 10 freemen (held) 53 acres of land, which (*quod*) Adelelm (*Adeledmus*) holds of Hermer, (with) 4 acres of meadow. Then (there were) 1½ ploughs, now 1. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 10. And in this (his predecessor had nothing) but the commendation. In MATESHALA [Mattishall] 20 freemen by commendation only (hold) 1 ploughland (and) 39 acres. Then as now (there were) 3 villeins, 2 bordars, 12 acres of meadow and half a mill. Then (there were) 4 ploughs, now 3. It was then worth 30 shillings, now 42. And in this (his predecessor had nothing) but the commendation.

In TOTEHA[M] [Tuddenham (? North)] 6 freemen by commendation only (hold) 100 acres, 15 bordars, (and) 2 serfs. (There is) wood(land) for 6 swine (and) 3 acres of meadow. Then as now (there were) 3 ploughs. It was then worth 26 shillings and 8 pence, now 24 shillings. In BICHERSTUNA [Bickerstone] 1 freeman (holds) 8 acres by commendation only. He is worth 6 pence. In NORD TUDENHAM [North Tuddenham] 3 freemen by commendation only (hold) 32 acres. Then as now (they had) 1 plough

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(and) 1 acre of meadow. They are worth 5 shillings. In LETUNA [Letton] 2 freemen by commendation only (held) 21 acres T.R.E. Now 1 freeman holds it, and 4 acres of meadow. (There is) wood(land) for 4 swine. It is worth 3¹ shillings and 4 pence. In B[UR]c [Burgh (Mattishall)] half a freeman, by commendation only, (holds) 2 acres. He is worth 6 pence.

THE ENCROACHMENT (*Invasio*) OF BAIGNARD HUNDRET OF CLACKCLOSE

In PHINCHAM [Fincham] Baignard seized (*invasit*) 1 ploughland, which 6½ freemen held T.R.E., now 7½ (hold it). Then as now (there were) 2 bordars and 1 plough, (and) 8 acres of meadow. It was then worth 20 shillings, now 40 shillings. His men claim this land by way of exchange (*pro escangio*), but they cannot produce the feoffor (*non habent libertorem*). In BERTUNA [Barton (Bendish)] (there are) 30 acres, which a freeman held T.R.E. Of these he gave 4 acres in pledge (*dedit in vadimonio*) and Wihenoc de Burli took away (*tulit*) 8. In STOCHES [Stoke (Ferry)] 100 acres were held by Ulchetel T.R.E. Then as now (there were) 4 villeins and 4 bordars, (and) 1 plough (and) 10 acres of meadow. It is worth 40 shillings. This he claims by way of exchange (*pro escangio*).

[LAUNDITCH HUNDRET]

In SCERNINGA [Scarning] a freeman (holds) 24 acres by commendation only. (He has) 2 bordars, 2 acres of meadow, (and) half a plough. He is worth 5 shillings. (His) soke is in the king's (manor of) Muleha[m] [Mileham].

FEORHOU [FOREHOE] HUNDRET

In HIDICHETORP [²] 24 freemen (have) 120 acres, which (*quod*) Baignard holds, of whom his predecessor had not even (*nec*) the commendation. And of these (*de quibus*) 3 were in Wimundeham [Wymondham] and 1 in the bishopric (*episcopatu*) and 3 of (*de*) Kiburnelai [Kimberley] and 17 in Hincham [Hingham]. They have among them (*inter totum*) 4 ploughs (and) 5 acres of meadow. They are worth 30 shillings.

f. 275b.

[CLACKCLOSE HUNDRET]

THE ABBOT OF ST. EDMUNDS holds in RUNGHETUNA [Runcton, (South)] 150 acres, which 5 freemen held T.R.E. Then (there were) 2½ ploughs, now 2; (and) 4 bordars. It is worth 20 shillings. He claims this land (as) of

¹ Substituted for '5.'

² Identified by Blomefield with Dykebeck in Wymondham. *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 499.

the king's gift (*dono*). There also a freeman holds half a ploughland (and) 4 bordars; (and) there are) 2 freemen with (*de*) 6 acres. It is worth 10 shillings. There also (there are) 46 acres which 3½ freemen hold. Then as now (there was) 1 bordar, 3 ploughs, (and) 6 acres of meadow. It is worth 10 shillings.

[DISS HALF HUNDRET]

In SCELVAGRAVA [Shelfanger] 1 freeman of Algar by commendation held 12 acres of Wineferthinc [Winfarthing] T.R.E. And he (*qui*) was slain at the battle (*bellum*) of Hastings. Afterwards the abbot held it as part of (*in*) his manor of Brasinham [Bressingham]. Then as now it was worth 16 pence. But his (i.e. the abbot's) steward (*dapifer*) offers to prove as the ordeal demands (*sicut iudicium proportionat*) that he acted in ignorance (*offert se nescisse*). In WINEFERTHINC [Winfarthing] (there is) 1 freeman with (*de*) 2 acres whom Earl R[alf] held when he suffered forfeiture (*se forisfecit*), and Godric afterwards, in the king's hand(s). After Godric, Herolf held him as part of (*in*) the land of St. Edmund, by leave of the abbot's reeve (*licentia prepositi abbatis*). So the hundret testifies (*Teste Hundret*).

[SHROPHAM HUNDRET]

In SCEREPHA[M] [Shropham] 1 freeman (holds) 30 acres, 3 acres of meadow, 1 bordar, (and) half a plough. He is worth 4 shillings.

[CLACKCLOSE HUNDRET]

In DEREHAM [Dereham, (West)] RAINALD SON OF IVO holds 6 freemen with (*de*) 32 acres, whom Wihenoc seized (*invasit*) (though they were) only commended to his predecessor. In ROCHESHAM [Roxham] (there is) 1 freeman, commended only, with (*de*) 9 acres. (These) are worth 8 shillings and 1 penny. In FORDEHAM [Fordham] (there are) 3 freemen by commendation, and St. Benet (of Ramsey) (has) the soke. They have (*de*) 25 acres. And there is 1 freeman with 5 acres. Of him St. Edmund had the commendation T.R.E. This is held by Rainald (and) is worth 5 shillings.

In DUNEHAM [Downham (Market)] (there f. 276.

are) 3 freemen with (*de*) 2½ acres, (holding) by commendation only. They are worth 10 pence. There also (there is) 1 freeman with (*de*) 7 acres (who was) commended to the predecessor of William de Warenne. Now Rainald holds him, and he is worth 12 pence. In BECHSWELLA [Bexwell] (there are) 2 freemen, 1 with (*de*) 15 acres of whom Hermer's predecessor had the commendation. And they are worth 2 shillings and 8 pence; and another (freeman) had 3 acres and was worth 6 pence. Rainald now holds these.

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In WELLA [Upwell] 6 freemen held 2 ploughlands and 15 acres. Then as now (they had) 2 ploughs and 9 bordars. They are worth 26 shillings and 8 pence. And 3 of them were commended to Hermer's predecessor. And all of these were seized (*occupavit*) by Wihenoc.

[FREEBRIDGE HUNDRET AND A HALF]

In WESWENIC [West Winch] Wihenoc added (to his manor) 1 freeman with (*de*) 30 acres. Then as now (he had) 4 villeins (and) 6 acres of meadow. He is worth 5 shillings.

[CLACKCLOSE HUNDRET]

HERLUIN, Ivo's man, has seized (*invasit*) 1 freeman in PHINCHA[M] [Fincham], with (*de*) 15 acres. And he is worth 16 pence. Also (*Et*) 1½ acres which Mainard seized (*invasit*), and it is worth 9 pence.

[SOUTH GREENHOE HUNDRET]

In PICHENHAM [Pickenham] (there was) 1 freeman (with) 10 acres. Wihenoc seized this, and it is worth 20 pence.

[CLACKCLOSE HUNDRET]

In FORDHAM¹ the ABBOT OF ELY holds of St. Etheldreda² 30 acres³ which a freeman (formerly) held.³ Then as now (there were) 3 bordars, and half a plough. It is worth 4 shillings. Of this he had nothing but the commendation. In RISTONA [Ryston] (there are) 3 freemen (with) 6 acres. They are worth 16 pence. In this he had nothing but the commendation, and St. Benet (of Ramsey) the soke.

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF FREDEBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

In LENA [Lynn] (there is) 1 freeman⁴ (with) 13 acres and 1 saltpan. He is worth 4 shillings.
⁵The abbot of Ely held this, and it was in Stigand's soke.⁵

In ILSINGHATUNA [Islington] WILLIAM DE SCOHIES held 2 freemen with (*de*) 6 acres. They are worth 12 pence.

f. 276b.

SCEREPHA[M] [SHROPHAM] HUNDRET

In CULVERCESTONA [Kilverstone] 1 freeman by commendation only (holds) 11 acres. He is worth 8 pence. Walter de Caen (*Gadomo*) holds this of ROBERT (MALET).

[FREEBRIDGE HUNDRET AND A HALF]

In LESIET [Leziate] ROBERT MALET held 2 freemen (with) 60 acres, (and) 4 acres of meadow. Then (they had) 1 plough, 1 bordar, (and) 1 mill. They are worth 5 shillings. Of these Roger Bigot's predecessor had only the commendation.

[DISS HALF HUNDRET]

In GESSINGA [Gissing] Drogo, Robert Malet's man, has seized (*invasit*) 10 acres of the demesne land of St. Edmund, and it is worth 20 pence. In FRIETUNA [Fritton] (there is) 1 freeman of King Edward with (*de*) 15 acres whom William Malet held. R[obert] (Malet) lately held him (*modo tenebat*). And because he has now at length acknowledged (*tandem cognovit*) that (the man) is not of his father's fief (*feudo*) he has made him over (*dimisit*) into the king's hand(s). And he has half a plough and 2 bordars. He is worth 40 pence. William the Fat (*Grossus*) held of Robert, in FERUESSELLA [Fersfield], 1 freeman of Alsi by commendation, with 4 acres, whom W[illiam] Malet held on the day on which he was alive and dead. And Walter (*Galterus*) now holds him of R[obert]. But Robert Malet replies (*contradicit*) that he did not know (it) until the day on which he was entered on the return (*inbreviatus*). He then ploughed with 2 oxen, now with 1. He is worth 8 pence. In DICE [Diss] (there is) 1⁶ freeman (with) 5 acres of the demesne of the manor whom W[illiam] Malet held: but he did not belong (*pertinuit*) to his fief (*feudum*). As before (*eodem modo*) (Robert) asserts (*offert*) that he did not know. (He has) 2 oxen (and) is worth 10 pence.

[SOUTH GREENHOE HUNDRET]

Germund, WALTER GIFART's man, has seized (*invasit*) 4 acres of SUAFHA[M] [Swaffham], Count Alan's manor.

WILLIAM DE WARENNE holds half a ploughland in BRADEHAM [Bradenham] which Godric held. Then as now (there were) 5 villeins and 2 bordars and 1 serf; 1 plough on the demesne, 1 plough belonging to the men, and 2 freemen holding land (ploughed by) 2 oxen. (There is) wood(land) for 20 swine (and) 4 acres of meadow. It was then worth 10 shillings and now the same (*similiter*), but William's men say that he has had (*habuit*) nothing from it. This land was held by W[illiam] before [Ralf] suffered forfeiture (*forisfaceret*): but, as the hundret testifies, R[alf] held it when he suffered forfeiture (*forisfecit*), and afterwards R[obert] Blund (held it) at farm from the king. And Godric (answered for it) in the king's treasury, in his return (*in thesauro Regis in brevi suo*) at (*pro*) 20 shillings, and afterwards it

¹ Cf. *Inq. Elien.* (Hamilton), p. 137.

² *Inq. Elien.* inserts 'one sokeman with.'

³ *Inq. Elien.* omits.

⁴ *Inq. Elien.* 'sokeman.'

⁵ *Inq. Elien.* (p. 131), 'over this land Stigand had the soke.'

⁶ Substituted for '5.'

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was in the king's hand. And the men of the hundret have not seen the charter (*brevem*) or royal officer (*legatum*) delivering it (*qui liberasset eam*) to W[illiam] since it has been in the king's hand(s).

In CLALA [Cockley Cley ?] (there are) 2 freemen (with) 14 acres. They are worth 7 pence.

[GRIMSHOE HUNDRET]

In WILTUNA [Wilton] 1 freeman (held) T.R.E. 40 acres, 2 bordars, (and) 1 acre of meadow. Then and afterwards (he had) half a plough. He is

f. 277.
worth 20 pence. In this his predecessor had nothing but the commendation.

MIDFORD HUNDRET AND A HALF

In SCYPEDEHAM [Shipdam] William de Warenne's men held 44 acres, which Brodo and Alwin held from the king T.R.E., (with) 1 bordar and half a plough. (There was) then wood(land) for 40 swine, now for 20; (and) 4 acres of meadow. It is worth 8 shillings and 3 halfpence. This was then as now (*semper*) (part) of the king's manor of Saham, and they could not produce the feoffor (*non habuerunt liberatorem*) as the hundret testifies. In TODDENHAM [Tuddenham (? East)] 4 freemen hold half a ploughland of the fief of Frederic (*Fedrici*). They were commended to his predecessor. Then as now (they had) 1 bordar, 2 ploughs, (and) 2 acres of meadow. They are worth 10 shillings. Winemer holds them of W[illiam].

SOUTH GREENHOE HUNDRET

In LITTLE CRESINGHAM [Cressingham] the king has on his demesne 2 freemen with (*de*) 1 ploughland. And (one) has 2 ploughs, and 2 villeins, and 1 bordar; and the other (*a'*) 3 villeins and 1 bordar; and 4 acres of meadow, and renders (*reddit*) 12 shillings. And these (*quos*) RALF DE TOESNI (*Todeneio*) has held until now (*bucusque habuit*). In HOLMA [Holme (Hale)] 1 freeman held half a ploughland. Then as now (he had) half a plough, and a quarter of a mill, (and) 2 acres of meadow. He is worth 5 shillings. R[alr] held this also in the same manner (*similiter*).

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF FREDREBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

ROGER BIGOT holds 10 freemen in PLICHAM [Flicham] with (*de*) 80 acres, which (*quod*) Ranulf son of Walter (*Galteri*) holds (with) 6½ acres of meadow (and) 2 ploughs. They are worth 12 shillings. Of these his predecessor had only the commendation. And Stigand had the soke and the commendation over (*super*) one (of them) and soke over the rest (*alios*).

HUNDRET OF WANELUNT [WAYLAND]

In GRESTUNA [Griston] 4 freemen (have) 26 acres, which (*quod*) the above-named (*idem*) R[anulf] holds of R[oger], and it is worth 4 shillings. And in this Roger's predecessor had nothing but the commendation. The king and the earl (had) the soke. In TUMESTEDA [Thompson¹?] 1 freeman (holds) 15 acres and 1 acre of meadow. Then (he had) half a plough, now 2 oxen. He is worth 2 shillings.

f. 277b.

The above-named (*idem*) R[anulf] holds him. The king and the earl (have) the soke.

[SHROPHAM HUNDRET]

In HOCHAM [Hockham] 1 freeman by commendation only (holds) 8 acres. He is worth 8 pence. (His) soke (is) in Buchan [(Old) Buckenham].

In SNETRETUNA [Snetterton] a freeman (holds) 5 acres and 3 roods (*virg'*) and 2 oxen, and is worth 16 pence. Of this (Roger's predecessor had) only the commendation. The soke (is) in Bucha[m] [(Old) Buckenham]. Ralf son of Herluin holds it of Roger.

HUNDRET OF GILDECROSS [GUILTCROSS]

In SNARESHUL [Snarehill] 1 freeman (holds) 15 acres as a fee (*ad feudum*) of Turstin of Tedfort, and of this (*inde*) his predecessor had only the commendation. The soke (is) in the king's (manor of) Keninchala [Kenninghall]. He is worth 15 pence. In SNARESHELLA [Snarehill] (there are) 3 freemen by commendation and foldsoke. All the other soke (is) in Keninchala [Kenninghall]. And they have 20 acres. Then as now (they had) half a plough. They are worth 20 pence. This is held by Turstin.

WEST FLEGG HUNDRET

In T[ER]NA [Thurne] 1 freeman of St. Benet by commendation only (held) 43 acres, and he was outlawed (*fuit exlex*). And because Alwi had him outlawed (*fecit illegem*) he holds half the land in fee (*in feudo*) of Roger Bigot. (There are) 9 acres of meadow. Then as now (there was) 1 plough. It was then worth 3 shillings, now 4.

In SOM[ER]TUNA [Somerton] 1 freeman of Harold (held) 30 acres and 1 bordar and 1½ acres (of meadow) and half a plough. Roger's reeve (*prepositus*) holds this and renders 2 ounces (*oras* = 32*d.*) every year to the king's reeve under Roger Bigot. But it did not belong (*pertinebat*) (to Roger) and Roger did not know.

HEINESTEDA [HENSTEAD] HUNDRET

In BRA[M]BRETUNA [Bramerton] Aitard holds 16 acres of Roger, which was held by a freewoman

¹ Or possibly Tunstead.

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by commendation of Edric; and Earl Ralph (held it) when he suffered forfeiture (*forisfecit*), (as) witness the hundret; and Robert Blund (held it) afterwards as in the king's hand(s). And now Aitard, Roger Bigot's man by commendation, holds it since R[alf's] forfeiture (*postquam R. forisfecit*). The hundret bears witness that this is so, and the (*illa*) woman offers to prove by the ordeal (*offert iudicium*) that it is true, as the hundret testifies (*teste hundreto*); and Aitard asserts the contrary (*contradicit*). And under her are 2 whole (*integri*) freemen and a half with (*de*) 6 acres, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) half a plough among them all (*inter omnes*). It was then worth 2 shillings, now 4.

In BICHESLE [Bixley] (there was) 1 freeman of Anslec by commendation together with (*cum*) half a free(man) T.R.E., holding (*de*) 17 acres. Then as now (they had) half a plough, 1 villein, (and) 1 bordar. Roger Bigot kept this man, as he says, in the king's hand, and renders cess (*censum*) (for him) in the hundret. But the hundret bears witness that Godric the sewer (*dapifer*) held him under the king, during one year as of the fee of Earl R[alf] before he suffered forfeiture (*forisfaceret*) and afterwards for 2 years of the king's gift. And in reply (*contra*) Roger Bigot's man offers to prove the contrary by ordeal or by battle (*contradicit iudicio vel bello*). Godric claims this estate (*reclamat istam*) with half the land which is in Roger Bigot's return (*breve*).¹ This estate (*hanc*) Godric the sewer (*dapifer*) received f. 278.

for half a ploughland.

In PORRINGHELANDA [Poringland] (there is) 1 freeman (who was) Eduin's by commendation T.R.E. Afterwards Godric (held it) and afterwards Alfred on account of a forfeiture. And of that forfeiture he had made himself clear (*quietum*) the hundret witnesses; but by order of the bishop of Bayeux (*Baiocensis*) Roger Bigot kept (the land) in the king's hand(s), and still (*adhuc*) keeps it. He holds 15 acres. Then (he had) half a plough, now 2 oxen. Then as now he was worth 16 pence.

DICE [DISS] HALF HUNDRET

In OSMUNDESTONE [Osmondiston²] Hugh de Cordun has seized (*invasit*), under Roger Bigot, half 1 freeman with 10 acres of land and part of a close (*partem hege*). This Earl R[alf] held when he suffered forfeiture (*forisfecit*), and afterwards, when it was in the king's hand(s), it was seized by Hugh de Corbun, who now holds it. Ralf de Felgeris holds this manor, but he has not this part (*partem*). Then as now it was worth 2 shillings.

¹ See f. 160 above.

² Now Scole.

EAST HUNDRET OF FLEC [EAST FLEGG]

In PHILEBY [Filby] 1 freeman (held) 51 acres T.R.E. Then Alwin had only the commendation of his wife, and the said (*eadem*) wife had nothing out of this land. And Earl R(alf) was seized of this land when he suffered forfeiture (*forisfecit*), and Robert Blund held it at cess (*censum*) in the king's hand. Afterwards the said (*idem*) Alwin, R[oger] Bigot's predecessor, seized it under (*sub*) Godric, and Stanart his son held it, and for this (*ex hoc*) Roger Bigot has given pledge (*dedit vadem*) (and) does not claim this land as part of his fief (*non revocat hanc terram ad suum feudum*). Now Godric keeps it in the king's hand(s). And there is on that land 1 plough, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow. It is worth 5 shillings.

HUNDRET OF HUMILIART [HUMBLEYARD]

In SUERDESTUNA [Swardeston] (there is) half a freeman of whom Godric's predecessor had only the commendation T.R.E. And the said (*idem*) Godric was seized of it (*inde*) when Earl R(alf) suffered forfeiture (*forisfecit*). Recently (*modo*) Ralfde Norun (*sic*) held him (*tenebat eum*). And he has 15 acres and half a bordar, and half a plough, and half an acre of meadow. And he rendered 10 shillings to Godric. He was recently rendering (*modo reddebat*) 12 shillings to Ralf. And (Ralf) kept back (*detinuit*) this man from (*adversus*) Godric, and likewise another half man with 5 acres (who is) worth 12 pence.

DEPWADE HUNDRET

IN APPETUNA [Hapton] 1 freeman (holds) 15 acres. He is worth 32 pence. Herbert, Roger Bigot's chamberlain (*camerarius*), held him, and Count Eustace's men claim him (*calupniantur*) (as belonging) to his fief: and he is of his fief. Now he is in the king's hand(s). As to this f. 278b.

(*de hoc*) Herbert has given pledge for 16 pence, which he had (*dedit vadem de xvi d' quos habuit*).

HUNDRET AND A HALF OF F[R]EDEBRUGE [FREEBRIDGE]

In DERSINCHAM [Dersingham] 1 freeman (holds) 12 acres. He is worth 12 pence. This is held by PETER DE VALOGNES (*Valoniensis*). His predecessor had only the commendation of this (man), and Stigand the soke. There also 21 freemen hold 2 ploughlands and 35 acres (with) 5 bordars. Then as now (they had) 3 ploughs (and) 7 acres of meadow. The whole (*totum*) is worth 40 shillings. Of all these his predecessor had only the commendation, and 18 of them were to pay (*daret*) 2 shillings each if they wished to withdraw themselves (*recedere*). Stigand (had) the soke of them all. There also 2 freemen (hold) 2 ploughlands. Then and afterwards (there were)

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2 ploughs on the demesne, now 1. One of these had 6 freemen and 5 bordars, and the other (*alias*) 4 bordars. Then as now (there was) 1 plough belonging to the men (and) 1 1½ acres of meadow. Then and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, now 25.

HUNDRET OF DOCHINGA [DOCKING]

In SCERNEBRUNA [Shernborne] (Peter has) 1 sokeman of Harold who belonged to (*jacebat ad*) Sexforda [Sedgeford], (and held) 60 acres T.R.E. Now W[] de P[er]tenai holds of him (*de eo*) and vouches (him as) feoffer (*reclamat liberatorem*). It is worth 6 shillings and 8 pence. There also 1 freeman by commendation only (holds) 6 acres. He is worth 6 pence.

GRENHOU [GREENHOE, (NORTH)] HUNDRET

In BENINCHAM [Binham] Peter holds 9 freemen¹ by commendation only,¹ who were the king's men and Guert's, (with) 5 ploughlands and 22 bordars. Then (they had) 9 ploughs among them all (*inter omnes*), now 6½; (and) 8 acres of meadow. Then (there was) 1 mill. They were then worth 4 pounds, now (they are worth) 7 of the 20 pounds which are in Benincham [Binham].²

SCEREPHAM [SHROPHAM] HUNDRET

In HERCHAM [Hargham] RALF DE BELLAFAGO holds 2 freemen with (*de*) 20 acres, whom Warin (*Garinus*) holds of him, (with) 2 acres of meadow. Then (there was) 1 plough, afterwards a half, now 2 oxen. They are worth 20 pence. Of this his predecessor had only the commendation T.R.E.: and Eudo held them. The soke (is) in Bucheham [(Old) Buckenham].

WALESHAM [WALSHAM] HUNDRET

In BASTWIC [(Wood) Bastwick] Godric, a freeman, by commendation held 30 acres T.R.E. and f. 279.

he was the man of Godric de Rossa. Now Ralf de Bellafago holds him. (He has) 4 acres of meadow. Then as now (he had) 1 plough between himself and his men. Then as now he was worth 4 shillings less 4 pence (*et iiij d. minus*).

In OPTUNA [Upton] (Ralf has) 4 freemen, (who were) Godric's T.R.E. by commendation only, with (*de*) 26 acres of land (and) 6 acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) half a plough. And they are worth 3 shillings and 8 pence. And besides (*ad hoc*) Ulchetel holds 4 freemen in BASTWIC [(Wood) Bastwick] (who were) Harold's by commendation, with (*de*) 30 acres of land. Then as now (they had) half a plough (and) 4 acres of meadow. They were then worth 2 shillings, now 3 shillings and 6 pence. And the said (*idem*) Ulchetel also (*ad hoc*) holds

¹ Cancelled.

² Binham was valued at 20 pounds. See p. 180.

4 freemen with 4 acres of land (and) half an acre of meadow. Now as then they plough with 2 oxen, and are worth 12 pence.

BLASFEVDA [BLOFIELD] HUNDRET

In TORP [Thorpe (next Norwich)] (Ralf holds) 1 sokeman (with) 8 acres of meadow (with) all custom from his predecessor Eudo Clamahoc, and he is worth 13³ pence.

HUNDRET [OF] CHILLEGROS [GUILTCROSS]

In WICHAM [Wykes⁴] HUGH DE MONTFORT (*Monteforti*) holds 1 freeman with (*de*) 30 acres of land by commendation only, 1 villein (and) 3 bordars. Then as now (he had) 1 plough on the demesne and half a plough belonging to the men, and he is worth 3 shillings and 4 pence. The soke (is) in Kenin[chala] [Kenninghall]. In BINELAI [Bilney, (West)] Hugh holds 8 free-(men) by commendation only (with) 1 ploughland, 1 plough, 8 acres of meadow, (and) 3 bordars. This is worth 10 shillings.

HUNDRET OF HOLT

In WABRUNE [Weybourn] Ranulf holds 2½ freemen of EARL HUGH, (who were) Harold's by commendation, dwelling (*manentes*) in WABRUNE [Weybourn], in SALTHUS [Salthouse], and in CHALLINGA [Kelling], and in BOTHA[M] [Bodham]. They hold 3 ploughlands (and) 15 acres. Then as now (they had) 1 villein (and) 25 bordars. Then 7½ ploughs, and now 6. Wood(land) for 30 swine (*pers*), 4 acres of meadow, (and) 7 mills. They were then worth 7 pounds, now 6.

CLAVELINGA [CLAVERING] HUNDRET

In RAVINGEHAM [Raveningham] (Earl Hugh holds) 1 freeman with (*de*) 3 acres, and he was on the rent roll (*in censu*) of Ravingeham [Raveningham] when Ralf suffered forfeiture (*forisfecit*). Nicholas, Earl Hugh's goldsmith (*aurifaber*), kept him back (*detinuit*), and he is worth 6 pence. He is in the king's hand(s).

ERPINGEHA[M] NORT [NORTH ERPINGHAM] HUNDRET

In B[ER]NINGEHA[M] [Barningham] (there were) 7 freemen of Ulvic T.R.E., now ROBERT GERN[ONS] holds them, with (*de*) 40 acres of land and 1 acre of meadow. Then (they had) 1 plough and a half, afterwards and now 1. f. 279b.

They were then worth 5 shillings and 4 pence, now 8 shillings. There also (are) 2 freemen, commended T.R.E., and now Anschetel son of Uspac holds them, with (*de*) 28 acres. Then (they had) half a plough, now 2 oxen; (and) half an acre of meadow. They are worth 3 shillings. They are in the king's hand(s)

³ Altered from '17.'

⁴ In Garboldisham.

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because (*ideo quia*) there was nobody to render account (*qui redderet compotum*).

BLAFELDA [BLOFIELD] HUNDRET

In POSSUIC [Postwick] (there were) 2 freemen of Scula (*Escule*) by commendation, with (*de*) 60 acres. Now EUDO DAPIFER holds them from his predecessor Lisois (*Lisui*). (They have) 8 acres of meadow. Then as now (they had) 1 plough. They were then worth 5 shillings, now they render (*reddit*) 2 shillings with service (*servitio*).

In TORP [Freethorpe] and LI[M]PEHOU [Limpenhoe] RABELL THE CARPENTER (*Carpentarius*) holds 20 freemen by commendation, with (*de*) 1 ploughland and 20 acres and 7 acres of meadow. Then and afterwards 2 ploughs, now 3. They were then worth 10 shillings, now 11 (shillings) and 6 pence. In SUTWDE [Southwood] 1 freeman, of Alsì by commendation, held T.R.E. When R[alf] suffered forfeiture he was on the rent roll (*in censu*) of the king's manor. Now Rabell the Carpenter (*carpentarius*) holds him (with) 4 acres of land. He is worth 8 pence.

SUD HERPINCHAM [SOUTH ERPINGHAM] HUNDRET

In HERPINCHAM [Erpingham] 1 freeman (holds) 4 acres and is worth 16 pence. This is held by Humfrey under RANULF BROTHER OF ILGER.

HUNDRET OF HAPINGA [HAPPING]

In WALCHOTA [Walcot] 3 freemen (hold) 90 acres. Then (they had) 3 ploughs, now 2½. They are worth 20 shillings.

[HUMBLEYARD HUNDRET]

In MELTUNA [Melton, (Great)] (there is) 1 freeman, whom RANULF PEVEREL (*Piperellus*) seized (*invasit*). And he has 6 acres, and half an acre or meadow. He is worth 6 pence.

f. 280.

[DEPWADE HUNDRET]

In FORNESETA [Fornsett] Scula, a freeman, held 13 acres, of whom Hermer's predecessor had the commendation T.R.E. Now he is in the king's hand(s). He is worth 20 pence. On (*in*) this land there was a house (*domus*) T.R.E., which Oschetel the king's reeve removed (*transtulit*), and for this (*ex hac*) he has given pledge (*dedit vadem*).

In TIBHAM [Tibenham] 1 freeman (holds) 15 acres, of whom ROBERT MALET's predecessor had the commendation T.R.E. Then as now (he had) 1 bordar. He is worth 2 shillings. This land Walter (*Galterus*) Canud held, because (*propter hoc quod*) his predecessor had it in pledge (*vadimonio*) for 16 shillings T.R.E.

[FREEBRIDGE HUNDRET AND A HALF]

In EST WINC [East Winch] Rainer held 1 freeman T.R.E. with (*de*) 1 acre.

TABLES OF ASSESSMENT AND MEASUREMENT

FREEBRIDGE HUNDRED AND A HALF

Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment
160	West Walton . .	4l x 2f	s. d. s. d. 2
221b	Islington . . .	1l x ½l	I
207	North Runcion & West Winch	1l x 1l	I — 2
153b	Bawsey and Glos- thorpe	2l x 4f	I
191	Gaywood . . .	1l x ½l	I — 2
126	Wootton . . .	½l x ½l	I
256	Babingley . . .	2l x 1l	2
256	Dersingham . .	1l x ½l	I 4
151	Anmer	½l x 5f	4½ — I 8½
142	Snettisham . .	2½l x ½l	4
173b	Flitcham . . .	1½m x 5f	I 4
161b	Harpley . . .	1l x 5f	8 — 2
151	Little Massing- ham	1l x ½l	8
109b	Great Massing- ham	1m x ½m	I 4 — 2
236	West Acre . .	1l x 1l	I 4
160b	Castle Acre . .	1l. 10f x 1l. 4½ft	8 — 2
149	East Walton . .	1l x ½l	I 6
238	West Bilney . .	8f x 4f	6 — 2
221b	Well Hall and Gayton	1½l x ½l	I 4
142	Gayton Thorpe .	8f x 4f	8 — 2
142	Grimston . . .	1½l x 1½l	2
173	Pentney . . .	5f x 4f	8
125b	East Winch . .	½l x 4f	8
267b	Hillington . .	1½l x ½l	8 — 2
231b	Ash Wicken . .	6f x 3f	6 — 29 2½
CLACKCLOSE HUNDRED AND A HALF (10 LEETS)			
230b	Upwell and Out- well	1l x 1l	d. d. s. d. s. d. 2
215	Hilgay	5f x 4½f	8
209	Southery . . .	½l x 4f	3
230b	Wereham . . .	½l x ½l	6½
251b	Stoke Ferry . .	6f x 4f	6½ — I 4 — 2
160	Denver	1l x ½l	8
213	Downham Mar- ket	3f x 2f	4
206b	Ryston	4f x 3f	4
251b	Bexwell	½l x ½l	8 — 2
206b	Wimbotsham and Stow Bardolph	1l x ½l	I 4
Carried forward . .			6

THE DANEGELD IN NORFOLK

119b SOUTH GREENHOE HUNDRED (14 LEETS)—continued

DOCKING HUNDRED

Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment	Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment
			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>				<i>s. d.</i>
	Brought forward		17 3	215b	Brancaster (? including Titchwell)	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	2 4
237	Langford	1m × $\frac{1}{2}$ m	4	245	Docking	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	5 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
202	Gooderstone	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	1 1	143	Stanhoe	11 × 4f	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
237	Bodney	11 less 2f × 4f	8	151b	Fring	$\frac{1}{2}$ l × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	2 3
			1 9	222 $\frac{1}{2}$	Great Bircham	11 × 11	2 3
			20 5	226 $\frac{1}{2}$	Bircham Newton	$\frac{1}{2}$ l × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	1 3
				143	Bircham Tofts	11 × 4f	10
				244b	Sherborne	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	2 3
							17 7

GRIMSHOE HUNDRED

			<i>d. s. d.</i>
136b	Croxton	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	1 0
251b	Sturston	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	11
266b	Stanford	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	1 3
191b	West Tofts	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	1 5
238b	Buckenham Tofts	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	8
242	Ickburgh	$\frac{1}{2}$ l × 4f	8
242	Lynford	$\frac{1}{2}$ f × 4f	4
162b	Colveston	5f × 4f	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
163	Cranwich	71 × 41	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
			1 3
213b	Mundford	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	11
162b	Weeting	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	1 2
161b	Wilton	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	1 5
213	Feltwell	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ l × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	2 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
136	Methwold	21 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	2 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
162b	Ottering Hythe	3f × 3f	4
213b	Northwold	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	2 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
			18 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

WAYLAND HUNDRED

			<i>d. s. d. s. d.</i>
232b	Ashill	$\frac{1}{2}$ l × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	1 3
110	Saham Toney	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ l × 11	2 6
163b	Thrextun	10f × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	1 3
			5
174	Tottington	21 × 11	1 3
252	Merton	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	1 3
			2 6
174	Watton	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
163b	Caston	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	11
126	Stow Bedon	21 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
110b	Breckles	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	11
			3 10 $\frac{1}{4}$
163b	Rockland St. Peter	6f × 4f	5
126	Little Ellingham	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ l × 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ l	10
			1 3
268	Scoulton	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ l × 11	1 3
265b	Carbrooke	8f × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	1 3
			3 9
			15 1 $\frac{1}{4}$

SMETHDEN HUNDRED

			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
191b	Thornham	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	2 0
173b	Hunstanton	11 × 11	1 4
265b	Ringstead	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	8
			4
215b	Ringstead II	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ l × 11	3 6
135b	Hunstanton II	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	6
			4
163	Heacham	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	4
193b	Sedgeford	11 × 11	4
193b	" (Freemen)	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	1 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
256b	Ingoldisthorpe	$\frac{1}{2}$ l × 5f	1 0
			2 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
			18 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

BROTHERCROSS HUNDRED

			<i>d. s. d. s. d.</i>
169b	Barmer	3f × 2f	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
145b	Syderstone	10f × 8f	1 1
169b	Tatterset	$\frac{1}{2}$ l × 4f	1 1
111b	Dunton	11 × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	1 1
111b	Pudding Norton	3f × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ f	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
			1 1
262b	Tatterford	$\frac{1}{2}$ l × 3f	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
257	Great Ryburgh	7f × 5f	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
			1 1
170	Shereford	3f × 3f	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
170	Hempton	2f × 2f	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
			1 2
			6 7
122	Rainham	11 × 3f	1 8
237b	South Rainham	6f × 3f	10
122	Helhoughton	4f × 3f	10
			1 8
			3 4
169b	Rudham	11 × 11	4 3
237	Burnham Westgate	measured in Gallow H.	3
191b	Colkirk ¹	5f × 4f	11
257	Toft Trees	4f × 3f	1 3
			19 4

GALLOW HUNDRED

			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
169	Burnham Thorpe	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ l × 11	3
237	South Creak	11 × 11	4
168b	Waterden	3f × 2f	1
168	Barsham	$\frac{1}{2}$ l × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	6
168b	"	no separate measurement	1
168	Sculthorpe	$\frac{1}{2}$ l × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	6
			2
111	Fakenham	7f × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	1
232b	Pensthorpe	4f × 3f	6
257	Little Snoring	$\frac{1}{2}$ l × 3f	1
168b	Kettlestone, &c. . . .	measured in Barsham	1
168b	Fulmodeston	4f × 3f	1
169	Croxton	2f × 1f	1
257	Little Ryburgh	3f × 2f	1
111	Stibbard	3f × 2f	1
191	Saxlingham (now in Holt H.)	7f × 5f	2
			19 6

¹ The figures suggest that Colkirk may have been grouped with Rainham and Toft Trees with Burnham Westgate, giving three groups of 4s. 3d.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

NORTH GREENHOE HUNDRED

NORTH ERPINGHAM HUNDRED—cont.

Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment	Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment
			s. d. s. d.				d. d. s. d. s. d.
264b	Holkham . . .	1l × 1l	2		Brought forward . . .		6 3½
271	Wells-next-the-Sea and Warham	1l × 1l	2	104b	Shipden (Cromer)	½l × 4f	6
113	Egmere . . .	½l × ½l	6	184	Felbrigg . . .	½l × 4f 3p	3½
233	Little Walsingham	½l × ½l	1 6	179b	Hanworth . . .	8f × 5½f	9½
			2				9½
113	Quarles . . .	4f × 4f	6	184	Metton . . .	5f × 4f 6p.	5
112b	Wighton . . .	1l × 1l	7	171b	Aldbrough . . .	8f × 3f	5½
113	Houghton St. Giles	½l × ½l	4	143b	Roughton . . .	9f × 5f	10½
258	Barney . . .	½l × ½l	6	268	Overstrand . . .	7f × 4f	6½
			1 11	194	Gunton . . .	½l × 6f	6½
233	Great Walsingham	1l × ½l	2				1 1½
192	Hindringham . .	1l × 1l	2	216	Antingham . . .	8f × 5f	1 1½
122b	Thursford . . .	1l × ½l	2	184b	Suffield . . .	8f × 5½f	1 1½
113b	Field Dalling . .	½l × ½l	2				3 4½
257b	Binham . . .	1l × ½l	2	171b	North and South Repps	½l. 2p × 4f. 4ft	6½
233	Stiffkey . . .	½l × ½l	2	170b	Gimmingham m. Sidestrand, and Knapton	2l. 8p. 5ft × 1l. 12p. 4f	5 1
			19 11				18 7½

HOLT HUNDRED

			s. d. s. d. s. d.
194	Langham . . .	1l × 1l	2
233	Wiveton . . .	1l × 1l	1 5½
112	Glandford . . .	8f × 3f	6½
			2
112	Holt, and Cley-next-the-Sea	2l × 1l	2 4
112	Bayfield . . .	1l × ½l	8
			3
152	Kelling . . .	1½l × 1l	1 6
152	Weybourne . . .	1l. 3f × 1l	1 6
			3
			10
239	Rodham . . .	½l × ½l	1
192	Thornage . . .	1l × 4f	1
242	Letheringsett . .	8f × 5f	1
112	Hunworth . . .	1l. 2f × ½l	1
			4
112	Briston . . .	1l × ½l	1 1
198	Melton Constable	1l × ½l	10
192	Swanton Novers .	½l × ½l	3
			1 1
198	Erningham . . .	1l × 8f	1 1
112b	Gunthorpe . . .	1l × 4f	6½
112	Bale . . .	1l × ½l	6½
			1 1
			4 4
112b	Sharrington . . .	7f × 6f	10
260	Edgefield . . .	1l × ½l	9
112	Hempstead . . .	1l × 1l	7
			2 2
			20 6

NORTH ERPINGHAM HUNDRED

			d. d. s. d. s. d.
223b	Sherringham and Salthouse	1l × 1l	11½
223b	Beeston Regis and Runtun	1l × 5f	11½
198b	East Beckham . .	½l × 4f	4½
171b	Gresham . . .	9f × 6f	7
			11½
185	Barningham . . .	10f × 6f	1 4
216	Thurgarton . . .	13f × 6f	1 4½
			2 8½
171b	Aylmerton . . .	9f × 6f	8½
			6 3¼

Carried forward .

6 3¼

SOUTH ERPINGHAM HUNDRED

			s. d. d. s. d.
132b	Saxthorpe . . .	1l × 1l	1
259b	Little Barningham	7f × 4f	3½
132b	Mannington . . .	1l × 4f	3½
			7½
133	Itteringham . . .	1l × ½l	5½
			1 1
132b	Matlask . . .	3f × 2f	3
218	Calthorpe . . .	9f × 6f	5
			8
187	Wickmere . . .	6f × 4f	8
186b	Alby . . .	6f × 5f	3½
219	Thwaite . . .	½l × ½l	4½
			8
			2
234b	Ingworth . . .	10f × 8f	1 1
219b	Wolterton . . .	6f × 5f	2½
195	Blickling . . .	1l × 1l	4½
115b	Oulton . . .	7f × 5½f	2½
241b	Irmingland . . .	6f × 6f	3
			1 0½
133	'Crackford' (Banningham)	4½f × 4f	4
186b	Burgh by Aylsham	3f × 2f	2
247b	"	1l × 5f	5
271b	Oxnead . . .	7f × 6f	5
248	Skeyton . . .	1l × ½l	8
			1 8
218	Swanton Abbot .	1l × 1l	4
217b	Scottow . . .	1l × ½l. 2p	1 4
			1 8
229b	Hautbois . . .	9f × 3½f	2
158	Coltishall . . .	1l × ½l	1
229b	Belaugh . . .	9f × 3½f	6
			1 8
132	Aylsham . . .	2l × 2l	1 8
229	Buxton . . .	1l × 6½f	10
229b	Brampton . . .	(f × 5f	5½
241b	Stratton Strawless	1l × ½l	11
241b	Hevingham . . .	9f. 1p × 5f. 2p	{ 5½ 5½
241b	Rippon Hall . . .		
			11
196b	Marsham . . .	1l. 3f × 7f	11
			2 9
114b	Cawston . . .	2l × 2l	7
234b	Tortuna (Booton)	½l × ½l	7
			1 2
255b	Baconsthorpe . .	6f × 5f	6½
			18 11½

THE DANEGELD IN NORFOLK

TUNSTEAD HUNDRED¹

Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment
			s. d. s. d. s. d.
219	Paston	1l × 4f	1 3
155b	Bacton	1l × 1l	1 3
			2 6
133	Witton	1l × ½l	10
248	Croswight . . .	1l × 7f	10
212b	Honing	1l × 10f	10
			2 6
			5
193	Swafeld	1l × 4f. 1p	1 6
218b	North Walsham .	1½l × 1l. 6p	1 6
187	Felmingham . . .	1l × 5f	1 6
219	Worstead	1l × ½l. 1p	1 6
			6
156	Dilham	11f × 6f	9
229b	Sloley	6f × 5f	4½
			1 1½
244	Tunstead	1l. 1f × 1l	1 6
248	Barton Turf . . .	10f × 6f	1 6
219b	Smallburgh . . .	10f. 12p × 6f	8
218b	Neatishead . . .	1½l × 1l	2 4
			3
218b	Hoveton	1l. 2f × 1l	1 6
			7 6
218b	Horning	1l × 1l	6
			20 1½

HAPPING HUNDRED

			d. s. d. s. d.
220	Ludham	2½l. 15p × 1½l. 70p	5
220	Waxham	1½l. 1f × 1l	2 6
133b	Happisburgh . . .	1½l × 1½l	2 6
148	Hickling	2½l. 12p × 1l 10p	1 3
259b	Walcot	1l × ½l	1 3
			2 6
134	Hempstead	1l × 1l	1 6
133b	Lessingham . . .	1½l × ?	10½
134	Palling	8f. 12p × 8f	7½
			1 6
			3
248	East Ruston . . .	1½l × 1l. 4f	1 7½
220b	Stalham	1l. 3p × 5f	1 5½
			3
148b	Ingham	11f × 7f	11½
			19 6½

WEST FLEGG HUNDRED

			s. d. s. d. s. d.
195b	Hemsby	1½l × 10f	2 6
146b	Somerton	1l × 8f 10p	2 6
216b	Winterton	9f × 8f	2 6
195b	Martham	1½l × 1l	2 6
			10
216b	Rollesby	10f × 9f	2 1½
272	Burgh St. Margaret	10f × 8f	2 1½
201	Billockby	5f × 3½f	1 8½
			6
201b	Clippesby	7f × 5f	1
216b	Ashby	8f × 4½f	1 3
216b	Oby	6f × 3f	9
			2
216b	Thurne	8f × 4½f	9
174b	Repps	7f × 5f	1 3
			2
217	Eastwick	6f × 3f	3
			11 3
			21 3

EAST FLEGG HUNDRED

Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment
			s. d. s. d. s. d.
117	Yarmouth	no measurement	1
134	Caister	1l. 100p × 1l	3 8
115b	Ormesby	1½l × 1l	3 8
			7 4
220b	Scratby	1l × 5f	1 8
			10
269b	Filby	1l. 3½f × ½l. 2½p	2
134b	Mautby	1l × 8f	2
134b	Runham	10f × 7f	2
225	Stokesby	1l × 1l	2
197	Thrigby	½l × ½l	1 2½
			9 2½
			19 2½

WALSHAM HUNDRED

			s. d. s.
216	Woodbastwick . .	½l × ½l	1 4
129	Panxworth with Ranworth	1l × ½l	1 4
129	Hemblington . . .	1l × ½l	1 4
			4
128	South Walsham . .	1l × 1l	4
129	Upton	1l × 1l	2
128b	Acle	1l × 1l	2
			4
129	Fishley	8f × 5f	10
194b	Beighton	½l × ½l	1
129b	Moulton	8f × 5f	1 3½
129b	Wickhampton . . .	6f × 5f	10½
			4
239b	Tunstall	7f × 5f	8
128b	Halvergate	1l × 1l	2
224	Reedham	1l. 3f × ½l	1 4
			4
			20

BLOFIELD HUNDRED

			d. s. d. s. d. s.
122b	Cantley	1l × 1l	1 8
123	Limpenhoe	1l × 10f	1 8
209b	Buckenhams Ferry	11f × 6f	1 8
200	South Burlingham	1½l × 1l	1 8
199b	North Burlingham	10f × 6f	1 8
240	Postwick (and Catton)	1l × ½l	1 1½
199b	'Letha'	1l × 5f	6½
			1 8
			10
137b	Thorpe next Norwich	3l × 1l 3f	8
269	Plumstead	1l × ½l	1 2
268b	Brundall	1l × ½l	7
200b	Witton	11f × 5f	7
			1 2
			3
194b	Blofield	1l. 3f × 1l. 1f	2 6
123	Hasingham (? including Strumpshaw and Lingwood)	1l × 4f	3 6
			6
269b	Mora (in Limpenhoe, Southwood, &c.)	8f × 5f	[1]
			10
			20

¹ Here the first quarter of the hundred is assessed differently from the remaining three quarters.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

CLAVERING HUNDRED

Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment
			<i>d. s. d. s. d.</i>
141 ^b	Stockton . . .	21 × 11	5 4
181 ^b	Hales	15f. 13p × 6f	8
			6
212	Kirby Cane . .	9f × 5f	10½
230	Aldeby	11 × ½1	2 1½
			3
182 ^b	Norton Sub- course	11 × ½1	1
205	Heckingham . .	11 × 8f	1
249	Raveningham .	11 × 9½f	1
			3
141	Toft Monks . .	11.2f. 10p × 11.	10½
181 ^b	Haddiscoe . .	11 × 8f	9½
			1 8
250	Wheatacre . .	11 × ½1	1 4
			3
249 ^b	Sudwda (? South- wood in Blofield hundred)	11 × ½1	8
			15 8

LODDON HUNDRED

			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
203 ^b	Hillington . . .	4f × 3f	4
177 ^b	Ashby	9f × 5f	9
177 ^b	Claxton	6f × 5f	9½
177 ^b	Thurton	10f × 5f	7½
			2 6
233 ^b	Carleton St. Peter	11 × 9f	8
195 ^b	Langley	11 × 11	11
217 ^b	Hardley	8f × 7f	11
			2 6
253	Chedgrave . . .	9f × 8f	2
131	Sisland	8f × 7f. 11p	8
204	Alcuntona . . .	6f × 3f	6
204	Torp	11 × ½1	4½
			1 8½
211 ^b	Loddon	14f × 9f	1 4
259 ^b	Mundham	20f × 10f	2
140	Seething	11 × 11	1 4
212	Langhale (in Kir- stead)	11 × ½1	1 4
259 ^b	Broome	11 × 5f	8
139 ^b	Ditchingham . .	11.4f × 9f	8
			1 4
177 ^b	Pirnough (in Ditchingham)	8f × 3f	8
152 ^b	Hedenham . . .	11 × 11	8
			1 4
130 ^b	Bedingham . . .	11 × ½1	11
155	Woodton	11 × ½1	1 3
			2 2
246 ^b	Topcroft	11.1f × 9f	1 8
			19 2½

HENSTEAD HUNDRED

			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
217	Saxlingham . . .	21 × ½1	1 4
217	Shotesham St. Mary	1½1 × ½1(?)	1 4
174 ^b	Shotesham All Saints	1½1 × ½1	1 4
217	'Grenesvill' (in Stoke Holy Cross)	11 × ½1	2
186	Poringland . . .	5f × 4½f	1
123 ^b	Howe	6f × 4f	1
			4
210	Caister	6f × 4f	1 4
138	Arminghall . . .	5f × 3f	8
			2
	Carried forward . .		10

HENSTEAD HUNDRED—cont.

Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment
			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
	Brought forward		10
125	Newton with Trowse	4f × 4f	8
175 ^b	Whitlingham . .	½1 × 4f	7
			1 3
185 ^b	Trowse	3f × 3f	9½
176	Bixley	½1 × 4f	10½
			1 8
175 ^b	Kirby Bedon . . .	½1 × ½1	1 8
176	Framingham . . .	½1 × ½1	1 1½
185	Yelverton	4f × 3f	10½
			2
175	Surlingham . . .	11 × ½1	1 7
175	Rockland St. Mary	11 × ½1	1 4
143	Holverstone . . .	4f × 3f	8
			2
175	Bramerton	4f × 2½f	10½
203 ^b	Alpington (Inq. Elien.)	11 × 11	1 1
210	Brooke	11.4f × 11	1 5½
			3 5
			23 7

DEPWADE HUNDRED¹

			<i>d. s. d. s. d.</i>
248 ^b	Hempnall	21 × 1½1	1 6
181 ^b	Shelton	11 × ½1	9
273	Hardwick	11 × ½1	9
			1 6
260	Fritton	11 × ½1	9
202	Tasburgh	10f × 7f	9
			1 6
151	Stratton	21.6f × 11.4f	2 1
212	Torp [Morning- thorpe]	11 × 3f	1½
153	Hapton	11 × 5f	6½
151 ^b	Ashwell Thorpe .	1½1 × 5f	6½
			1 1½
152 ^b	Fundenhall . . .	1½1 × ½1	1 1½
			2 3
181	Tharston	1½1 × 1½f	1 3½
181	Swanton	11f × 6f. op	1 11½
			2 3
181	Fornsett	11 × ½1	6½
181	Halas	½1 × 4f	4
			10½
141	Tacolneston . . .	1½1 × ½1	10½
			1 9
188 ^b	Moulton	1½1 × ½1	1 1½
246 ^b	Carleton Rode . .	11.4f × 10f	1 10½
			3
249	Hatestuna [Bun- well]	21.1f × 11.15p	9
181	Aslacton	11 × ½1	9
			1 6
212	Tibenham	1½1 × 11	1 6
			18 11½

EARSHAM HALF HUNDRED

			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
138 ^b	Earsham	1½1 × 11	6
246	Denton	11 × 4f	1 6
			2
138 ^b	Alburgh	11 × 5f	10
125	Redenhall	1½1 × 1½1.3p	10
			1 8
	Carried forward . .		3 8

¹ These figures suggest an arrangement in 3-shilling and 4-shilling blocks. One block of 4 shillings (i.e. 2s. 3d. + 1s. 9d.) to two of 3 in each half hundred.

THE DANEGELD IN NORFOLK

EARSHAM HALF HUNDRED—cont

SHROPHAM HUNDRED

Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment
	Brought forward		s. d. s. d.
210b	Starston . . .	1.5f × 5f	3 8
210b	Mendham . . .	2.5f × 7f	1 1
			7
			1 8
214b	Pulham . . .	2l × 1l	2 6
139	Brockdish . . .	7f × 5f.3p	6
254b	Rushall . . .	1l × 5l	8
139	Thorpe Abbots . . .	1l × 5f	6
210b	Thorpe Abbots . . .	7f × 6f	4
214b	Pirlestuna [Bil- lingford]	5f × 5f	4
			2 4
			10 2

DISS HALF HUNDRED

Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment
210b	Tivetshall . . .	1l.4f × 1l	s. d. s. d.
	Gissing . . .	no measure- ment or geld given	1 5
			[7]
			2
211b	Semere [in Dickle- burgh]	5f × 5f	6
211	Dickleburgh . . .	5f × 4f	6
			1
215	Thelveton . . .	1l × 1l	7
263	Osmundiston [Scole]	5f × 4f	2
154b	Thorpe Parva . . .	4f × 3f	3
			1
114	Watlingsete [Diss]	1l × 1l	7
154b	Frenze . . .	5f × 4f	3
			10
130b	Burston . . .	1f × 4f	1
130	Winfarthing . . .	1l × 1l	9
149b	Shelfanger . . .	1l × 1l	9
228b	Roydon . . .	10f × 8f	9
176b	Shimpling . . .	5f × 4f	5
130b	Fersfield . . .	8f × 4f	7
			1
211	Bressingham . . .	8f × 6f	1
			10 11

128 GUILTCROSS HUNDRED (Soke in Kenninghall)

Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment
178	Snarehill . . .	1l × 1l	s. d. s. d.
27cb	Rushford . . .	1.1l × 4f	11.1
262	Riddlesworth . . .	1l × 1l	11.1
			11.1
			2 10.1
149b	West Harling . . .	1.1l × 1l	2 3
127b	Gasthorpe . . .	1l × 1l	7
			2 10
223	East Harling . . .	1l × 1l	1 5.1
127b	Quidenham . . .	5f × 4f	1 5.1
			2 10.1
238	'Wykes' (Gar- boldisham)	1l × 1l	2 10.1
178	Lopham . . .	1l × 1l	2 10.1
209b	Blo Norton . . .	1l × 1l	8.1
127	Kenninghall . . .	1.1l × 1l	2 1
			2 9.1
164b	Banham ² . . .	1.1l × 1l	2 0.1
			19 2.1

Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment
207	Great Ellingham	1l × 1l	s. d. s. d.
164	Rockland All Saints	1l × 1l	1 7
			1 3
267	Attleborough . . .	2l × 1l	2 10
126b	Old Buckenham . . .	1l × 1l	2 10.1
222b	Wilby . . .	1l × 1l	1 7
			1 3
			2 10
226	Hargham . . .	1l × 1l	6.1
178	Snetterton . . .	1l × 1l	1 5.1
194	Eccles . . .	1l × 4f	7
			2 7
152	Shropham . . .	1l × 1l	1 6
270b	Larling . . .	1l × 1l	8.1
164b	Illington . . .	1l × 4f	7
			2 9.1
178	Hockham . . .	1.1l × 1l	1 3
236b	East and West Wretham	2l × 2l	1 8
			2 11
213b	Bridgham . . .	1l × 3f	1
239b	Brettenham . . .	1l × 5f	1 1.1
127	Kilverstone . . .	2l × 1l	7
			2 8.1
			19 6.1

HUMBLEYARD HUNDRED

Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment
221	Heigham . . .	10f × 7f	d. d. s. d. s. d.
135	Earlham . . .	1l.1f × 1l	2.1
			8.1
			11
135	Eaton . . .	1l × 1l	7.1
140b	Lakenham . . .	2l × 7f	3.1
			11
			11
143b	Cringleford . . .	1.2f × 6f	2 9
204b	Colney . . .	8f × 8f	8.1
204b	Little Melton . . .	10f × 5f	8.1
			1 4.1
254b	Great Melton . . .	1l.3f × 1l	1 4.1
			2 9
150	Hethersett . . .	1l × 1l	2 2.1
240	Intwood . . .	1l × 1l	9.1
			3
180b	Keswick . . .	6f × 5f	6.1
230	Markshall . . .	6f × 5f	6.1
			1 1
187b	Swardeston . . .	6f × 5f	1 1
229b	Mulbarton ² . . .	6f × 5f	6
205	Dunston . . .	1l × 3f	6.1
			1 0.1
			3 2.1
265	Stoke Holy Cross	1l × 4f	11
265	Swainsthorpe . . .	1l × 1l	11
265	Kenningham (in Mulbarton)	1l × 5f	11
			2 9
180b	Flordon . . .	8f × 5f	9.1
180	Hethel . . .	1l × 6f	6.1
			1 4.1
180b	Ketteringham . . .	1l × 1l	1 4.1
			2 9
208	Wreningham . . .	1l × 1l	10
254	Walsingham (in E. Carleton)	6f × 5f	6.1
			18 7.1

¹ The actual total, suppressing the conjectural geld of Gissing, is 9s. 6d.

² If, as is not unlikely, the assessment of Banham should be 2s. 10.1d. (assuming an x to have dropped out) this hundred will consist of seven leets

² We may probably raise the assessment of Mulbarton to 6.1d., and assign the remaining 1s. 4.1d. to Bracon Ash and Newton Flotman. The hundred will then consist of 7 leets; one assessed at 3s. 3d., one at 3s., and the rest at 2s. 9d.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

FOREHOE HUNDRED AND A HALF

LAUNDITCH HUNDRED¹

Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment	Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment
			<i>d. s. d. s. d. s. d.</i>				<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
144 ^b	Costessy . . .	7f × 6f	I 1½	165	Weasenham . .	1l × ½l	I 8
121	Bowthorp . . .	3f × 3f	6½	120 ^b	Rougham . . .	7f × 6f	I 8
			I 8	226 ^b	Lexham . . .	1l × ½l	7½
145	Easton . . .	6f × 5f	I 1½	207 ^b	Litcham . . .	8f × 6f	7½
145	Honingham . .	6f × 5f	I 1½	264	Dunham (?) . .	1l.3f × 1l	5
145	Honingham Thorp	5f × 4f	6½				I 8
			I 8	165 ^b	Fransham . . .	9f × 8f	10
145	Bawburgh . . .	5f × 4f	8½	209 ^b	Wendling . . .	9f × 6f	2½
269	Appethorp . . .	4f × 2f	5	165	Gressenhall . .	7f × 4f	7½
			I 1½				I 8
209 ^b	Marlingford . .	1l × 3½f	6½	226 ^b	Swanton Morley	1½l × 1l	10
			I 8	227	East Dereham .	1l.5f × ½l.3f	10
			5				I 8
166	Barnham Broom (probably in- cluding Colton, Barford, Bran- don Parva, &c.)	6f × 4f	8 5	191 ^b	North Elmham .	1l × ½l	I 8
			9 2	191 ^b	Beetley . . .	8f × 4f	I 8
202 ^b	Wramplingham .	½l × ½l	9	239	Gately . . .	½l × ½l	10
			9 2	120 ^b	Horningtoft . .	8f × 5f	4
137 ^b	Wymondham . .	2l × 1l	I 1½	178 ^b	Whissonset . .	½l × ½l	10
121	Kimberley . . .	5f × 3f	I 1½	235 ^b	Godwick (in Tittleshall)	6f × 4f	6½
253	Idikethorp (in Wymondham)	4f × 4f	11½				I 8½
			2 I	256 ^b	Pattesley . . .	4f × 2f	3
252 ^b	Wicklewood . .	1l × 7f.tp	I 5½	136 ^b	Mileham . . .	3l × 1l	2 3
227 ^b	Crownthorpe . .	3f × 2f	7½				2 6
			2 I	252 ^b	Tittleshall . . .	9f × ½l	5
227	Deopham . . .	10f × 6f	I 5½	232 ^b	Suttuna (in Tittle- shall and Mile- ham)	½l × 5f	5
264 ^b	Hackford . . .	3f × 2f	7½	252 ^b	Wellingham . .	1l × 9f	10
			2 I				I 8
			6 3				16 8½
110 ^b	Hingham . . .	½l × ½l	I 1½				
227 ^b	Morley . . .	½l × ½l	I 2½				
			29 5½				

MIDFORD HUNDRED AND A HALF

			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
166 ^b	Shipdham . . .	1l × 5f	I 3
167	Letton . . .	6f × 5f	I 3
121 ^b	Cranworth . . .	1l × ½l	I 3
167	Woodrising . . .	8f × 6f	I 3
			5
166 ^b	Southburgh . .	6f × 5f	I 3
214 ^b	Cavelly (in South- burgh)	4f × 4f	5
122	Flockthorp (in Hardingham)	1l × ½l	2 4
121 ^b	Swathing (do. ?) .	7f × 6f	I
			5
214	Torp (in Shipd- ham)	1l × 1l	I 3
214	East Dereham . .	1l × ½l	I 3
214 ^b	Sokemen of East Dereham and Torp	—	I 3
			3 9
145 ^b	Westfield . . .	6f × 6f	6
207	Whinburgh . . .	1l × 1l	3½
207	Garvestone . . .	5f × 4f	I 1
179	Yaxham . . .	7f × 5f	I 8
			3 6½
228	North Tudden- ham	5f × 4f	I 9½
228	Mattishall . . .	7f × 6f	3 0½
			4 10
208	East Tuddenham	7f × 6f	I 10½
228	Hockering . . .	½l × ½l	5½
			2 4
			24 5½

EYNESFORD HUNDRED

			<i>s. d. s. d. s. d.</i>
196	'Helmingham' (Morton on the Hill)	1½l × 1l	3 4
224 ^b	Witchingham . .	1l × 1l	I 8
			5 0
234	Haveringland . .	1l × 1l	7
241	Swannington . .	½l × ½l	7
261 ^b	Guton (Brandis- ton)	1l × ½l	7
			I 9
233 ^b	Whitwell . . .	1l × ½l	5
157 ^b	Hackford . . .	5f × 3f	4
			9
			2 6
157	Kerdiston . . .	1l × ½l	I 3
131	Sall . . .	1l × ½l	6½
192 ^b	Hindolveston . .	1l × 1l	8½
			I 3
			2 6
157	'Stinton' (in Sall)	1l × ½l	11
258 ^b	Wood Dalling . .	1l × ½l	I 7
			2 6
247 ^b	Reephham . . .	½l × 4f	3
131 ^b	Thirning . . .	5f × 6f	5
114	Foulsham . . .	1l × 1l	8½
241	Guist . . .	½l × ½l	8½
			I 5
240 ^b	Bintree . . .	5f × 3f	I 0½
147	Foxley . . .	1l × ½l	8½
254	Billingford . . .	1l × ½l	8½
147 ^b	Bawdeswell . . .	6f × 6f	8½
204	Sparham . . .	1l × 10f	8½
157 ^b	Elsing . . .	1l × ½l.1 rod	8½
			3 6½
147	Lyng . . .	1l × 1l	4½
147	Bylaugh . . .	1l × ½l	4½
			9
			7 5
			19 11

¹ Here there were probably 12 leets at 1s. 8d. each, Mileham, Pattesley and Gately forming two leets. The missing leets are perhaps Scarning, and Stanfield, Brisley and East Bilney.

THE DANEGELD IN NORFOLK

TAVERHAM HUNDRED

TAVERHAM HUNDRED—cont.

Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment
			s. d. s. d. s. d.
229	Wroxham . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ l × 1l	2 6
140b	{ Horstead . . .	1l × 1l	1 3
	{ Mayton (in Horstead)	3f × 3f	
243	Frettenham . .	1l × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	1 3
			2 6
243b	Spixworth . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ l × 1l	10
243b	Crostwick . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ l × 4f	10
132	Beeston St. Andrew	$\frac{1}{2}$ l × 5f	10
			2 6
131b	Rackheath . .	1l × 8f	1 3
140b	Sprowston . .	1l × 8f	1 3
			2 6
			10
140b	Catton	1l × 5f	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
271b	Hellesdon . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ l.20 p ×	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
		1l.3p	1 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
155b	Horsham St. Faith	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ l × 1l	1 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
155	Horsford . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ l × 1l	1 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
147b	Felthorpe . . .	10f × 5f	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
241b	Attlebridge . .	1l × 3f	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
			1 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
			5 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Carried forward . .		15 9 $\frac{1}{2}$

Folio	Place	Measurement	Assessment
			s. d. s. d. s. d.
	Brought forward		15 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
157b	Taverham . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ l × 1l	1 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
243b	Hainford . . .	1l × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	1 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
219	Drayton . . .	1l × $\frac{1}{2}$ l	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
			2 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
			4 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
			19 10 $\frac{3}{4}$

Here the hundred has clearly been divided into eleven leets, seven in one half hundred and four in the other.

SUMMARY OF THE ASSESSMENTS

	£	s.	d.
6 W. Hundreds	5	10	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
5 NW. "	4	14	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
4 NE. "	3	18	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
5 E. "	4	19	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
3 SE. "	2	18	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
4 S. "	3	17	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
7 Central "	6	9	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
34	32	8	9 $\frac{1}{2}$

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

WHEN Christianity first took root in Britain, and under what circumstances it was brought to our progenitors, and over what area its influence extended in Roman times, are subjects over which it is almost idle now to conjecture in the lack of any trustworthy information from written or monumental records. It is, however, probable that when the Romans withdrew their legions from Britain at the beginning of the fifth century, Britain south of the Roman wall was a Christian land with an organized church, whose bishops—except perhaps in Wales—exercised their authority over certain territorial dioceses, whose clergy were not seldom men of learning and trained in dialectics, a church, too, which possessed a version of the Scripture differing from that *Vulgate* or generally accepted Latin version current among the Christian churches of Gaul with which it had relations on equal terms. Lastly, it was a church which had its monasteries with some schools or educational machinery, and some of these monasteries were supported by their own endowments such as they were.¹

When in the latter half of the fifth century the Angles, from what is now Schleswig and Holstein, left their old homes, swarmed across the North Sea and settled down upon the coast of Norfolk, which became henceforth their home, it may safely be assumed that they found among the old occupiers some form of Christianity. They dispossessed those occupiers of their houses and lands, using some of them as slaves to tend their flocks and herds and to till the soil. The theory that a general obliteration of the old civilization ensued, along with a general sweeping away of all that stood for religion and culture, though the prevalent theory at the beginning of the nineteenth century, is now accepted by very few. Religions die hard, are not easily stamped out, and often survive (even though few material ruins remain to attest their former existence) in the superstitions which defy extinction and live on.

¹ For much of what is asserted in the text the student is referred to Hadden & Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i, 1, 120. Mommsen's edition of Gildas in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* cannot be accepted as final. The researches of Mr. Anscomb, 'St. Gildas of Ruys,' 1893, have necessitated a new edition, which I am told is preparing. Bp. Stubbs, writing to me in 1895, accepts Mr. Anscomb's date for the death of Gildas (some time before A.D. 554) as 'provisionally settling that point.' As to the monasteries and their existence as powerful institutions in the sixth century, they are taken for granted by Gildas, and—not to mention Glastonbury (on which see Freeman, *Norm. Cong.* [1-435])—it is clear that in the west there were still many of them at the end of the seventh century, which can only have been survivals from much earlier times. See the 'Life and Letters of St. Boniface,' *Monumenta Moguntina Jaffé*.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

At the beginning of the seventh century, therefore, we learn that there was a division of opinion in East Anglia between those who had adhered to heathen practices, and those who professed the Christian faith. But when about the year 630 Sigbert became king of East Anglia a new order began.

Sigbert in the days of Redwald, his stepfather, had been driven into exile and had taken refuge in Burgundy, where it seems he received his education and religious training at the hands of that brotherhood of scholars and enthusiasts whom Columban had gathered round him at Luxeuil.¹

The impression left upon him had evidently been profound, and no sooner had he become established in his East Anglian kingdom than the desire of his heart was to establish the Christian faith among his people, and to ensure its dominance.

It is to be noted that up to this time the mission of St. Augustine, which had started with so fair a promise in the baptism of Ethelbert at Canterbury in 597, had been followed by a period of great discouragement. During the quarter of a century following the death of Augustine in 604 the new Christianity imported from Rome had made hardly any way, things were at their worst when Sigbert entered upon his task of propagating the gospel among his East Anglian people. He had hardly returned to his kingdom when one of those many devoted men, aflame with the earnest desire of carrying the Christian religion into distant lands, of whom we hear so much in the seventh century, set out from Burgundy and made his way to Canterbury, where Honorius, one of the few surviving associates of Augustine, was archbishop, and offered himself as a missionary bishop to go and labour whithersoever he might be sent. Honorius forthwith sent him to Sigbert, who cordially received him, and Felix became the first bishop of the East Anglian kingdom.²

About the same time, or very shortly afterwards, another band of missionaries had started from Ireland under the leadership of a man of heroic zeal and intense earnestness, who had been moved by a longing to make his way to East Anglia, and join Felix, of whose mission presumably he had heard. This was Fursa, 'so called from a Scotie (Irish) word signifying virtues.' He was of the family of the kings of Munster and had spent some years in a monastery on Lough Corrib, where he had become distinguished for his ascetic practices and the conspicuous sanctity of his life. He appeared at the court of Sigbert with eleven companions,³ three of them at least being of his own kin, and was cordially welcomed by Sigbert who at once bestowed upon him the Roman fortress of Cnobheresburg, now Burgh Castle, and here Fursa founded a monastery, doubtless upon the model of that in which he had lived on Lough Corrib. It was here, as tradition reports, that he saw the wonderful vision which in the after-time made so deep an impression upon Dante as to have helped in great measure to inspire the *Divina Commedia*. It was this vision which, according to Bede, an old monk of Wearmouth remembered in his youth hearing Fursa relate to listeners awe-struck by the speaker's solemnity of utterance. Of course no small mass of fable and legend gathered round the story of Fursa as time went on, but the historical fact

¹ Jonas, *Vita S. Columbani*, c. 17, Elseij (apud Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.* 87).

² See Plummer's note on Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* ii, c. 15.

³ Bede (iii, 18) implies that this was not the only settlement founded by the Celtic mission.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

that the saint actually settled for a time in Burgh Castle is not to be doubted, though his sojourn there was but brief.¹

Meanwhile King Sigbert had not been idle. Profiting by what he had seen and learnt in his Burgundian retreat he seems to have begun soon after his return to his kingdom to found a monastery, which Bede says 'he had made for himself,' and to which he eventually retired. It is a question of some interest where that monastery—with its school—in which Felix introduced his duly qualified teachers imported from Canterbury, was situated.²

In the meantime—if we prefer to have a working hypothesis rather than none—we may give St. Felix the benefit of the doubt which Mr. Micklethwaite claims as a certainty. If this be conceded we may venture to claim for this curious and ancient church some connexion with the group of *seven churches* in this the southern portion of the early undivided East Anglian diocese.

But this is not all. At the northern extremity of the diocese,³ that is, on the coast of Norfolk, there is another group of seven churches in close proximity to the great Roman fortress of Brancaster. These churches all bear the common name of Burnham, though distinguished from one another by the names of their respective patron saints, as in the case of the South Elmham group.⁴ They are crowded into a smaller area than the South Elmham deanery occupies, inasmuch as the quadrilateral within which they lie is scarcely four square miles in extent, and no one of them is distant so much as a mile from the other.⁵

The parallel may be a mere coincidence, but who can help thinking of the groups of seven churches at Clonmacnoise, at Glendalough, at Clonenagh, at Innes Cealtra, and elsewhere in Ireland? In the absence of historic record, or even of tradition, we fall back upon conjecture and ask whether it may not be that the powerful Celtic influence exercised upon St. Felix by his Irish teachers at Luxeuil suggested to him the founding of his schools in East Anglia on the model of those Irish schools and colleges which were renowned places of education all over Europe in the seventh century, and which continued to be so almost down to the period of the Danish invasion.⁶

The work of evangelizing his people and of organizing and consolidating the church in his kingdom, went on with extraordinary enthusiasm while

¹ There is a very good life of St. Fursa in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. His career and that of his brethren after he left East Anglia and settled in France has been elaborately followed by Miss Stokes in her *Three Months in the Forests of France*. Canon Venables, rector of Burgh, has set up a magnificent granite cross in the churchyard of Burgh as a memorial of Fursa's sojourn in East Anglia.

² Bede, iii, 18, 19. The *Historia Eliensis* asserts that the place was Berdericksworth, a statement which is no more to be credited than the fable which planted it at Cambridge.

³ The diocese, it must be remembered, was conterminous with the limits of the East Anglian kingdom; that is it extended from the Wash on the north to the Stour on the south; it was bounded on the west by that region of morasses and fens stretching from Lincolnshire to Cambridgeshire, where the *Gyrwas*, of whom we know so little, seem to have roamed about as they pleased. Thomas, who succeeded Felix in his bishopric, was one of these *Gyrwas*. Bede, iii, c. 20. See, too, *Historia Eliensis*, i, 4-5.

⁴ Of course the names of all these saints are comparatively modern.

⁵ These churches are (or were, as some of them are in ruins):—1, Burnham Norton, St. Margaret; 2, Burnham Overy, St. Clement; 3, Burnham, St. Andrew; 4, Burnham Sutton, St. Ethelbert; 5, Burnham Ulph, All Saints; 6, Burnham Westgate, B.V.M.; 7, Burnham Thorpe, St. Peter (?). Burnham Deepdale, situated some three miles to the north-west of this group of seven churches, had probably no connexion with them, and was most likely a much later foundation.

⁶ See Prof. George Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church* (Longmans), lect. x, xi. See Dr. Joyce's *Short Hist. of Ireland*, pt. 2, c. v.

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King Sigbert lived ; but in 637 there came a catastrophe. Penda, the heathen king of Mercia (or middle England), burst in upon East Anglia, and in the battle that ensued Sigbert was slain. Felix the bishop nevertheless stayed at his post, and was earnestly supported by the next king, Anna, as devoted a proselytizer as his predecessor ; but when Penda came again three years later and harried the country, Fursa the Irish monk, in despair of being able to live a life of devotion in so disturbed a land, turned his back upon East Anglia and retired to Frankland. Felix, nothing daunted, appears to have gone on labouring without hindrance or molestation till his death in 647.

In the twenty-five years that passed after the death of Felix, the names of three bishops of the as yet undivided see have come down to us,¹ Bisi, the last of them, being consecrated it is said in the year 669. In May of this year the great Archbishop Theodore landed in England, and the whole English church accepted him as primate. This is not the place to tell of the importance of Theodore's career, or the wonderful and statesmanlike reform which he carried out during the twenty-one years of his primacy. One of the earliest of these reforms and one which he had very much at heart, was to effect a sub-division of the English dioceses in cases where the territorial sees were too large to be worked effectively by a single bishop. The old age of Bisi and his infirmities gave the primate his opportunity, and in the year 671 (?), Bisi was prevailed upon to resign. Hereupon the East Anglian diocese was divided into two,² the original see which had been seated at Dunwich being relieved of its northern half, and over that northern half a second bishop was appointed. Æcci, of whom we know nothing but his name, became accordingly bishop of Dunwich, and had his residence among and jurisdiction over the 'south folk,' and a certain Badwine was sent as bishop of the 'north folk,' with his residence at Elmham,³ five miles from East Dereham, where it is said that Withberga, a daughter of Anna, king of East Anglia, founded, or began to found, a monastery which came to nought, possibly during the times of the Danish invasion.

It was in 838 that the Danes made their first descent upon Norfolk.⁴ In 866 a great heathen army of them came again, and 'took winter quarters among the Angles and were there horsed.'⁵ Four years later 'they took winter quarters at Thetford.' Thence they turned to the country of the Gyrwas. This desolate and uninviting district, a region of lonely morasses, had nevertheless become a kind of holy land, in which four or five monasteries had grown up, the monks maintaining a life of prayer and praise, practising austerities, and perhaps carrying on some educational work, which

¹ (1) *Thomas*, born in the fenland among the Gyrwas ; (2) *Berectgils*, 'cognomine Bonifacius' (Bede, iii, 20) ; and (3) *Bisi*, probably an East Anglian. (Bede, iv, 5.)

² Bede, op cit, iv, 5.

³ Probably North Elmham. The division of the East Anglian see took place immediately after the council held at Hertford in September, 673, at which Bisi attended (Bede, op cit. iv, 5 ; Hadden and Stubbs, *Councils and Eccl. Doc.* iii, 118, where see the notes) ; the signature of Badwine appears in a charter of 693, Birch, *Cart. Sax.* i, No. 85 ; see, too, Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Anglic.* 240. The ancient lists of East Anglian bishops during the next century and a half give us ten or eleven bishops of Dunwich ; the last of them was Wilred, who was alive in 845. Contemporaneous with these Dunwich prelates we find ten bishops of Elmham. After Wilred there are no more Dunwich bishops mentioned, the see having become merged into the Norfolk bishopric. William of Malmesbury tells us that during the period when Ludecan was king of the Mercians and Burhed was making his stand against the Danes (A.D. 825-75), East Anglia was so devastated that the bishops were reduced to great poverty, insomuch that the *double bishopric* came to an end, 'et ex duobus unus factus, sedem apud Helmham, villam non adeo magnam, accepit.' Will. of Malmes, *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 148.

⁴ *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* anno 838 ; Green's *Conquest of England*, 77.

⁵ *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* anno 866.

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had won for them a reputation for sanctity, and brought to them the ungrudging and liberal offerings of people upon their borders. The fen monasteries had become very rich, and the fame of their riches attracted to them the pirate bands who had no scruples and great greed. It was in 870 that the host of Danes poured in upon these famous religious houses. The unhappy inmates were wholly incapable of defending themselves. The houses were given over to the flames, the plunder seems to have been enormous, and the ruin of the fen monasteries was complete. It looks as if the East Anglians, with their King Edmund at their head, horrified by the terrible sacrilege, were determined to avenge it. When the Danes returned to Thetford they found themselves besieged in their stronghold. The end of it was that the East Anglian army suffered a crushing defeat. King Edmund was captured, and on his resolutely refusing to abjure the Christian faith was cruelly slain in cold blood,¹ martyred in fact, and ever after accounted a saint—the saint of East Anglia. With him was slain Humbert, bishop of Elmham, whom Roger of Wendover calls his inseparable friend. And at the same time, too, it seemed that Ethelwald, bishop of Dunwich, came to his end.²

The work which St. Felix began and his successors had carried on was evidently continued among the Danish settlers, who utilized the old inhabitants as tenants or serfs, but the faith of the subject people never changed ; so far from it, the Danes themselves accepted the religion of the people upon whom they had quartered themselves.³ It is evident that they embraced the new creed with some enthusiasm, but the East Anglian kingdom was, during the ninth century, an independent kingdom, and its church as little united with the English church as the church of Scotland or Wales was ; the absence of recorded history in the one case proves no more than it does in the others ; while, on the contrary, when the period of obscurity comes to an end, in the middle of the tenth century, there are abundant indications that during all this dark time—dark, that is in the lack of chronicles or annals—the East Anglian church was still doing its work, with its successive bishops exercising their influence and authority over clergy and people. How entirely the Danish folk in England had absorbed the faith of those among whom they settled is shown by the fact that in 942 Odo ‘ the good,’ a Dane of high birth and of a lofty and devout character, was persuaded, not without hesitation, by Edmund, King Alfred’s grandson, to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury.

It is significant that sixteen years later we hear of Odo’s consecrating a certain Eadulph as bishop of Elmham, and from this time the succession of East Anglian bishops is uninterrupted down to our own days.

The primacy of Odo was a period of great revival of religious life, and was especially memorable for the awakening of a new zeal for monasticism. Ailwin the ‘ Ældorman ’ of East Anglia was regarded as the leader of the monastic party and took a prominent part in founding the abbey of Ramsey in 968.⁴

Before this, however, there seems to have grown up in the district of the Broads, among the marshes and fenland through which the sluggish Bure

¹ *Roger de Wendover* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), i, 303–12.

² Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Anglic.* 21.

³ Green, *Conq. of Engl.* 124 ; Hunt, *Hist. of the Engl. Ch.* xiii, 267.

⁴ *Historia Ramesiensis* (Rolls. Ser.), 40. Mr. Hunt has given an admirable account of Odo and his primacy.

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makes its way to the sea at Yarmouth, an obscure monastic house of whose origin nothing is known, but which developed into the abbey of St. Benets Hulme.¹ The bishop of Elmham at this time was Ælfgar or Algar, who had been one of the domestic chaplains of St. Dunstan, and his vision at the great archbishop's deathbed is mentioned in all the contemporary biographies. He is spoken of as a man of conspicuous learning and purity of character, and it looks as if he had gained some influence over Canute, and so had obtained for the Norfolk monastery those huge grants of land which the great Norfolk magnates bestowed so liberally upon it.² Algar was called the Almsgiver;³ he died on Christmas Day, 1021, and was succeeded by Ælfwin or Alwin, of whom there is little or nothing to tell.⁴ Then come thirty years of confusion.

After Ælfric, who died in 1038, the scramble for the bishopric of Elmham was incomparably scandalous. Grimketel, a Dane, we are told, bought the see from the king—that is Harold Harefoot—but he was ousted. Then Stigand, 'Canute's Priest,' managed to step into the vacant place. He in his turn was compelled to resign it when he became bishop of Winchester; but his influence procured the bishopric for his brother Æthelmer or Aylmer, who held it for some twenty-three years, and dreary years they were for his diocese. But Aylmer, too, came to an end at last, four years after the coming of the Norman Conqueror. His successor in 1070 was Herfast, who had been appointed chancellor of the kingdom the year before. With the episcopate of Herfast began those changes in the East Anglian see which constituted an epoch in its history.

Herfast, appointed bishop of Elmham in 1070, was the first foreigner who presided over the East Anglian see since the days of St. Felix. Before the death of Edward the Confessor he had been intimately connected with the Conqueror as his chaplain for several years, and shortly after Duke William had married his consort Matilda, he had come into conflict with Lanfranc, then prior of Bec, on the subject of the legitimacy of this union.⁵ The royal chaplain and the monk of Bec Herlwin were to have more than one quarrel after this, when the one had become bishop of Thetford and the other archbishop of Canterbury. We do not know the exact date of Herfast's consecration to his bishopric, but it was probably early in 1070, for he assisted in consecrating Lanfranc as archbishop on 29 August of that year. He was a married man, and left a son who inherited considerable possessions from his father in Yorkshire at the time of the survey.⁶ Herfast soon became embroiled with the powerful Suffolk abbey of St. Edmund's, over which he claimed the right of visitation as bishop of the East Anglian diocese. The dispute appears to have been left to Lanfranc for settlement. Herfast was dissatisfied with the decision whatever it was, and on an appeal to the Court of Rome (20 November, 1074) Gregory VII, then pope, sent a very strong letter to the archbishop commenting severely on Herfast's conduct, *and in effect giving the decision in favour of the abbot.*⁷

¹ John of Oxenedes, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), A.D. 1019, 19, and App. No. 1, 291.

² *Memorials of Dunstan* (Rolls Ser.), 94, 120, 218, 317. Eadmer says that Dunstan himself saw the vision.

³ *A.S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 286.

⁴ Liebermann, *Anglo-Norman Geschichte*, 92, 206, says he was a monk of Ely; but I know not on what authority.

⁵ Palgrave, *Engl. and Normandy*, iii, 263.

⁶ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, fol. 327a.

⁷ The letter may be read in the *Epistolae* at the end of Dacier's edition of Lanfranc's works, folio Venice, 1749, 20.

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Herfast was by no means inclined to submit quietly to either pope or primate, and the letters of Lanfranc exhibit an intemperance of language and tone which betray some personal dislike of Herfast and a readiness to believe the worst of him. Later on a fresh ground of quarrel arose when Herfast threw the weight of his influence in favour of the married clergy, and ordained one man as deacon and another as priest, though each had a wife from whom he refused to separate. Lanfranc interfered warmly in the case (*u. s. Letters*, 21 and 22) and ordered peremptorily that both men should be degraded. How it ended we are not told. In the year 1075 an important council assembled in London under the presidency of Lanfranc at which it was enacted that henceforth the English bishops should transfer their residences from villages to cities,¹ and in obedience to this decree Herfast ceased to reside at Elmham and transferred the seat of the bishopric to Thetford, then a town of importance, with a church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, apparently the most stately church in the diocese. Up to this time *St. Mary's* had been a mere parish church, but on Herfast's removal of the see from Elmham, *St. Mary's* became in effect the cathedral church of the diocese.² Thetford had a history which reminded men of the prowess of their martyred King Edmund, and its position was eminently central on the border between the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. But Thetford had seen its best days, and twenty years later the seat of the bishopric was once more, and finally, removed to Norwich, which was at that time beyond compare the most important city in East Anglia.³ A successor to Herfast, who died in 1086, was appointed in the person of William de Bellafago, of whom we know little more than that he was one of the king's chaplains, as were the other two prelates who were appointed with him. He was consecrated bishop of Thetford, 1 September, 1086, by Lanfranc.⁴ Bishop William was a scion of an extremely wealthy Norman family whom the Conqueror had enriched with wide possessions; like his two immediate predecessors, he was a married man.⁵ Celibacy continued to be more and more enforced upon the English clergy during the next two centuries, but instances of married priests are to be met with in Norfolk as late as the middle of the thirteenth century, and the frequent occurrence of such examples indicates that in East Anglia the general feeling was rather in favour of the married men than the reverse.

Bishop William's tenure of the bishopric was brief. A successor to the see was found who was prepared to pay heavily for the preferment, in the person of Herbert Losinga, consecrated some time in 1091, apparently a few months after the death of his predecessor.

Herbert Losinga was undoubtedly one of the most cultured and accomplished prelates of his time. Of the family from which he sprang nothing is

¹ Will. of Malmes. *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 66. On this subject see Freeman, *Norm. Conq.* iv, 414.

² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 48 and 60.

³ In changing his episcopal residence to Thetford, Herfast availed himself of the opportunity to despoil his bishopric by handing over half of the great lordship of Elmham to his foster brother Richard of St. Denis, as has been already noticed. It was an instance of the way in which in those times men could, by some cunning device or another, alienate lands from the old endowments, by giving a perpetual lease of them at a nominal rent to their relatives or dependants; a practice of which we have some shameful instances in the after time.

⁴ *Reg. Sacr. Anglic.* Freeman, *Norm. Conq.* iv, 690; Matth. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 22.

⁵ Planché, *The Conqueror and his Companions*, ii, 283; Munford, *Analysis of the Dom. Bk. of Norf.* 31.

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known, but in late life he speaks of his high birth, his great connexions, and his large resources.¹ Others mention his handsome person, the charm of his manner and his conversational powers. He spent his early years in the splendid abbey of Fécamp in Normandy, and was probably there as a young postulant when the Conqueror kept his Easter at this monastery in 1067.² Here in process of time he became prior, or sub-prior.³ In 1088 he was promoted to be abbot of Ramsey, then one of the wealthiest religious houses in England, and it was while occupying this important position that he managed to obtain the abbacy of the new minster at Winchester for his father, Robert Losinga, and the bishopric of Thetford for himself. Anselm was not the man to pass over unnoticed the irregularity in the appointment of Herbert to the East Anglian bishopric, especially when it was a burning question in all the churches of Europe whether a bishop could be considered canonically a bishop of any see to which he had not been duly invested with his ring and staff by the pope of Rome. Moved by the primate's persuasion, or urged by his own convictions, Herbert decided to make his peace with the pope, ask forgiveness, and in the meantime resign his staff into the hands of the king. The next thing we hear is that Herbert slipped away to Rome, and there receiving formal investiture at the hands of Pope Urban II was back again in England in April, 1095. From this year the title of bishop of Thetford disappears. Herbert and his successors in the East Anglian see became from henceforth bishops of Norwich.

Bishop Herbert had the instincts of a reformer and the practical ability and tenacity of purpose necessary for the carrying out of his schemes; also he was a man who could bide his time.

During the years when the preaching of the first crusade on the continent was rousing the most phlegmatic to every kind of wild fanaticism, the contagion of religious frenzy seems to have had no effect upon the Norfolk people, high or low. It may be inferred that the bishop set his face against the crusading madness; he had his own work to do, and he gave himself to that in earnest.

Norwich, which by this time had become from its position the chief town in the diocese, was chosen as the seat of the bishopric in place of Thetford, which could not claim equal advantages, and in the first instance had, or so it would seem, been chosen rather for want of a better site than for any peculiar fitness. But Norwich, with all its qualifications, possessed no church which could be made the cathedral church of the diocese. So it happened that the first act of Bishop Herbert, after the selection of Norwich as the seat of the bishopric, was the establishment of the great monastic house in which, as at Rochester, Durham, and elsewhere, the bishop of the diocese took the place of abbot. Here the parochial clergy were summoned to appear before their bishop at the annual synods, to give an account of themselves and to hold their deliberations under their bishop's eye.

To the building of this great religious foundation all the magnates of the shire were invited to contribute each according to his power, much in the same way that in our own time the wealthy classes are subscribing to

¹ Goulburn, *Life and Letters of Herbert Losinga*, ep. xxviii, vol. i, 46.

² Freeman, *Norm. Cong.* iv, 87 et seq., where there is a good account of Fécamp.

³ In Anthony Bek's book in the Lincoln Archives, he is said to have been '*Monachus et Subprior.*'

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the founding of new universities in some of our large cities. The cathedral itself was sufficiently advanced to be consecrated for divine service on 24 September, 1101.

Vast, however, as was the work which the bishop took in hand and carried through at Norwich, it was but a part of his immense achievements. On the other side of the Wensum, overlooking the cathedral and priory, he built another church apparently for the small army of labourers who were at work upon the monastic buildings; at Yarmouth he founded the church of St. Nicholas, and at King's Lynn the church and priory of St. Margaret. He took, moreover, an active part in establishing the Cluniac priory of monks at Thetford which was founded and endowed by Roger Bigot in 1103, and he built the episcopal palace on the north side of the cathedral. During the twenty-eight years of his episcopate Bishop Herbert found time to write frequent letters, some sixty of which have been preserved. He was a frequent and effective preacher. His theological treatises have perished, though some of his sermons remain to testify to his Latinity and to his intimate knowledge of the Scriptures. He was high in favour with Henry I and with his consort the accomplished Queen Maud, who was herself among his correspondents. The queen died on 1 May, 1118, and the bishop on 22 July in the following year.

He was succeeded by Everard de Montgomery, about whose parentage there is some uncertainty.¹ Possessed of large resources he was liberal in his distribution of them. He too was a married man.² He was consecrated bishop of Norwich on 12 June, 1121. It must have been a scandal and offence to Bishop Herbert's monks at the priory that a married archdeacon should be set over them, and it is clear that between them and the new bishop there was no cordiality, even though he is reported to have carried on the building of the cathedral which Herbert had left unfinished.

Bishop Everard had been bishop of Norwich nearly twenty-three years when, in the spring of 1144, an event, which in the sequel was followed by momentous consequences, occurred in the city. The body of a boy twelve or thirteen years of age was found, it is said, in Thorpe Wood in the environs of Norwich, bearing signs of cruel ill-usage. The discovery caused great excitement, the body was buried where it was found; but about 28 March (Easter Tuesday) a certain priest, Godwin Sturt by name, exhumed it, in company with his son Alexander and a nephew Robert, and all three identified the body. They declared it to be the body of William son of Wenstan, another priest, and his wife Liviva, whose sister was the wife of Godwin Sturt. The whole family with immense excitement declared positively that the little William had been murdered by the Jews with horrible barbarity, and the priest Godwin determined to make the most of the occasion.

The Easter Synod assembled in the cathedral on 10 April, Bishop Everard presiding, and after the preaching of the usual sermon Godwin rose and delivered a set speech in which he declared himself able to prove that the Norwich Jews had deliberately murdered his nephew during the Passover Festival, and he claimed that the Jewish community in the city should appear next day before the synod and be punished for their horrible crime. The bishop answered with some dignity that the Jews should be summoned and

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 4th Ser. x. 27.

² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iii, 474. m. 7.

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be heard next day, and if they were convicted, punishment would of course follow. But the Jews found a friend in the sheriff of Norfolk, who was responsible for the safety of all citizens, Jew or Gentile, and who knew well enough that not even under King Stephen and in those anarchic days, could he hand over the whole Jewish community to the tender mercies of a mob infuriated by appeals to the worst passions of bigotry, personal hatred, and the hope of a general pillage of their victims.

The quarter in which the Jews had their residences was situated in close proximity to the great castle, sufficiently garrisoned by a force of disciplined men-at-arms under the command of the sheriff. Seeing the danger that threatened, and apprehending that nothing less was intended than a wholesale massacre of the Jews, John de Caineto, the sheriff, acted with promptness and decision. He ordered the whole Jewish community to move in a body into the precincts of the castle, where they would be under sufficient protection till the imminent danger should have passed off, and there they continued for a time to reside until it was safe for them to go back to the Jewry. In the meantime the body of the dead boy was acknowledged to be that of Godwin's nephew, William. Very soon the popular voice proclaimed him a saint and a martyr, and this belief was strengthened when Aimar the prior of St. Pancras, at Lewes, who happened to be present at the Norwich Synod, made a proposal that the body should be delivered to him, with a view of making it an object of 'conspicuous veneration and worship,' possibly in the Cluniac priory at Castleacre, where it appears that the monastic church had but recently been completed. By Bishop Everard's order, however, the body of the martyred saint was buried in the monks' cemetery, but when a crop of miracles sprung up around his grave and a number of wonderful stories were circulated and believed by the people of all classes, the body was moved from one place to another till finally it was deposited in a shrine in the cathedral, and the cult of St. William of Norwich became a profitable source of income to the monastery.

The story of this reputed murder and subsequent glorification of the boy into a saint and martyr produced a very wide effect upon the beliefs and sentiments of Jew-haters all over Europe, which has not yet, by any means, worn itself out; though few of those who are still the victims of this horrible superstition are at all aware that the mythical calumny attributing a ritual murder at the Paschal Festival to Jewish fanaticism originated in the first instance in the story of the Norwich boy-saint so skilfully dealt with by the clergy assembled at the diocesan synod in 1144, and subsequently by the monks of the priory.¹

Though the contemporary writer of the life of St. William does not say so, there are nevertheless indications in his book that Bishop Everard was but a cold supporter of the alleged martyrdom of St. William. He appears by this time to have felt that he had little sympathy with the old monasticism of which, as has been said, the Norwich priory was the latest representative. A craving for a stricter rule and a more ascetic discipline in the religious houses was in the air, and Everard, peradventure worried and saddened by the attitude of both seculars and regulars in their attempt to make capital of

¹ *Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, by Thomas of Monmouth. With Introduction, Translation, and Notes by Aug. Jessopp, D.D. and Montague R. James, Litt.D.

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the finding of the boy's body in the Thorpe Wood, determined to resign his bishopric and end his days in religious seclusion. Accordingly he retired to Fontenay in the Côte d'Or and became a monk in the great Cistercian abbey there, after contributing very largely to the monastic church. At its consecration in 1147, he was present; Pope Eugenius III and St. Bernard himself taking part in the splendid ceremonial.

Three years later Everard died at Fontenay and was buried before the high altar, where a sepulchral stone was placed over his remains, which still exists as a testimony of the high estimation in which he was held.¹

From the whole evidence which has come down to us it is hard to arrive at any other judgement of Bishop Everard than that he was a devout and blameless ecclesiastic, but not to be counted among the strong men fitted to rule in turbulent times.² He was one of the many conscientious ascetics who came under the influence of St. Bernard, and so threw in his lot with the Cistercian movement. Not improbably his experience at Norwich had convinced him that the old Benedictine rule had grown lax, and that nothing short of a new departure in the life of the cloister was needed if the religious life in his own diocese was to become a reality. To a man of his very large possessions there were two courses open. To found a rival monastery in his own diocese, which should be subjected to the Cistercian rule, would have seemed almost an act of schism. The other course, which we know he took, was to renounce the world and turn his back upon the convent which he could not hope to bring to a better mind—the Norwich monks had proved too strong for him.³

The episcopate of Bishop Everard can scarcely have been regarded by the monastic party in East Anglia as anything but a period of decline from the days when Bishop Herbert was exhibiting his immense activity in the diocese. The Norwich priory must have chafed under the humiliation of its subordination to a secular prelate, working his bishopric without much consultation with his monastic chapter, and administering its affairs largely by the help of his archdeacons as his assessors. The time had come when it was necessary that a great effort should be made by the convent to assert itself by claiming the right of electing some one from its own body to succeed the prelate who had resigned. How it was managed we cannot tell, but when Everard retired to Fontenay in 1145,⁴ it is probable that strong pressure was put upon King Stephen in 1146 to accept as bishop William Turbe, prior of Norwich, who had been elected by the monks.⁵

Bishop William was apparently a man of humble birth whom Herbert the founder had taken into the monastic school in his boyhood and carefully

¹ In a monograph on the abbey of Fontenay, published at Cîteaux in 1882, and drawn up by Abbé J. B. Corbillion, the author asserts that Bishop Everard first went to Fontenay in 1139 and that remains of his 'Castle' are still to be seen there. I know not on what authority this statement rests; but if it be correct the inference is that Everard had some landed territory in the neighbourhood, which is not unlikely. For a general account of his retirement, see an article in *Norw. Arch.* v, 41.

² The statement of Henry of Huntingdon, *Epistola de contemptu mundi* (Rolls Ser.), 316: 'Everardus vir crudelissimus et ob hoc jam depositus' must be dismissed as incredible on many grounds, which this is not the place to set forth.

³ It is significant that three years after the retirement of Bishop Everard, a Cistercian abbey was founded at Sibton, in Suffolk, by William de Caineto, brother of John, the sheriff who protected the Jews in 1144. Tanner's *Notitia*, 88.

⁴ This is the date given by Radulph de Coggeshall and may be accepted provisionally.

⁵ Gervase of Canterbury, *Op.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 130.

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superintended his education. The lad made the most of his opportunities, and earned a certain reputation for learning and eloquence, while his moral character was above reproach.¹ The new bishop was before all things a monk, was deeply influenced by the spirit of monasticism, and in his infatuate zeal for the honour and glory of his own house, was quite likely even to subordinate the interests of the diocese to those of the monastery. Of his activity as diocesan indeed we hear almost nothing. He had a long and bitter quarrel with Walkelin, one of his predecessor's archdeacons, and in another quarrel with Hugh Bigot in 1166 he actually excommunicated the powerful earl for attempting to defraud the Augustinian canons of Pentney of some of their estates.² It was an audacious act, but it did not stand alone. The very next year (1167) when Becket excommunicated his able and determined opponent Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, Bishop William openly published that excommunication at a synod in Norwich Cathedral, and then, retiring from the episcopal residence, lived and resumed the monastic life in the priory. Three years later (1 December, 1170) Becket returned to England and entered Canterbury in state next day. From this time during the following three weeks the primate kept up an animated correspondence with Bishop William and in a letter of 9 December he signified his intention of paying a visit to the bishop of Norwich. The intention was never carried out. On Tuesday, 29 December, the great archbishop was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral to the horror and consternation of the Christian world.

During all the long conflict between Becket and Henry II no bishop in England showed himself a more stubborn and consistent supporter of the martyred primate than Bishop William. His obstinacy had something heroic in it and stood in the place of what in a nobler nature would have been called enthusiasm.³

On 10 June, 1172, a disastrous fire broke out in the cathedral, which appears to have done great damage to the interior of the building.⁴ Tradition tells how the saddened bishop did his best to restore the injury, but it was left to his successor in the see to complete the restoration which Bishop William can only have begun when he died in January, 1174.⁵

From his first promotion to the bishopric in 1145, the great object which Bishop William had at heart seems to have been to make the 'martyred' boy William a patron saint in the cathedral of Norwich. Between 1142 and 1172 the body was translated four times, and not content with this the bishop built and dedicated a chapel to his memory on Mousehold Heath, fragments of which might have been seen in the middle of the last century. Possibly Bishop William hoped to make the shrine a place of resort and

¹ This is abundantly clear from Robertson's *Materials for the Life of Becket* (Rolls Ser.), vi, 292, and from the letters of John of Salisbury during the papacy of Adrian IV (1154-9). The epistle numbered xxxiii is certainly wrongly addressed to Bishop Turbe.

² Jessopp, *Hist. of the Diocese of Norwich*, 71; Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 232.

³ His memorial verses on Becket are to be found in Gervase of Cant. *Op.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 232.

⁴ This is the date given in the *Chronicon Breve* in Trin. Coll. Camb. This chronicle would seem to have belonged at one time to the priory and was in great part the compilation of a Norwich monk. Hardy, *Catalogue* (Rolls Ser.) iii, 25.

⁵ It is curious that the same uncertainty which exists as to the date of Bishop William Turbe's consecration is observable also in the discrepancies of the various dates given for his death. Gervase of Canterbury seems most to be relied on, who gives the date as on the feast of SS. Fabian and Sebastian—i.e. 20 January.

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pilgrimage as important as the shrine of St. Edmund was to the great Suffolk monastery, but his success in this attempt was small. The offerings at St. William's altar before the fourteenth century was half over had sunk to a few pence a year.

The story of the martyrdom and the preposterous catalogue of miracles and wonders which were palmed upon the credulity of the multitude seem to have had no hold upon them. Thomas of Monmouth's life of the boy-saint is a poor specimen of the literature to which it belongs, a book absolutely wanting in any moral element, and characterized exclusively by its appeal to the superstitious appetite in a superstitious age.¹

When Bishop William died in January, 1174, Henry II was in Normandy. He returned to England in July and on the 12th of that month he did penance at Becket's tomb at Canterbury. In August he again crossed the channel and remained away until May, 1175. Not till 26 November was the vacancy at Norwich filled up by the promotion of John of Oxford, dean of Salisbury, who was consecrated at Canterbury 14 December under the title of bishop of the East Angles.

The new bishop had been conspicuous for many years as among the most consistent and astute supporters of the king in his determined efforts to resist the encroachments of the extreme papal party, which was always attempting to make the church dominant over the state in England. His name 'Oxoniensis' is to be accounted for probably from his having been a distinguished academic lawyer at the time when under the influence of Vacarius and his disciples the schools at Oxford were rapidly acquiring reputation.² We hear of him first in 1164, when he presided over the memorable Council of Clarendon. From this time the king had no more useful adherent nor one on whose wisdom and prudence he could more implicitly rely. His elevation to the episcopate produced no change in his way of life. We find him all through the reign of Henry II either in constant attendance upon the king, acting as justice itinerant in the law-courts, or sent as ambassador again and again. He appears for many years to have been associated with Ranulph Glanville, the great jurist, and his nephew Hubert Walter, a lawyer scarcely less renowned than his uncle. He eventually became archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 1189-1205). These two eminent men were both East Anglians, and both possessed considerable estates in Suffolk. The last occasion when the three are found in close connexion with one another was in the summer of 1190, when Hubert Walter then bishop of Salisbury, Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, Ranulph Glanville the chief justiciar, and John of Oxford bishop of Norwich, started on the crusade to recover, if it might be so, the Holy Sepulchre from the grasp of the infidels. The archbishop and Ranulph Glanville died within a month of one another at Acre.³ John of Oxford managed to escape the risks which the others were content to run, and making his way to Rome obtained from the pope a release from his crusader's vow. A year later King Richard was captured by the duke of Austria, and

¹ Dr. James's chapter on *The Cult and Iconography of St. William*, in the introduction of Thomas of Monmouth's *Life and Miracles* of the saint referred to above, will be found instructive and suggestive.

² Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, ii, 462.

³ The archbishop on the 19 Nov., Ranulph Glanville in Oct. 1190.

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the bishop of Norwich, in association with his friend Hubert Walter, exhibited extraordinary energy in raising money for the king's ransom, and when Richard died he took part in the coronation of King John at Westminster. He himself died 2 June, 1200, and was buried in his own cathedral on the north side of the presbytery.¹ All that we read of his doings in his bishopric amount to very little. He is said to have restored the ravages of the fire in the cathedral, and to have rebuilt the church of the Holy Trinity at Ipswich. The diocese must have been left to the archdeacons to administer as they would. No one of these appears to have been a man of mark. The bishop is credited with being the patron of Daniel of Morley (near Wymondham) a man of genius and enthusiasm for mathematical studies, in the pursuit of which he passed his life.

The episcopate of John of Oxford is chiefly memorable as marking the beginning of that period of conflict between the monastic order and the bishops which brought about an almost absolute collapse of ecclesiastical order and discipline in England.² The mischievous appeals to Rome on every frivolous pretext put the bishops to expense wholly disproportionate to that incurred by the appellants, who in most cases had little to lose and everything to gain by vexatious litigation. Hence the hands of the bishops were tied, and their authority in their several dioceses could but tend to diminish. The old Benedictine houses, with their traditions always aiming at exemption from episcopal visitation and their documents to bring into court, sometimes genuine but just as often spurious, were the chief offenders; while the parochial clergy, as they always have been, were quite incapable of combining for mutual support and co-operation; and the wholesale spoliation of the country benefices by the abominable process of appropriating the tithes of the parishes for the enrichment of the monasteries, went on steadily until the general feeling of the community when it was too late revolted from what had become robbery on a large scale. At starting the new monastic orders, and especially the Cistercians, would have nothing to do with the impropriations, but they soon yielded to the tempters, and the lust of self-aggrandizement was not to be resisted.

Scarcely three weeks elapsed after the death of John of Oxford when another John, sometimes designated as John II, was appointed to succeed. This was John de Grey, a scion of an ancient and illustrious house, who was himself a Norfolk man, and had been associated with Hubert Walter in many an active service done to the king his master. The new bishop was a 'mere creature of King John,'³ but he was true to the king through all his career. He was consecrated at Westminster Abbey 22 June, 1200. For some reason of his own he seems to have had no desire to take up his residence in close proximity to the Norwich priory, and he built for himself a great house at Gaywood, near Lynn, then a flourishing port which the bishop spent large sums in raising to importance. Lynn became a free borough with more than one royal charter to ensure its prosperity, but very little to boast of in the shape of any ecclesiastical foundation or endowment. Whatever Bishop John II may have intended during the first two or three years of his episcopate, it is certain that he was hardly in his diocese at

¹ Anthony Bek's Book (MS.) in the Archives of Lincoln Cathedral.

² The writings of John of Oxford named by Pits appear to have perished. ³ Norgate, *John Lackland*, 130.

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all during his last ten years. In 1203 he was sent with Hubert Walter on an embassy to Philip Augustus. In 1205 he was nominated archbishop of Canterbury, but his election was quashed by the pope, and Stephen Langton was appointed in his room. This was the first occasion of the long quarrel between King John and Innocent III. Next year he acted as justiciar in the King's Court. In 1208 he was sent to Ireland, where as deputy or justiciar he exhibited very great activity in more ways than one, and he remained there till 1213, when he was sent as envoy to the pope who (possibly to make him some amends for his rejection from the primacy nine years before) nominated him to succeed to the vacant bishopric of Durham, but he died on his way home at St. Jean l'Andelys on 14 October, 1214, and was buried in the presbytery of Norwich Cathedral next to the resting-place of Bishop William Turbe.¹

The most prominent personages in the diocese during the frequent and protracted absences of Bishop John de Grey, and the men to whom the working of the diocese was practically surrendered, were Geoffrey de Burgh, archdeacon of Norwich, a brother of the famous justiciar Hubert de Burgh, and Adam de Walpole, who appears to have acted as vicar-general of the diocese after the death of Bishop John of Oxford, and subsequently received the archdeaconry of Suffolk.

Of anything like religious activity, culture, devotion, or zeal in the county we hear scarcely a word. Four little Augustinian priories appear to have been founded during these dreary fifteen years, which were practically useless.² One Premonstratensian abbey however was founded at West Dereham, by Hubert Walter the primate, which grew into a wealthy house in later times.

The bishopric of Norwich had been vacant eight months, and the question was hotly debated, not so much as to who should succeed but as to who was to nominate and elect the successor. The result was, as usual, a compromise. In August, 1215, we find that Pandulf, the papal nuncio, was already spoken of as bishop-elect of Norwich. It is clear that the Norwich priory was allowed technically to be consulted as to the candidate they were supposed to nominate. Pandulf was a Roman born,³ and at the time that he appears first in history he figures as a clerk in the papal court and *familiaris* of Innocent II. He was only in minor orders, a sub-deacon, and, during all the years that he spent in England as nuncio and papal legate, he never thought it worth his while to be advanced even to the priesthood. I cannot find that he was ever seen in his diocese, and he refrained from being consecrated lest he should, by entering upon the episcopate, become in any way subject to the authority of Stephen Langton the primate.⁴ Hence he is spoken of invariably as bishop-elect of Norwich only. I cannot find that the estates of the bishopric were handed over to him, though he managed, under the sanction of the pope, to levy heavy taxes upon the beneficed clergy of the diocese and held preferment in other dioceses than his own. He seems to have been in debt at times, but if the character for rapacity which his

¹ Anthony Bek's Book (MS.) in the Archives of Lincoln Cathedral.

² Beeston and Weybourne on the north coast of the county, St. Mary de Pratis at North Creak, and Mount Joy Priory at Haveringland.

³ He is commonly but erroneously styled Pandulf Masca. Prof. Tout, in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

⁴ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 58.

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contemporaries gave him is to be trusted, not too much belief must be given to his occasional complaints of his necessities.

Pandulf found Geoffrey de Burgh archdeacon of Norwich, and such he remained till 1225, when he became bishop of Ely. Pandulf's representative as administrator or official of the diocese was Ranulph de Warham, prior of Norwich.¹ In 1218 he became bishop of Chichester, to which see he was consecrated in January, 1218. As for the diocese of Norwich, it seems to have been utterly neglected. Pandulf is credited with having contributed to the repair of the cathedral, and to have left to the priory a chest of relics of which Thomas of Monmouth a century before had said it stood very much in need. Pandulf left England in July, 1221, never to return, and in the following May he was at last consecrated bishop of Norwich at Rome. He lived five years after this, and died at Viterbo 15 September, 1226. Where he died there they buried him. That he should ever have been carried for sepulture to Norwich is, on the face of it, highly improbable.²

No time was lost by the king in choosing a successor. The priory was again utilized to elect the king's nominee and they chose Thomas de Blunville, who, having received the king's assent on 5 November, was consecrated at Westminster by Archbishop Langton on 20 December, 1226.³ Bishop Thomas had been a clerk in the Exchequer, and was a nephew of Hubert de Burgh, through whose influence it is said that he obtained his preferment, but he had already been custodian of the bishopric since October, 1224.⁴ His episcopate is a mere blank except for the memorable fact that in his time the great Franciscan movement began, and the friars established themselves firmly in Norfolk. He died 16 August, 1236, and thereupon ensued another contested election, when it came to the choice of his successor.

The prior of Norwich at this time was a certain Thomas of Elmham, who had made up his mind to become bishop, but he had a competitor in a certain John de Ferentino, archdeacon of Norwich, and chamberlain to Pope Gregory IX. The monks elected their prior while the king lent his support to the archdeacon. John de Ferentino had apparently some strong friends at Rome, and sent in to the papal court some very good reasons against the prior. It was alleged that the prior had a daughter, and so had been leading an immoral life, and that he had been party to the reception of monks into the Norwich priory for money paid down.⁵ Be it as it may, the election of Thomas of Elmham was quashed, and in his room, after some delay, William de Raleigh was consecrated bishop at St. Paul's, London, on 25 September, 1239.⁶ The only intimation that this bishop had ever been

¹ Blomefield falls into some confusion about him: *Hist. of Norf.* iii, 600. Obviously Blomefield's Nos. 5 and 11 are the same man.

² Anthony Bek's Book (Lincoln MS.) 'Pandulfus, gener Romanus, officio legatus. Anno pontificatus sui quinto XV Kal. Octobr apud Witerbiam obiit ut dicitur et ibidem sepelitur.' Bartholomew Cotton is the only authority for the hitherto general belief that he was buried at Norwich.

³ Le Neve, *Fasti and Reg. Sac. Angl.* It looks as if he had been 'provided' with the bishopric previously by Honorius III.

⁴ Le Neve, *op. cit.* 11, 460, m. 63.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii, 478; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 162.

⁶ On 11 July, 1238, he was elected bishop of Winchester, but the king refused to acknowledge the validity of the choice. On 23 February, 1239, he was chosen by the canons of Lichfield to succeed as bishop there. On 10 April he was elected by the Norwich monks to the bishopric. 'The elect to three bishoprics had to declare which he preferred. The king would not have him at Winchester; between the other two he did not hesitate long.'

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resident in his bishopric is afforded by the fact that in 1240 the pope ordered him to certify how many Italians were beneficed in his diocese, and what was the value of their benefices. If the bishop sent in any reply in return it has apparently perished. So far as may be judged from the existing lists of beneficed clergy at this time, they do not bear out the assertion, so often repeated, that the Norwich diocese had any great number of these foreign intruders, whatever may have been the case elsewhere.

Bishop William obtained the wish of his heart at last, for, little more than four years after his election to the East Anglian see, he was again chosen bishop of Winchester.

During the seventy years that had passed since the death of Bishop William Turbe, five prelates had borne some sort of rule over the Norwich diocese. Not one of them was better than an able man of the world, or gave indication of being actuated by any lofty idea of the sacredness of his calling. They were one and all mere lawyers or politicians playing the game for preferment, and having won it, bent only on getting all they could out of it. It may safely be affirmed that during quite half of those seventy years the bishops of Norwich were non-resident, and during the other half they were *fainéants*. The city of Norwich itself appears to have been in a condition of chronic anarchy. The Jews in the place were continually subject to every sort of violence and persecution, only (so far can be inferred from the evidence that comes before us) because they were the most prosperous class, and living, in the main, industrious and inoffensive lives. Their occupation as pawnbrokers among the working classes, and as bankers and financiers among the people of consideration lay and clerical, made them the objects of fierce hatred to all the needy, the greedy, and the improvident.¹

As with the bishops, so with the clergy. The researches of John Pits in the sixteenth century enabled him to give some account of just one hundred English writers and scholars who were more or less famous during those seventy years, but not a single Norfolk man appears among them. In the century that followed things were very different indeed. There was a grievous need of some great awakening of religious conviction and sentiment in East Anglia; when it came 'the fire ran along the ground.'

The rule of the non-resident bishops of Norwich had lasted more than seventy years when William Raleigh was promoted to the see of Winchester in 1244. There are interesting indications that during all that time the state of the diocese was what might have been expected. Everywhere else in England splendid work in the building of churches and cathedrals was going on.

At Norwich it seems to have been difficult to keep the great church of the diocese in repair, and specimens of twelfth and early thirteenth century churches in Norfolk are rarer perhaps than in any equal area to be found in England. Moreover, the non-residence of the bishops during these seventy years appears to have told upon the discipline of the clergy in more ways than one. We hear of no such diocesan synods as brought the bishop into close and personal relations with his clergy in the earlier times, and being left to

¹ See a remarkable paper on the infamous persecution of the Norwich Jews by Mr. Walter Rye in the first volume of the *Nor. Antiq. Misc.* 312.

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themselves, they did as they pleased. One incidental proof of this is afforded by the numerous instances which occur of the marriage of the beneficed clergy in Norfolk during the twelfth and late into the thirteenth century.¹

Bishop William de Raleigh, as has been said, was admitted to the bishopric of Winchester in April, 1244.² His successor received the royal consent to his election as bishop of Norwich on 9 July, and was consecrated at the church of the nunnery of Carrow near Norwich on 19 February following.³ The new bishop was a Norfolk man, Walter of Suffield, or Walter Calthorp, for he is called indifferently by either surname. A man of unblemished character, a scion of an old Norfolk house, whose ancestors had enjoyed large possessions in East Anglia, he had spent some time at the University of Paris, probably too at Oxford, where he appears to have come under the influence of Grossetête and the Franciscans. A man of large private resources, he was one of the most munificent prelates of his generation, and the city of Norwich to this day enjoys the benefit of at least one of his splendid foundations with its ample endowments.

In 1254 we find the bishop commissioned by Pope Innocent IV to draw up an assessment of all the ecclesiastical property in England, for adjusting the taxation levied by the pope. The Norwich Taxation, as it was called, continued in force as the accepted rating, both for the clergy and religious houses, until a new assessment was made under the orders of Pope Nicholas IV, which came into operation in 1291. Bishop Walter's activity in his diocese was exhibited during the last three or four years of his episcopate in many other ways. He seems to have revived or thrown a new life into the diocesan synod, and to have drawn up a new body of statutes, to which his successor made some additions.⁴

Bishop Walter's will has come down to us. It is a noble and suggestive document. The bulk of his large library he bequeathed to his nephew Walter de Calthorp; but to four of his close friends he leaves each a bible, and to another his psalter. Little was left to the Norwich priory. To the friars, on the other hand, he was graciously liberal, the number of bequests of all kinds to friends, dependants, and servants was very large, and among them was the cup out of which the poor children drank (meaning thereby the poor scholars of the grammar school), which he left to the hospital of St. Giles.

The bishop died at Colchester on 19 May, 1257, and was buried in the Lady Chapel, which he built as an appendix to the cathedral. Shortly after

¹ See a paper in the *Norf. Arch.* ix, 187. To instances there given may be added the curious case of Scarning, where, according to Blomefield, *op. cit.* x, 44, five generations of married rectors of the benefice succeeded one another far into the thirteenth century. Blyth in his *Hist. of Fincham* gives an instance of Hugh (rural) dean of Fincham, who had a son Samson, p. 69, N. 3. In the *Hundred R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 481, we find that in 1273 'Radulfus Rector Ecclesie de Topcroft' was thrown into prison with his three sons, and had to pay heavily for the release of two of them, though the third had actually died *ob duritiam prisonis*. In Farmer's notes under Tatterset St. Andrews, William de Hales (rector there in the episcopate of William Middleton, 1278-88), 'habuit sororem . . . Rogeri de Tateshall cleric in uxorem.' In a letter of Gregory IX addressed to Bp. William de Raleigh the pope seems to be aware that in the Norwich diocese there would be married clergy, but that they must be checked in their attempts to hand down their benches from father to son. *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 190; *Opera*, 'Radulfus de Diceto' (Rolls Ser.), Pref. p. xiii.

² On his relations with Bp. Grossetête, see *Letters of Grossetête* (Rolls Ser.), 63, 67, and F. S. Stevenson, *Life of Grosseteste*.

³ Le Neve, *Fasti and Reg. Sacr. Angl.*

⁴ Wilkins in his *Concilia* printed some portion of these statutes (i, 731-6) from a MS. now in the Bodleian Library, Digby MSS. No. 99, p. 113.

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his death reverence for his memory, belief in his sanctity, or gratitude for his large-hearted generosity, led to the report that miracles were wrought at his tomb. He is the only bishop of the see the tradition of whose saintly life has been handed down to posterity as his chief characteristic. A seeker after God, who kept himself aloof from the political strife of his time—not strong enough to be a leader perhaps, but one whose exemplary life was his best legacy to posterity.

Since the death of Pandulf three bishops of Norwich had succeeded one another who had all been Norfolk men. The see was kept vacant for a time, when another of the great lawyers was elected to the vacancy, who can scarcely have been an ‘episcopally minded prelate.’ This was Simon de Wauton or Walton, consecrated at Canterbury 10 March, 1258. He is said by Dugdale to have been born at Walton d’Eiville in Warwickshire,¹ and if, indeed, he was one of King John’s chaplains in 1205,² and about that time was enjoying two other pieces of preferment, he must have been far advanced in life when he received his bishopric, and some years over eighty when he died. He was an eminent lawyer, and was apparently chief justice of the Common Pleas at the time of his election to Norwich, but nevertheless held several pieces of preferment, which he was allowed by the pope to retain together with his bishopric. In the dreadful famine from which the poor suffered so cruelly in the first year of Bishop Simon’s episcopate, we hear nothing about any efforts on his part to relieve their distress. History has little or nothing to tell which is to his credit. He died 2 January, 1266, and was buried in Bishop Suffield’s Lady Chapel.

Once more King Henry had to assent to the election of a bishop of Norwich. The kingdom was in a pitiful state; the battle of Evesham, 4 August, 1265, had to all appearance crushed the hopes of the popular party and left it without a leader, but desperate men are apt to be troublesome, and up and down the land there was much lawlessness. It was no time for keeping bishoprics vacant, and making more enemies, so the monks of Norwich were permitted to proceed to an election, and on 23 January, 1266, just three weeks after the death of Simon de Walton, they chose as his successor their own prior, Roger de Scarning.

A Norfolk man again, and born, as his name implies, at a village adjoining the town of East Dereham, he had been a monk at Norwich for many years, and prior of the monastery since 1257.³

He was consecrated on 4 April, 1266, at St. Paul’s, by the archbishop of Ragusa (in Media).⁴ During the rest of that year East Anglia suffered miserably from the war that was raging. Bury St. Edmunds, Lynn, Ely, Norwich were pillaged by one side or the other. On 19 December Norwich was actually sacked and immense booty carried away by the rebels.⁵ It was not till July, 1267, that Prince Edward succeeded in bringing the struggle to an end.

Meanwhile, in October, 1265, another papal legate appeared in England. It was twenty-eight years since any regular plenipotentiary legate had been seen in England.⁶ He had left a very bad name behind him for the extortion

¹ Dugdale, *Antiq. of Warwickshire*, i, 576.

² Foss, *Judges*, who gives his authorities for the statement.

³ Barth. de Cotton, *De Rege Edwardo I* (Rolls Ser.), 137.

⁴ *Reg. Sac. Angl.* 63.

⁵ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 53.

⁶ On the significance of these missions see Stubbs, *Constitutional Hist. of Engl.* iii, 703.

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and rapacity which he practised and the audacity of his demands. The council at which he presided in St. Paul's however, in November, 1237, marked an epoch in the history of the Church of England, and the constitutions agreed to showed on their face a desire to cope with the evils which required remedy. If the legate were to be judged by them only, he might almost be regarded as one of the serious reformers of his age. Unhappily it seems that these were little more than a dead letter. When Ottobon, twenty-eight years later, called another council, this time again in St. Paul's,¹ the canons enacted by Ottobon were re-enacted or confirmed, and some new ones added. They give us a deplorable picture of the condition of religion in England. Churches had been pulled down on pretence of repairing them;² others had been left unconsecrated for years; parishes were in charge of deacons or even acolytes, the people being compelled to resort to the itinerant friars for absolution or the sacrament of the altar; over-laxity prevailed in admitting candidates for holy orders, and illegal fees were demanded for services which should have been free to all. But the re-enactment of the canons of Ottobon goes far to prove that the previous legislation had been inoperative. The laws may have been excellent, but they were not put in force. From this time things did tend somewhat to improve, though the practice of robbing the country clergy of their incomes, and handing those incomes over to religious houses, many of which were almost entirely useless foundations, increased, and acted at least as much to the prejudice of the people as to that of the clerical order. Bishop Roger's episcopate is memorable for the very serious conflict between the citizens of Norwich and the monks of the priory in 1272.

There had been bad blood for a long time between the citizens and the monks of the Norwich priory, as had been the case at Bury St. Edmunds, at Colchester, and elsewhere; and the ill-feeling was increasing. The monks had lost the confidence and respect of the trading classes, who had everywhere been transferring their allegiance to the friars. Things came to a crisis in July, 1272, in consequence of a brawl and a free fight at a great gathering on Tombland—the open space outside the precincts of the cathedral close on the west—where a high wall separated the close from the liberties of the citizens. The chief entrance to the close was through the great gates, and the Great Wall ran apparently straight from this gate in a northerly direction, as far as what is now Palace Street.

On Sunday, 8 August, 1272, the prior, anticipating a serious outbreak of violence, brought up from Yarmouth a band of mercenaries fully armed and equipped. These ruffians that same night sallied out into the city, and by their excesses drove the citizens wild. Next day a body of the citizens made a furious attack upon the great gates of the monastery, and set them on fire, and in the conflagration which ensued the whole range of buildings abutting on the great western wall was consumed by the flames. Of course there was some looting and robbing, much savage violence and sacrilege, and thirteen of the defenders of the monastery were slain in the conflict. But it seems that the monks, by the help of their Yarmouth men-at-arms, ended by

¹ They are given at length by Matth. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 420 et seq.

² Two instances of this may be pointed to in Norfolk, viz. Linford and Buckenham Parva, which to this day are churchless. Some little research might easily produce other examples.

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getting the best of the fray, and driving their assailants out of the precincts. We do not hear a word about the assault being renewed.

It was a disgraceful business and bad enough in all conscience. It needed no exaggeration by contemporary and later writers, but that the flames reached the cathedral, or that the mob ever got possession of the main buildings of the monastery and gutted them, there is everything to disprove, when all the documentary evidence is carefully and judicially examined.¹

Through all this dreadful business Bishop Roger showed himself to be deplorably unfitted for his sacred office. His attitude towards the citizens was that of a bitter and relentless supporter of the monks and their contention. He placed the city under an interdict, and induced the pope to excommunicate all who had taken part in the assault upon the priory. In vain did the Dominicans endeavour to arbitrate. Only for a little while, at the intercession of Henry III, was the interdict relaxed, and only under an appeal to Rome was the excommunication withdrawn, and absolution pronounced upon the delinquents by the priors of the mendicant orders, and that not until four years after the outbreak, when heavy fines had been imposed in compensation for the damage done. The bishop showed himself absolutely implacable and so he seems to have remained to the end. He died 22 January, 1278, and was buried in the Lady Chapel of the cathedral. History has nothing to tell of his episcopate that deserves to be remembered. More than a hundred years passed before the Norwich monks were again permitted to elect their prior to the bishopric of Norwich.

Roger de Scarning was succeeded by William de Middleton, who had held the archdeaconry of Canterbury for two years when he was elected to the see of Norwich 24 February, 1278. The royal assent to his election was signified to the archbishop of Canterbury on 6 March,² and he was consecrated at Lambeth on 29 May by his friend, Archbishop Kilwardby. His enthronement at Norwich on Advent Sunday, 27 November, 1278, was an occasion of great splendour.

At this time, when bishoprics were the reward of successful diplomacy or skilful statesmanship, the bishops of Norwich were almost invariably men whose services were in constant requisition by the king. As archdeacon of Canterbury, William de Middleton had been employed on an important mission to the court of France,³ and as bishop he must have spent much time out of his diocese, but the visitation with which he inaugurated his tenure of the see, in 1279, was one of great thoroughness. Bartholomew Cotton⁴ tells us 'he visited all his diocese, parish churches as well as religious houses, and ordered rigid correction to be executed of the delinquencies of all laymen as well as clerics.'

It was followed, in the latter part of 1280, by Archbishop Peckham's visitation⁵ of the monasteries in the diocese, which must have been performed with equal thoroughness⁶; the fact that his reforming zeal found no worse

¹ The whole subject has been elaborately treated by Mr. Rye in the second volume of the *Norf. Antiq. Misc.* 17-90. With the main conclusion arrived at by Mr. Rye I agree, though the last word has not been said on the questions that may be discussed regarding the incident.

² Pat. 6 Edw. I, m. 20.

³ Pat. 5 Edw. I, m. 6.

⁴ Barth. de Cotton, *De Rege Edwardo I* (Rolls Ser.), 161.

⁵ John de Oxenedes, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 257.

⁶ *The Reg. of Archbp. Peckham's Letters* (Rolls Ser.) shows that he was at Wymondham, 17 Nov.; at Thorpe on the 25th; at St. Benet's, Hulm, 6 Dec.; at Gimmingham, 13 Dec.; at Coxford, 4 Jan.; at Creyke 5 Jan.; at Docking, 8 Jan.; at Castle Acre Priory, 15 Jan.; at Gaywood, 20 Jan.; and lastly at Dereham.

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abuses to correct than certain cases of extortion on the part of officials gives a favourable impression of the state of the religious houses in the county.

In 1285 the writ, *Circumspecte Agatis*,¹ which was regarded afterwards as a statute defining the uses of writs of prohibition, and of universal application, was issued by the king with primary reference to the see of Norwich, according to Blomefield, because 'the bishop was a great promoter of it, and then enjoying the greatest liberties of any bishop, was thought to be the properest person to be named in it.'² Cases of purely spiritual correction for mortal sin or libel, sentences of excommunication for assault upon a clerk, punishment inflicted for neglect of repairs of churches or churchyards, claims of tithes withheld, oblations and mortuaries, were decided to belong to the ecclesiastical sphere, and were not to be interfered with by lay courts.

The Close Rolls for the succeeding years recording the names of those who, in accordance with the privilege of the clergy, purged their innocence before the bishop of Norwich, and had their goods restored to them by the sheriff of Norfolk, give a by no means flattering testimony to the character of certain of the Norfolk clergy at this time.³

The expulsion of the Jews from England did not take place until 1290, but there is evidence that in the years immediately preceding this date the Jews of Norfolk were undergoing persecution. On 15 May, 1280,⁴ Philip de Wilegheby, receiver of the goods and chattels of condemned Jews, was ordered to pay to the sheriff of Norfolk 100*s.* which he expended by the king's order in the carriage of certain Jews of Norwich from that town to the Tower of London; an inspeximus of 16 June, 1280,⁵ deals with the property of Abraham, son of Deulacres, Jew of Norwich, drawn and burned for the blasphemy of which he was convicted; and a commission of 10 June, 1280,⁶ deals with that of Isaac, a Jew of Norwich, hanged for a trespass against the coinage. Numerous licences to sell houses seem to suggest preparations for the exodus; these, as also the deeds dealing with the sale of Jewish property which escheated to the crown after 1290, give valuable indications of the position of the Jewry.⁷ The synagogue in Norwich was destroyed in 1286.⁸

The last two years of the bishop's life were spent in Gascony, whither he had been summoned by the king. He left Ralph de Eboraco, archdeacon of Sudbury, his vicegerent.⁹ He died shortly after his return, 31 August, 1288.

His successor, Ralph de Walpole, archdeacon of Ely, a Norfolk man, was unanimously elected by a committee of seven monks, 11 November, 1288. He obtained the king's assent, and was consecrated by Archbishop

¹ Gee and Hardy, *Doc. Illus. of Eng. Ch. Hist.* 83, 84.

² *ib.* iv, 548.

³ Close, 14 Edw. I, m. 6; m. 8; m. 3; 18 Edw. I, m. 11; m. 13; 19 Edw. I, m. 5; Pat. 27 Edw. I, m. 37 *d.*; m. 74; 9 Edw. I, m. 12; 13 Edw. I, m. 13.

⁴ Close, 8 Edw. I, m. 8.

⁵ Pat. 8 Edw. I, m. 14.

⁶ *Ibid.* m. 14 *d.*

⁷ cf. Pat. 8 Edw. I, m. 2. Licence for Ursellus, son of Isaac le Evesk, Jew of Norwich, to sell his houses there, situated between the houses of Genta la Neve, Jewess, and Isaac de Jernemutha, Jew, in the street of Mancroft, in the parish of St. Peter. *Ibid.* 9 Edw. I, m. 26. Licence for Columba, a Jewish widow, daughter of Isaac, of Norwich, to sell her house in that town between the houses of Thomas de Bynetre and Eliseus son of Elias the Jew, abutting on the high road at its west end, and at its east on a watercourse called Kokeye, in the parish of St. Peter Mancroft. Also *ibid.* 28 Edw. I, m. 8. Grant in fee simple of a void plot in the city of Norwich, formerly belonging to Anesterra Hagge and Vivantus Mosseus and Moppa, her nephews, which became the king's escheat by the exile of the Jews.

⁸ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 63.

⁹ Pat. 15 Edw. I, m. 15.

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Peckham on Mid-Lent Sunday, 20 March, 1288, at Canterbury.¹ The monks were publicly commended on his election for their good management, and honest, regular course of life, but though their choice found favour in high quarters, it was most unpopular with the county, where 'all with one consent cursed the whole convent and especially the electors.'² It is not easy to understand his unpopularity, especially in view of his subsequent manly defence of his order against the excessive taxation of the king; but his disinterestedness in relinquishing (at the persuasion of the assiduous reformer, Peckham) the firstfruits, of which Bishop Pandulf had obtained a grant from the pope, must have done something to mitigate the feeling against him; he gave further proofs of generosity by his endowments to 'the scholars established in Cambridge,' in 1290.³

He showed great activity in his diocese, where he conducted a visitation in his first year,⁴ and when in 1291, a synod of clergy was called to discuss the new crusade proclaimed by Pope Nicholas IV, and the bishops were asked to deliberate concerning the measures to be taken for recovering the Holy Land, he was able to state that there were no powerful discords in his diocese, at the same time that he asked consideration for Norfolk on the ground of its finding the payment of tenths for six years an extremely heavy burden.⁵

This grant for defraying the expenses of a crusade had been made in 1288, but the taxation begun then was not finished until 1291. It is known as Pope Nicholas's Taxation,⁶ and is a most important record, as all taxes, both to the king and the pope, were regulated by it until the survey made in 26 Hen. VIII. But Norfolk is particularly rich in records of church property at this period, as the taxation of Bishop Walter de Suffield of 1253-4⁷ gives a very valuable list of the benefices in each deanery of the diocese, with their values, and a much more complete account of the city of Norwich than the taxation of 1291. There is also in the bishop's registry at Norwich a large folio volume called the Norwich Domesday Book,⁸ containing about a thousand pages exquisitely illustrated on vellum, which gives a survey of all the parishes of the diocese, with their temporalities and spiritualities, and those of the religious houses as well. Some recent authorities consider it to have been written as early as 1300, but from internal evidence it would seem to have been written as late as the fifteenth century.

The taxation of Bishop Walter gives the very large total of 782 churches in Norfolk. The taxation of Pope Nicholas gives the combined assessed value of temporalities and spiritualities in both archdeaconries as £13,255 5s. 4½d., and the value of temporalities as £8,781 12s. 7d. The bishop's property is taxed at 1,000 marks. The list of benefices is less complete than that in the previous taxation, the numbers being 317 in the archdeaconry of Norwich, and 406 in the archdeaconry of Norfolk. One of the most interesting points in this taxation is the large amount of property held in the county by religious houses, worth in all £4,439 6s. 1½d.

A very large number of churches were appropriated to religious houses, in which case they were sometimes served by members of the houses to which

¹ Oxenedes, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), 272.

² Pat. 18 Edw. I, m. 20.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Harl. MS. 1005.

⁵ Barth. de Cotton, *De Rege Edwardo I* (Rolls Ser.), 169.

⁶ Barth. de Cotton, *De Rege Edwardo I* (Rolls Ser.), 172.

⁷ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.).

⁸ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. I. App. i*, 87.

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they were appropriated. The appointment of vicars is usually regarded as dating from the Lateran Council of 1179,¹ but probably the rules then laid down only recognized and regulated a practice which had been in actual operation some time previously and even in some cases as early as the year 1154;² the taxation of Bishop Walter mentions eighty vicarages as already in existence; that of Pope Nicholas gives 176. Five marks a year seems to have been here as elsewhere the average stipend of a vicar, whatever the value of the benefice he served may have been.³ It must be remembered that this was the income of a celibate clergy, and there were benefices in Norfolk whose value was returned as less than five marks yearly, which is not surprising when the large number in existence is considered. And though in some cases the vicar might be paid by the religious house which appointed him a stipend in excess of the value of the benefice he served, the result of appropriation was as a rule the impoverishment of the churches appropriated, and the enrichment of the religious house by the process; for, while appointing a vicar at a fixed stipend, the religious house kept the main part of the tithe, and the parish was thus deprived of the major part of its endowments.

The parish priests had little cause to love the monks, but both they and the monks resented the encroachments of the friars, who pushed their way into the parishes, and were from the first exceedingly popular in Norfolk. It cannot be doubted that they did a very excellent and much needed work here, and that the religious enthusiasm exemplified by the church building and restoration of the fourteenth century, of which Norfolk is so conspicuous an example, owed much to the revival that was the result of their preaching. According to Bartholomew Cotton the Friars Minors and Preachers began to settle in Norwich in 1226,⁴ and the Austin Friars came to Lynn in 1293 according to Capgrave.⁵ The taxation of Bishop Walter mentions the Friars de Pica, the Friars Minors, the Friars of the Sack, the Carmelite Friars, and the Friars Preachers as already settled in Norwich;⁶ and ultimately the cities of Norwich, Lynn, and Yarmouth, seem to have been divided into four parts, assigned to Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustinians.⁷ The Grey Friars at Norwich had a cloister in their priory on the north side of St. Vedast's Church, called Pardon Cloister because the convent had procured from the pope indulgences for all those who should be buried there; and vast numbers of persons were also buried in the famous cloister called Scala Cœli at the convent of Austin Friars in the same city, that they might benefit by indulgences conferred by the pope on this place, so that at last the custom of burying in the churches of the friars became so injurious to the regular clergy, that in 1376⁸ an agreement was made between the prior of the Carmelites in Norwich

¹ Stephens, *Hist. of the Engl. Ch.* ii, 294.

² Compare the important charter in Round, *Cal. Doc. France*, 444.

³ *Pope Nich. Tax* (Rec. Com.), *passim*. The Norwich Domesday Book shows that while there was a considerable number of vicarages worth less than five marks a year, there were also some worth a larger sum. The vicarages of St. Bartholomew in Hanworth in the deanery of Reps, and of St. Margaret, in Thorpe Market in the same deanery, were worth only 15s. each yearly; the vicarages of St. Peter at Corpustie in the deanery of Ingworth, appropriated to the prior and convent of Horsham St. Faith, and of St. Mary in Appleton in the deanery of Lynn, appropriated to the prior and convent of Westacre, were valued at 30s. each yearly. The vicarage of St. Michael at Aillesham in the deanery of Ingworth, appropriated to the prior and convent of Battle, was worth twenty-eight marks yearly, that of All Saints, Lynn, appropriated to the prior and convent of Westacre, twelve marks yearly, and of St. Mary, Roughton, in the deanery of Reps, eleven marks yearly.

⁴ *Barth. de Cotton, De Rege Henrico III* (Rolls Ser.), 113.

⁵ *De illustribus Henricis* (Rolls Ser.), 138.

⁶ Harl. MS. 1005, fol. 11.

⁷ Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, ix.

⁸ *Ibid.*

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and the prior of the cathedral monastery, that, as many persons belonging to the parish churches appropriated to the cathedral were buried daily in the church and cemetery of the Carmelites, to the considerable loss of the monks, the friars should yield for the future one quarter of the offerings and profits arising from these burials to the monastery 'in the same manner as the Friars Preachers and Minors did.' But the papal sanction to them, repeatedly confirmed by Peckham, to hear confessions, with or without the leave of the parish priest, was also a cause of great heartburning, and Bartholomew Cotton describes its exercise by the Friars Minors of Yarmouth with much bitterness in 1291.¹

The part that Bishop Ralph de Walpole took in supporting Archbishop Winchelsey's resistance to Edward I's excessive taxation of the clergy is the most memorable of his public acts while he was connected with the diocese. He granted the king a moiety of his benefices and goods in 1294,² but when in 1297 the demand for a fresh subsidy was laid before convocation just after the bull known as *Clericis laicos*, forbidding the clergy to give a grant of aid to the secular authorities, had been published by Boniface VIII, he, with the archdeacon of Norfolk, was one of the deputation appointed to lay before the king the position of the clergy.³ The king's reply was 'As you have not kept faith with me, I am not bound to you in any wise.' Although there can be no question as to the justifiability of the king's objection to bulls which infringed civil rights, or of his assertion of the duty incumbent on the clergy of contributing towards the defence of the realm, and that for some time they had hardly borne their fair share in this, yet Edward had now gone beyond what was possible in his demands, and his next step, the outlawry of the clergy, was an altogether unwarrantable one. Ralph de Walpole was one of the three bishops who persisted in refusing the king's demands after Winchelsey had allowed individual clerks to make a personal submission to the king's will,⁴ and when the king despatched agents to Norwich to summon the clergy to redeem their lands and obtain the king's protection by payment of one-fifth, few accepted the protection, and many neglected altogether to obey the mandate.⁵

The translation of Bishop Ralph to the bishopric of Ely was the occasion of a direct affront to the king by Pope Boniface VIII. A dispute having arisen over the election of the bishop of Ely, through the choice of the monks having fallen on their prior, John Salmon, when the king desired that his chancellor, John de Langton, should be elected,⁶ appeal was made to the pope, who translated Bishop Ralph to Ely, and appointed John Salmon bishop of Norwich, 29 June, 1299. Bishop Salmon's temporalities were only restored to him 19 October, 1299, after he had made the most ample apology to the king, in which he renounced the papal letters and those of the archbishop conveying his appointment, as containing clauses prejudicial to the king and his dignity, and declared that these had not been inserted by his procurement.⁷ The affair was a costly one for Norwich. Bishop John had to borrow 12,000 florins from the Florentine firm of Spini 'to meet his

¹ *De rege Edwardo* (Rolls Ser.), App. 429.

² Pat. 22 Edw. I, m. 8.

³ Wilkins, *Concil.* ii, 220.

⁴ Rishanger, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 475.

⁵ Bart. de Cotton, *De Rege Edwardo* (Rolls Ser.), 321.

⁶ *Ann. Wigorn.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 542-3; *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 105-6.

⁷ Pat. 27 Edw. I, m. 8.

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expenses at the papal see';¹ and Walpole's proctor at Rome, Messer Bartolomeo Ferentino, had to borrow 1,500 marks and 200 *li.* in his principal's name for the same purpose.²

The new bishop was consecrated at Canterbury by Archbishop Winchelsey 5 November, 1299, and early the following month was in his diocese. His career also was rather that of a counsellor in political affairs than of an ecclesiastical administrator. He was constantly employed both by Edward I and Edward II on important negotiations³ in the kingdom and abroad, and in 1320 was appointed chancellor in full Parliament. On 12 November, 1322, we find him empowered to open the Parliament at York on the following Sunday, and continue the discussion concerning the realm, as the king could not be present.⁴ A letter from the bishop to the prior of Norwich, preserved in the registers of the dean and chapter, and dated at York 25 November, 1318,⁵ shows that it was much against his will he was so frequently away from his diocese.

Although he had good grounds for lamenting his frequent absences, and the heavy expenses in which he was involved by his continuous employment on diplomatic and parliamentary business, his faithful and loyal service to the crown stands out as especially meritorious in view of the discreditable part played by so many of the clergy in the reign of Edward II. In favourable contrast to their intrigues with Mortimer and the queen was also the behaviour of Robert de Baldok who, at Bishop Salmon's death on 6 July, 1325, was chosen to succeed him. Queen Isabella had already deserted the king, and Edward counted Robert de Baldok, then archdeacon of Middlesex, who had succeeded Bishop Salmon in the chancellorship in 1323, among his rare friends, when the latter was elected to the bishopric 21 July, 1325, and gladly gave his assent to the appointment. But William de Ayermin, a clerk of the Treasury, who secretly favoured the designs of the queen, and had been chosen for the vacant see of Carlisle on 7 January, was at the time engaged on an embassy in France, and the pope annulled his appointment to Carlisle, and nominated him to the richer see of Norwich. Baldok, whose adherence to the king ultimately led to his imprisonment and miserable death in Newgate prison, resigned on 3 September, and William de Ayermin, who was still in France, was consecrated at St. Germain des Prés on the 15th of the month.

The king's resentment at the papal interference was so great that he sent some of his guards to seize Ayermin on landing, but he evaded them, and managed to arrive in safety at Norwich, where he took refuge in the cathedral, whence he wrote a submissive letter to Edward, who felt that there was no course open but to accept him. The king did not, however, restore the bishop's temporalities to him, and their restitution was one of the first acts of Edward III, who loaded him with honours, and employed him repeatedly in important negotiations with France.⁶ His brother, Adam de Ayermin, was archdeacon of Norfolk, and vicar-general during his absence.⁷ The letters of protection

¹ *Cal. Papal Letters*, i, 582-3.

² *Ibid.* 590.

³ Rishanger, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 199; *Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 144, 267, and 282; Rymer, *Foedera*, ii, 11.

⁴ Pat. 16 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 16.

⁵ D. and C. Reg. ix, No. 123.

⁶ Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 21, and pt. ii, m. 10; 3 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22; 4 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 31 and m. 50, and pt. ii, m. 11; 6 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 16; 7 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22.

⁷ Pat. 4 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 24.

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for him and his suite¹ show that a certain number of Norfolk parsons who formed part of it were also absent from their parishes on these occasions. The employment of the king's clerks as parish priests led sometimes to curious complications as the result of a prolonged absence. The presentation of Richard de Estdene to the church of All Saints', Warham, 5 July, 1314, had to be revoked two months later, because it was found that the rector, Richard de Aston, was still alive, though detained in prison in Scotland.² In 1315 the appointment of William de Neuport, king's clerk, to the church of Giselham, was revoked when it was found that the parson, John de Nottingham, was alive;³ and a similar revocation took place in 1305 when it was discovered that Richard de Overton, rector, was alive, at the time that Master Walter de London was presented to Bramerton.⁴

The Calendar of Papal Letters shows many examples in Norfolk of the plurality against which the bull *Execrabilis* of 1317 was directed. Dispensations were frequently granted for non-residence, and the bishop also received indulgences to grant dispensations to a certain number of his clerks to hold benefices although under age. Of the many licences of non-residence for five years at a time,⁵ it was only in some of the cases that permission was qualified by the condition that this should be used for the purpose of studying at a university. The very frequent occurrence of dispensations to hold more than one benefice after the date of the bull seems to show that its aim was rather the regulation than the abolition of plurality. Numerous instances occur of dispensations on account of illegitimacy of birth and other irregularities.

In spite of a certain amount of absenteeism, which the appointment of king's clerks must have entailed, their employment cannot have been altogether a disadvantage, as it secured a certain standard of education and experience of affairs on the part of the parson, and it must be remembered that the number of benefices in Norfolk was very large, and that the number of clergy in the diocese greatly exceeded the number of benefices. The dispensation granted at the request of the king to Simon de Briselee,⁶ dean of Lichfield, and rector of Tunstead, in 1348, to receive the profits of his benefices for five years while studying civil and canon law, and in consideration of his having been imprisoned in Germany by brigands and held to a ransom of 3,100 gold crowns on his return from the Roman court, to take the emoluments of his deanery as if he were resident, gives a picture of an adventurous as well as varied career, and suggests that a high money value was set on his services. The case of the rector, William de Saham,⁷ subdeacon, who held the benefices of Tykye and Morley, as well as Kirby Wiske (Yorks.) and King's Clere (Winchester) in 1291, without papal dispensation, 'which has given him a scruple of conscience, in consideration of the circumstance that he, being now aged, has spent all his life in the royal service,' and who received a dispensation on condition that he should be ordained priest and give a portion of the fruits to the said churches, was evidently somewhat

¹ Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 21; 4 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 11; 6 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 4; 17 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 1.

² Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 26.

³ Ibid. pt. ii, m. 29.

⁴ Ibid. 33 Edw. I, pt. ii, m. 23.

⁵ *Cal. Papal Letters*, ii, 54 and 142. The case of Bernard Exii de Lebreto as a pluralist is perhaps an exception; *ibid.* 47, 51, 80.

⁶ *Cal. Papal Petitions*, i, 142, 177.

⁷ *Cal. Papal Letters*, i, 545.

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exceptional. That many of the Norfolk parsons were men of university standing is also shown by the calendars.¹

William de Ayermin died in London 27 March, 1336, and two days after his death the monks of Norwich elected one of their number, Thomas de Hemenhall, to succeed him. The election was annulled by Pope Benedict XII, who conferred the bishopric of Worcester on Hemenhall, and made Anthony de Bek, dean of Lincoln, at the time at Avignon, bishop of Norwich. He was consecrated at Avignon by the pope 30 March, 1337, and held his see for six years, dying 19 December, 1343. His first official act was to appoint William de Claxtone, prior of Norwich, and Master John de Fenton, archdeacon of Suffolk, to be his vicars-general.² He made Benedict of Norfolk, prior of the Austin Friars of Norwich, his suffragan,³ by the title of bishop of Sardis. He sued William de Ayermin's executors for dilapidations and recovered the enormous sum of 1,900 *li.*⁴ which shows that a disgraceful waste of the property of the see had taken place. He asserted his own rights against Archbishop Stratford on his attempting to hold a visitation in his diocese,⁵ and when the king supported the archbishop appealed to Rome, with what result is not known. He also had a dispute with the priory of Norwich, which he endeavoured to make subject to the bishop. Six months before his death both the archdeacons of Norfolk and Norwich appear in a list of ecclesiastics against whom processes had been instituted on account of extortions.⁶

His successor, William Bateman, son of one of the principal citizens of Norwich, had been collated to the archdeaconry of Norwich by William de Ayermin 8 December, 1328,⁷ after he had proceeded doctor of civil law at Cambridge. He had been made dean of Lincoln, and had been employed by Edward III with Thomas Falstaff, archdeacon of Norwich, on a mission to negotiate for peace with France, when Pope Clement V bestowed on him the vacant see simultaneously with his election by the monks of Norwich. He was consecrated at Avignon 23 May, 1344, and his appointment was exceedingly popular in Norwich. Like many of his predecessors he was often employed on the king's service,⁸ in negotiations with France and the pope. But he was a stern disciplinarian in his diocese, and shortly after his consecration held a visitation, which he executed with great courage and vigour, going so far as to assert his visitatorial authority over the abbey of St. Edmund's, whose resistance brought him into collision with the judicial authority. The abbey proved its case against him, and under the provisions of an ancient charter he was condemned to pay the enormous fine of 10,000 *li.* He not only refused to do so, but excommunicated the official, Richard Froyssel,⁹ who delivered the letters of prohibition to him. He was then threatened with arrest, his temporalities were seized, and his goods and cattle distrained.¹⁰ He appealed to the council called by Archbishop Stratford at St. Paul's 25 September, 1347, though with what result is not recorded. But this action had been taken against him by the justiciars in the absence of the king,¹¹ with whom he was

¹ cf. *Cal. Papal Letters*, ii, 352; *Cal. Papal Petitions*, i, 435.

² Goulburn, *Hist. of Norwich Cathedral*, 425.

³ Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr.* App. 5, p. 425.

⁴ Harl. MS. 3720, fol. xiii.

⁵ Rymer, *Foedera*, 29 Nov. 1343.

⁶ Close, 17 Edw. iii, pt. ii, m. 25 d.

⁷ Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii, 479.

⁸ Rymer, *Foedera*, iii, 19, 62, 165, 173, 175, 182, 183, 184, 196, 225, 227, 253, 275, 283.

⁹ *Cal. Papal Letters*, iii, 391.

¹⁰ Blomefield, op. cit. iii, 363.

¹¹ *Cal. Papal Letters*, iii, 391.

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on sufficiently good terms to be appointed by him in that year ambassador with the earl of Lancaster to negotiate a truce between France and England. He was absent in France (conducting peace negotiations) in the spring of 1349, and returned to find the pestilence raging in Norfolk. It had appeared there in 1348, though only to a small extent, but its ravages in 1349 are testified by the enormous number of institutions to benefices in the county during that year.¹ After his return to England the bishop stayed manfully in his diocese, moving from place to place, instituting to vacant benefices as speedily as possible; and in October he obtained licence from the pope to dispense sixty clerks of his city and diocese, aged twenty-one, to hold parish churches void by reason of the pestilence.² It is impossible to compute the number of deaths of unbeneficed clergy in this year, but this must also have been extremely large; it is recorded that all the canons but one of the abbey of Hickling died;³ and every one of the Dominican Friars of Norwich died, so that their houses were left empty and deserted.⁴ The plague in some cases swept away parishes as well as incumbents, and the result must have been a very serious falling off in the offerings of the clergy, and later on caused the union of several churches and moieties of churches. It will be seen that in many ways it materially affected the history of the church in Norfolk.

The bishop's stalwart defence of his episcopal rights led him to procure for his see a restitution of the firstfruits which had been lost to his predecessors, though Anthony de Bek had endeavoured to regain them.⁵ And he forced Robert, Lord Morley, in spite of the threats and entreaties of the king and nobles, to do penance through the streets of Norwich to the cathedral, for having poached on the episcopal manors.⁶ He was successful in a suit against the corporation of Lynn, relative to his rights there.⁷

The last years of his strenuous life were occupied in repeated foreign missions,⁸ and he died at Avignon 1353. He was buried before the high

¹ Although the institution of a new incumbent at that time does not invariably prove that a benefice was void by the death of his predecessor, it may be assumed that this was generally the case, and, judging by this method, the death roll in Norfolk was heavy indeed. In the deanery of Brook the institutions for the years 1345-7 were six; in 1349 they were thirty-three; and in the same deanery three incumbents were instituted in succession to the church of All Saints, Chealegrave, in 1350. In the deanery of Brisley we find in the years 1345-7 one institution; in 1349 we find twenty-four; of these, five parishes had two institutions each in this year, and one parish had three; in four cases the institution was followed by another in 1350. In the deanery of Burnham there were three institutions for the years 1345-7; in 1349 there were twenty-five, of which one parish had two, and another three in the year. The deanery of Depwade had four institutions for the years 1345-7, sixteen in 1349. The deanery of Fyncham had three institutions in 1345-7, and seventeen in 1349. The deanery of Flegg had six institutions in 1345-7, and eighteen in 1349, of which four parishes had two each in the year, and one had three. The deanery of Holt had one institution in the years 1345-7, and in 1349 it had twenty-three, followed by four in 1350. The deanery of Ingworth had five institutions for 1345-7, and twenty-eight in 1349, of which five parishes had two each in the year, and one parish had four, while the same deanery shows seven institutions for 1350, two parishes having two institutions each in that year. The deanery of Walsingham shows one institution in 1345-7, in 1349 it had eleven, followed by two in 1350. In the deanery of Hecham, with twenty-two parishes, there were fourteen institutions in 1349; and in the fifteen parishes of Redenhall deanery there were eleven institutions in 1349, and one each year in 1348, 1350, and 1351.

² *Cal. Papal Letters*, iii, 331.

³ *Chronica Minora St. Benedicti de Hulm* (Rolls Ser.), 437.

⁴ Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, li, No. 16.

⁵ *Cal. Papal Petitions*, i, 104.

⁶ Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* i, 415.

⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com. King's Lynn. Eleventh Rep.* App. iii, 149. Indenture, dated 1352.

⁸ Rymer, *Foedera*, iii, 275, 283, 289.

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altar of the cathedral at Avignon, the whole body of cardinals attending except one detained by illness.¹

The history of the career of William Bateman makes it less surprising than it would otherwise be, that when in 1350 he founded his college of Trinity Hall,² Cambridge, he, a bishop, should have designed it only for students of canon and civil law. Another Norfolk college had been instituted in 1348, when Edmund Gonville, rector of Terrington, had obtained licence to make an endowment for twenty fellows in honour of the Annunciation. Gonville died before his foundation was fully established, and Bishop Bateman carried out his scheme, removing the college to its present site, and substituting for Gonville's statutes a selection from those of Trinity Hall, by which the requirement of an almost exclusively theological training was abolished. On 17 September, 1353, the bishop, as founder of the two societies, ratified an agreement of fraternal affection and mutual help between the colleges, precedence, however, being assigned to Trinity.³ In 1350 Corpus Christi was founded, and as years went on, received so many benefactions from Norfolk donors, that in Archbishop Parker's time a number of its fellowships were restricted to Norfolk scholars.

One way in which the services of the beneficed clergy were supplemented⁴ was by the foundation of chantries. These began to be generally founded in the thirteenth century, though some were provided even earlier, and they continued a very popular form of foundation until the Reformation. Most of the larger parish churches contained one or more chantry altars with their special vestments and vessels and attendant priests, who took part also in the ordinary services of the church, and some of the religious houses maintained them too. Their endowments were often very rich. Chantries and free chapels, distinct from those in parish churches, had begun to be founded also in outlying parishes, and in the fourteenth century, when they had become everywhere more common, they were particularly numerous in Norfolk. The Black Death may have contributed to this result, and the papal calendars from the year 1349⁵ show a largely increased demand in Norfolk, not only for licences to found chantries, but also for portable altars, and a great increase of applications for plenary remission at the hour of death. The free chapel dedicated to the honour of St. Thomas at Tylney⁶ was founded by Sir Thomas de Ingaldesthorp in the time of King John; a free chapel dedicated to the honour of St. Margaret, called the Pilgrim's Chapel, was founded by Sir John de Caily before 1207 at Hilburgh;⁷ the chapel and chantry in Caley's lordship dedicated to the honour of St. Mary, was founded by Jeffrey de Heacham at Smithden in 1248;⁸ a free chapel dedicated to the honour of St. Andrew or St. Mary was founded by Sir Thomas de Gelham, and licensed by the prior of Bynham, at Dersingham, in 1264;⁹ a free chapel and chantry dedicated to the honour of All Saints was founded at Gissing in

¹ Robert of Boston, *Chron. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 135. *Cal. Papal Petitions*, i, 246-7 shows him in 1353 petitioning for further appointments for his underwritten nephews, Henry de Winterton, skilled in the law, rural dean of Lynn; John de Winterton, rural dean of Hengham; William de Winterton, rural dean of Sudbury; Henry de Brandon, rural dean of Ingworth; and for his domestic chaplain, William de Honyngg, and his clerk, Wm. Rede of Tudenham, B.C.L.

² Dedicated to the 'Holy Trinity of Norwich,' i.e. the cathedral dedication.

³ Cooper, *Memorials of Cambridge*, i, 99.

⁵ See Preface, *Cal. Papal Letters*, iii, vi.

⁷ Ibid.

⁴ Stephen, *Hist. of the Engl. Ch.*, iii, 271.

⁶ Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 67.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

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1280 by Sir Nicholas Hastyng, knt. ;¹ a free chapel dedicated to the honour of the Virgin was founded at Roydon in 1282 by Sir Matthew de Morley, knt.;² and a free chapel and chantry dedicated to the honour of St. Mary the Virgin and All Saints was founded by Sir John de Thorp, knt., at Ashwellthorpe, in 1311.³ These are among the earliest foundations, but later many more were founded, until, in the year 1535, the number of chantries and free chapels in existence in Norfolk,⁴ distinct from those in parish churches, was 138 ; while the annuities granted to retired chantry priests and incumbents of free chapels and chantries in Norfolk in 1553 amounted to £382 os. 11d.⁵

*The Calendar of Papal Petitions*⁶ for 1355 records the grant of a licence to Thomas, bishop-elect of Norwich, sub-deacon, to be ordained deacon and priest, and to be consecrated by any Catholic bishop. This was Thomas Percy, brother of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and then only twenty-two years of age, preferred to the bishopric by the pope in deference to the wishes of Henry, duke of Lancaster, though the monks could not be persuaded to elect him.⁷ When first appointed he was not in England, so the administration of his diocese fell to his suffragan, Thomas, titular bishop of Nazareth.⁸ Thomas Percy was consecrated 3 January, 1356, and died at his manor of Blofield 8 August, 1369, when little more than thirty-five. Contrary to what might have been expected, the young bishop seems not to have frequented the court, and to have seldom left his diocese. As he was a graduate of Oxford he can have been no unlettered ecclesiastic, and probably his kinsman's anxiety to obtain the bishopric for him shows that he considered him unfitted for the life of a layman. In 1361, the year of the second great pestilence, which, however, seems to have affected Norfolk but slightly, a hurricane blew down the cathedral tower,⁹ and the bishop contributed largely to its restoration. For the year before his death a record is in existence of very remarkable value for the account it gives of the churches in the arch-deaconry of Norwich. It is a visitation¹⁰ and registry of church ornaments in the archdeaconry, and it gives the value of every benefice, with a list of the ornaments and books of the church, and in many cases the names of the donors. Fifteen churches are included in the deanery of Thetford, and its list of churches in Norwich mentions some which were already ruinous or united to other churches.¹¹ But its interest lies less in its enumeration of benefices in each deanery and their values, than in the picture it affords of church ritual and adornment at the time. It has been shown that if the character of the Norfolk clergy sometimes reflected that of the rough and violent times in which they lived, they were often men of education and standing, and this register makes it clear with what generosity Norfolk people contributed to the decoration of their many beautiful churches, and how sumptuous was the ceremonial maintained in them.

¹ Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 67.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. App. 127.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ i, 276.

⁷ Goulburn, *Hist. of Norwich Cathedral*, 439.

⁸ Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Anglic.*

⁹ *Cal. Papal Petitions*, i, 418. This calendar also contains many grants of indulgences to those who helped to restore other Norfolk churches at this time.

¹⁰ Excheq. *Misc. Bks. K. R. xxx*, P.R.O. ; *Norf. Arch.* v, 89.

¹¹ This work mentions 19 churches in the deanery of Taverham ; 36 in that of Blofield ; 25 in Flegg ; 40 in Ingworth ; 31 in Sparham ; 31 in Holt ; 20 in Walsingham ; 11 in Toftes ; 36 in Brisley ; 56 in Lynn ; 16 in Breccles ; and 15 in Thetford.

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Bishop Percy's successor, Henry Despenser, is said to have stood alone among the bishops in taking active steps to suppress Lollardy,¹ which was making rapid strides in the diocese of Norwich. He was the fourth son of Hugh le Despenser the younger, and by his mother was descended from Edward I; he was by taste and education a soldier, and was promoted to the see with small regard for spiritual fitness, but as a reward for military services, for it was to his generalship as well as that of Sir John Hawkwood that Pope Urban V owed his return to Rome in 1367. He was provided to the see at Rome 3 April, 1370, being described in the bull as canon of Salisbury,² and was consecrated in Rome on 20 April. With the monks of Norwich Priory he was exceedingly unpopular. At Lynn, in 1377, an attempt to have the mace carried before him, an honour reserved for the mayor, brought him into collision with the townspeople, and his procession was set upon, and wounded with arrows and missiles; the quarrel went on until the sheriffs of Norfolk and Cambridge intervened to settle it.³ When, in 1381, the peasants' rebellion spread to Norfolk, and the men of Thetford, Lynn, and Yarmouth assembled before Norwich, and were joined by John Lister, the captain of the Norwich men, the bishop was in Rutland. He hastened back, however, with sword and helmet and coat of mail, at the head of eight lances and a few other men, and made short work of the rioters. He attended at the gallows at the execution of Lister, and his vigorous measures in putting down the rebellion⁴ made him generally hated in Norfolk. In 1382 a plot was organized to murder him, but the scheme was betrayed by one of the conspirators, and the plotters were taken and beheaded.⁵ Next year he was chosen by Urban V to lead a crusade against the followers of the anti-pope Clement VII in Flanders, and the king ordered the crusade to be published in England.⁶ The campaign began with brilliant successes, but ended in inglorious collapse, and the bishop was called to account in Parliament, his temporalities being seized into the king's hands. It was decided, however, that his failure was due to the mutinous conduct of his officers, and his temporalities were restored.⁷ He was one of the few who stood loyally by Richard in 1399; in July of that year he was at Berkeley with the duke of York, and when the duke came to terms he remained firm and suffered imprisonment,⁸ not being reconciled with the new king until the Parliament of 1401.⁹ He died 23 August, 1406.

One of his accusers in Parliament, 1384, had been Sir Thomas Erpingham, a Norfolk man of Lollard proclivities, and the bishop's hatred for Lollards was notorious. Walsingham writes of him:—

Be his name for ever blessed: he swore an oath and never regretted it that if any of that perverse sect of Lollards should presume to preach in his diocese, he should be given to the fire or lose his head. However great the number of that faction, never a one of them, knowing their man, was willing to hurry into martyrdom, whence it came to pass that in his diocese faith and religion remained inviolate.

¹ Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 189; *Ypodigma Neustriæ* (Rolls Ser.), 360.

² Wharton, *Angl. Sac.* i, 415.

³ Rymer, *Foedera*, iv, 4.

⁴ *Chron. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 306–8; Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 6–8; Knyghton (Rolls Ser.), 263–8.

⁵ *Chron. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 354; Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 70.

⁶ Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 76–8; *Ypodigma Neustriæ* (Rolls Ser.), 336 &c.; Rymer, *Foedera*, iv, 157.

⁷ Froissart, *Chron.* xii, 259. ⁸ *Chron. de Evesham* (Rolls Ser.), 152. ⁹ Stubbs, *Const. Hist. of Engl.* iii, 306.

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But in spite of the unyielding severity with which he administered his diocese, the Wyckliffite doctrines took firm root,¹ and the first victim of the notorious statute *de Hæretico Comburendo* was William de Sawtre, who, as chaplain of the parish of St. Margaret's, Lynn, was cited before the bishop for heresy 1 May, 1399,² and publicly recanted at Lynn, 26 May following, but afterwards recovered courage on removal to London, and continued to preach his heretical opinions at St. Osyth's, Walbrook. He was condemned as a relapsed heretic³ and burned 26 February, 1401.

The bishop himself incurred the serious displeasure of the pope by certain steps he took during his long dispute with his successor, Alexander de Totington, the prior of Norwich, who had denied his right of inquiry into various excesses committed by Thomas de Tutishallis, chamberlain, John Kyrkeley, infirmarer, John Dancer, succentor, and Thomas Lenne, rector of 'Norman's Hospital,' dedicated to St. Paul, and an exempt jurisdiction of the prior, as also his absolution of Richard de Bilney, monk, against whom the prior had issued sentence of excommunication for disobedience and other offences.⁴ The pope called all the causes to himself, and ordered the archbishop and bishop to make an amicable composition, and if they could not do so, then in two years, to transmit the causes and parties concerned to the papal see. This typically long and vexatious suit after many delays⁵ came to an end in 1402, when the pope confirmed the arbitration of the archbishop. During its course the bishop was also engaged in another with the prior of Walsingham,⁶ who was forced to submit in 1398. The bishop was no friend of the regulars, and in 1380 embroiled himself with the abbey of St. Albans, by claiming authority over the prior of Wymondham, but the abbey gained the day.

The monks chose their prior, Alexander de Totington, with whom the bishop had been so long in conflict, to succeed him. But Alexander was imprisoned for a year before he was allowed to take possession of his see, because the election took place without the nomination of the crown.⁷ The king refused to accept the chapter's presentation until more than a year had elapsed,⁸ when at last, at the earnest entreaty of Dr. Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and several nobles, and after the city of Norwich had sent letters to the king and the pope, requesting the confirmation of his election, Alexander de Totington was received into favour after publicly resigning all right in the bishopric by virtue of Pope Gregory's bull of provision. His temporalities were restored to him 23 October, 1407,⁹ and he

¹ It is interesting to note that in 1401 in the petition in the *Cal. Papal Petitions* v, 474-5, for the union and consolidation of the two churches of St. Margaret's and St. Andrew's, Norton, in the deanery of Rockland, the parishioners and the patron, Robert de Brome, gave the malice of the times, as well as the late pestilence and the ruin of the buildings of St. Margaret's (in whose churchyard St. Andrew was situated, and whose roof and walls daily threatened to fall), as one of the reasons for their action.

² Wilkins, *Concil.* iii, 256.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *Cal. Papal Letters*, iv, 525.

⁵ Ibid. v, 11, 273, 318, 380, 586-7.

⁶ Ibid. 157, 159, 160.

⁷ Stephens, *Hist. of the Eng. Ch.* iii, 161.

⁸ The archbishop caused a visitation of the diocese to be made in this interval in October, 1406 (Lambeth Reg. Arundel, fol. 524, &c.), and cases of non-residence and leasing of benefices were strictly investigated, the offenders being warned by mandate to desist and their fruits sequestrated. Among them were Bartholomew Brown, rector of the church of St. Lawrence, of South Walsham, who had not resided for three years and dwelt at Norwich; John, rector of Bokenham, who had not resided for two years and it was not known where he abode; John Athewald, rector of the church of Kerdeston, who had leased his church to Thomas Dallyng and John Peynton of Retham; and Walter Powl, dean of Norwich, with Taverham, who resided, but leased his deanery to John Catton, his kinsman.

⁹ Rymer, *Foedera*.

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was consecrated on the same day at Gloucester. He died 28 April, 1413, but of his own acts during the time he held the bishopric (less than six years) there is little recorded but that he made a composition with the town of Lynn, 20 May, 1412,¹ that he spent considerable sums in repairing manors, &c., belonging to the bishops, and that during his administration several churches and moieties of churches were united on the plea of the poverty of the parishioners. There is, however, abundant evidence of the trend of events in his diocese during his time. In July, 1411,² the bishop of Ely received a mandate to deal with William Denys, a friar preacher, S.T.M., of whom the bishop of Norwich had complained that he had not scrupled falsely to assert that the bishop was ignorant and unworthy to rule his church, and that very many heresies and errors had multiplied in the city and diocese with the authorization of the bishop; also that he had, evilly blaspheming the bishop, affirmed him to be a betrayer of Catholic truth, and contemner of the mandates of the apostolic see, a violator of ecclesiastical immunity, and of the laws of the church. In March, 1412,³ the bishop himself received a mandate from the pope, setting forth that he had heard that in almost all the churches of England, and especially in the diocese of Norwich, it had hitherto been the lawful and immemorial custom of the parishioners on Sundays and other holidays to offer to their rectors and perpetual vicars a penny, with a request to the same to pray for their own souls and the souls of their friends and benefactors deceased, and to celebrate mass, &c.; and that now, a number of persons, pining with envy, strove to draw back the parishioners, to the injury of the rectors, &c., asserting that the latter are bound to pray and celebrate such masses for nothing, so that they received their pence unjustly, and thereby committed mortal sin; and he was commanded to admonish these backsliders to desist from their perverse dogmas, compelling by ecclesiastical censure without appeal. Protest also at last grew loud against the continued appropriation of parish churches by religious houses, and in April, 1412,⁴ a mandate to the bishop of Norwich records the petition of a number of parishioners of parish churches in his diocese, setting forth that religious, exempt and non-exempt, and others to whom the said churches had by papal and ordinary authority been united and appropriated, had obtained from the apostolic see privileges enabling them without consulting the diocesans to let to farm the said churches to any persons, even laymen, to their own advantage or rather their rapacity; and that they had thus let very many of such churches to laymen who ruled and held possession, took the oblations from the altar, lorded it over the clerks and persons deputed to sacred functions, dilapidated the churches' goods, and committed many excesses, whereby the devotion of the parishioners grew feeble. The bishop was commanded to take what measures appeared to him expedient. Shortly after he received more explicit orders in another mandate⁵ which stated that since in very many parish churches in his diocese appropriated to religious houses, which had assigned portions to perpetual vicars, the fruits of the vicarages had so much diminished that no priests or clerks were to be found willing to be instituted, whereby the cure of souls was not duly exercised, hospitality was not kept, and divine

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi, App. iii, 194. This was revoked 2 June 4 Hen. V, by an instrument for the re-establishment of the ancient constitutions and customs for the election of officers in Lynn.

² *Cal. Papal Letters*, vi, 199.

³ *Ibid.* 207.

⁴ *Ibid.* 310.

⁵ *Ibid.* vi, 311, April, 1412.

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worship was neglected, he was to summon the said religious and others concerned, and if the above was true, to augment the said vicarages and their portions from the fruits of the churches, taking such measures as might be necessary.

Taught by their recent experience, the monks took care to elect as his successor the nominee of the king, Richard Courtenay, LL.D., son of Philip Courtenay of Powderham in Devonshire, fifth son of Hugh, earl of Devonshire, and kinsman of William, late archbishop of Canterbury, and of the king. The pope went through the form of annulling the election, saying that it was perhaps made by the monks and accepted by Richard in ignorance of the fact that the see had been reserved by him during the lifetime of Alexander,¹ but he provided Courtenay to the see.² The bishop was consecrated by Archbishop Arundel at Canterbury, in the presence of the king and his nobles, and had restitution of his temporalities 11 September, 1413.³ He was continually employed on the most intimate affairs of state, and his suffragan,⁴ John, titular archbishop of Smyrna, who held the living of Threxton, lived in the palace at Norwich, and performed all episcopal duties for him. The cares of state left him no time to attend to the diocese, and even prevented his installation, which he did not choose to have done by proxy, and so he died before the ceremony was performed, 15 September, 1415. He was then in the suite of the king, and encamped with him before Harfleur, which capitulated a week after his death.

He was a man of great learning and strong character, and had been four times chancellor of Oxford. When the archbishop, in his anxiety to extirpate Lollardy from the college, had decided to hold a visitation there in 1411, he, as chancellor, repudiated the primate's jurisdiction, and barred the door of St. Mary's against him, and for this action he was degraded from the chancellorship by the king, who supported the archbishop.⁵ Had he lived, Lollardy in Norfolk might have had a different history in the succeeding years.

His successor, John Wakering, who was elected by the monks 24 November, had held various important posts, having been Master of the Rolls, keeper of the Privy Seal, and archdeacon of Canterbury. He was consecrated at St. Paul's and received restitution of his temporalities 31 May, 1416. He held an ordination in Norwich, 26 March, 1418, this being his first appearance in his diocese. His many appointments kept him away from his diocese; but during the last year of his episcopacy he lent himself to a persecution of Lollardy there.⁶ The new doctrines had taken firmer hold than ever in Norfolk under the teaching of William White,⁷ who after abjuring his heresies before a convocation held at St. Paul's in 1422, had left Kent, the scene of his earlier labours, and taken refuge in Gillingham,⁸ where he recovered courage, gave up clerical attire and the tonsure, took a wife, and helped to promote the movement which he found going on vigorously in that part of Norfolk. In 1424⁹ John Florence, a turner of

¹ *Cal. Papal Letters*, vi, 453.

² Rymer, *Foedera*, ix, 50.

³ Stephens, *Hist. of the Engl. Ch.* iii, 185.

⁴ Stephens, *Hist. of the Engl. Ch.* iii, 189.

⁵ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iii, 585.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Anglic*, 145; Blomefield, iii, 525.

⁸ Goulburn, *Hist. of Norwich Cathedral*, 458.

⁹ *Ibid.*

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Shelton, Richard Belward of Earsham,¹ John Goddesel of Dychlingham, parchment-maker, and Sir Hugh Pie, chaplain of Ludney, were all accused of heresy, but these first experiences of persecution seem to have terrified his victims, and they abjured then, only in some cases to be brought up again under his successor.

Bishop Alnwick, after a vacancy of a year, was provided to the see 27 February, 1426, and was consecrated 18 August following. He had been a monk of St. Albans, prior of Wymondham, and archdeacon of Salisbury, had held the stall of Knaresburgh-cum-Brickhill in the cathedral of York, and exemplified all the bitterness of the monks against the new doctrine, about 160 persons suffering persecution during the ten years of his episcopacy.² In 1428 he took part in a council at St. Paul's, where proposals were made for dealing with Lollardy, and on his return to Norwich, convened a diocesan synod to take action against what seemed an increasing danger.³ William White and Thomas, late chaplain of Seething, had already been arrested by the keeper of the castle of Colchester,⁴ and when William White was brought before this synod he was convicted of thirty articles and condemned to be burnt as a relapsed heretic. The sentence was executed at Norwich, September, 1428.

Among other Norfolk Lollards who were brought up in that year were Margery Backster,⁵ wife of William Backster, wright, of Northam, whose fate Foxe does not record, but she declared that William White was falsely condemned, and John Beverley *alias* Bathild,⁶ labourer, attached by the vicar of South Creyk and the parish priest of Waterden, and sentenced, after abjuration, to submit to various penances, including a beating from the bishop's palace round by Tombland, and thence to St. Michael at Plea Church, through Cutler Row, and round the market, holding in his hand a wax candle to be offered at the image of the Holy Trinity at the high altar of the cathedral, and who was then to quit the diocese for ever. In 1430, John Grigges of Martham, and John Burrell and Thomas Moon of Ludney, were forced to abjure and do penance.⁷ This Thomas Moon was accused because he had consorted with heretics, and William White and his wife had had their abode with him. In the previous year⁸ accusations had been made by one William Wright against Anise Moon, wife of Thomas, as well as against his daughter, who could read English; against William Taylor of Ludney; William Skirning of Seething, who had received into his house Joan, widow of William White; and Nicholas Belward of South Elmham, who, William Wright said, had a New Testament bought at London, out of which he had taught the said Wright and his wife Margery, Thomas Gremner, a turner of Ditchingham, and William Bate, tailor, of Seething, and his wife and son, to read. John Skilling, of Flixton, miller, who abjured, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the monastery of Langley, with periodical fasting, and to do

¹ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iii, 585. Richard Belward was accused of declaring that ecclesiastical ministers have no power to excommunicate; that Sir John Oldcastle was a true Catholic and put to death without reasonable cause; and also of keeping schools of Lollardy in the English tongue in the town of Dychlingham, where a certain parchment-maker brought him the books concerning the doctrine from London. Though he purged himself the bishop commanded him to swear that he would never again teach anything contrary to the church.

² Blomefield, iii, 139.

⁴ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iii, 586

⁶ *Ibid.*, 593.

³ Stephens, *Hist. of the Engl. Ch.* iii, 189.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 592.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 597.

⁸ *Ibid.*

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open penance in the cathedral of Norwich. Most of the Norfolk heretics were of the working classes, but the number of unbeneficed clergy brought up also is considerable.

Bishop Alnwick was translated in 1436 to the richer see of Lincoln as a mark of royal favour.

Thomas Brown, bishop of Rochester, and previously bishop of Chichester, was then translated by Pope Eugenius to Norwich, his services at the Council of Basle having brought him into favourable notice, but it was only after declining to stand upon the pope's bull, and making his submission to the crown, that the temporalities were allowed to pass into his hands.¹ The choice of the bishops had gradually become a matter of arrangement between the king and the pope, and since the Statute of Provisors, the papal choice, which had been the ruling factor in the fourteenth century, had now given place to the will of the crown; but the opportunity for re-assertion afforded by the king's youth was not likely to be passed over by the pope.

During Bishop Brown's episcopacy the disputes between the prior and the city of Norwich broke out again. A composition which was made in 1429² was extremely distasteful to the citizens, and the prior, William Worsted, who at one time treated the bishop with extreme disrespect, and refused to carry the crucifix before him in the cathedral, seems to have been a fomenter of disturbance.

Bishop Lyhart was preferred by papal bull of 24 January, 1446, and was consecrated at Lambeth 27 February. By his intervention, Pope Felix was persuaded to resign, and thus the schism in the papacy caused by the rival claims of Felix V and Nicholas V was healed.³ He himself had superseded John Stanbury, first provost of Eton College, appointed to the bishopric by King Henry VI, to whom he had been confessor. His administration of his diocese showed much sympathy with the secular clergy, who had suffered during the preceding two centuries by the frequent appropriation of their tithes for the benefit of the religious houses. He had been first fellow and then provost of Oriel, and incurred much danger and some persecution by his friendship with Bishop Pecock, also a fellow of Oriel. His munificence as a builder was unbounded. He died at Hoxne, 24 May 1472. During his episcopacy John Moreton, archdeacon of Norwich, was attainted of high treason.⁴

The habits of the age show a curious medley of irreverence and violence on one hand, honour and love on the other, in the attitude of the people with respect to their churches. Not only did gifts of money, plate, and embroideries flow freely into the parish churches, but the famous shrines of which Norfolk possessed so many, with Walsingham, only second in popularity to Canterbury, at their head, accumulated vast stores of treasure. Gilds for industrial and commercial purposes, which acted also as provident societies, and relieved the sick and needy among their members, had long been in existence, and the returns as to the ordinances, properties, &c.,

¹ Rymer, *Foedera*; *Syll. of Rymer's Foed.* 666.

² Blomefield, iii, 143. The prior had all his exempt liberty for himself and his tenants in Spittelond, Holmstrete and Ratonrowe confirmed.

³ Wharton, *Angl. Sar.* i, 418. The king sent the bishop to Pope Felix to persuade him to this course in 1449.

⁴ Pat. 7 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 15, July 17, 1467. Grant to Lionel Wideville, clerk, brother of the queen, of all issues of the archdeaconry of Norwich belonging to the king by reason of the attainder of John Moreton, archdeacon of Norwich, by authority of Parliament 4 Nov. 1 Edw. IV.

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of English gilds, made in 1389, show that in Norfolk, as elsewhere, many of these had a marked religious and charitable aspect. They were often named after a patron saint, and their rules laid stress on devotional objects, performance of masses, requiems, offerings to lights, &c. Not every gild could afford to support a chaplain, but many did so, and there were few which did not make some provision for services in their church, and for decent burial of their members. On the gild-day the members worshipped together, gave their alms and feasted together, and their processions to the altar of the church at which they worshipped, with lights, and music, and flowers, were the occasions of great rejoicing, and show how the mass of the people cherished the ancient usages of the church, whose gorgeous ceremonial and symbolic forms brought colour and beauty into their daily lives. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the entertainment of the public by the performance of religious plays was beginning to be recognized as one of the features of the gilds. At Norwich, 'The Creation of the World' was given by the Mercers and Drapers; 'Hell Cart,' by the Glaziers, Carpenters, &c.; 'Paradise,' by the Grocers and Tallow Chandlers; 'Abel and Cain,' by Masons, Limeburners, &c.; 'Noyse Ship,' by Bakers, Brewers, &c.; 'Abraham and Isaac,' by Tailors, Broiderers, &c.; 'Moses and Aaron, with the Children of Israel, and Pharaoh with his Knights,' by the Tanners and Cordwainers; 'The Conflict of David and Goliath,' by the Smiths; 'The Birth of Christ with the Shepherds,' and the 'Three Kings of Colen,' by the Dyers, Goldsmiths, Saddlers, &c.; 'The Resurrection,' by Butchers, Fishmongers, &c.; 'The Holy Ghost,' by the Worsted Weavers.¹

Fees for admission to the gilds were often heavy, and their wealth was very great.² Their enormous popularity in Norfolk may be gathered from the fact that at the time of the suppression of the religious gilds and the confiscation of their property under Henry VIII and Edward VI, there were 909 in existence.³

The Paston Letters, with their vivid descriptions of Paston family affairs, tell the same tale of religious devotion; of offerings and pilgrimages in times of sickness or trouble; and of munificent bequests to churches, friars, ankers, lepers and every kind of religious or benevolent institution. After an illness of John Paston, his wife Margaret writes to him, 28 September, 1443,⁴ 'My moder be hestydd a noder ymmage of wax of the weytte of yow to ower Lady of Walsingham and sche sent iiij nobelys to the iiij orderys of Frerys at Norweche to pray for yow, and I have be hestyd to gon on pylgreymmays to Walsingham and to sent Levenardys for yow.' Margaret Paston's will⁵ makes bequests to the churches of Basyngham, Matlask, Gresham and Reedham; to the four houses of Friars in Norwich and Yarmouth; to the Friars Preachers of Norwich; to the 'ankeres' in Conesford; to the 'anker' at the White Friars in Norwich; to each whole and half sister at Norman's; to the dean and his brethren of the Chapel of the Field; to the hospital of St. Giles; to the mother church of Norwich; to each leper at the five gates at Norwich; and to the churches of St. Peter of Hungate and St Michael of Coslany in Norwich.

¹ *Norf. Arch.* iii, 8.

² *Hist. MSS. Com.* Rep. xi, App. iii, 225.

³ Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, App. p. 127.

Extracts from the Trinity Guild Rolls, King's Lynn.

⁴ *Paston Letters*, No. 36 (ed. 1900).

⁵ *Ibid.* iii, 283.

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On the other hand, however, these letters also record several instances of assaults in churches and on parsons,¹ and of churches ransacked² in the private civil war which convulsed Norfolk for so large a part of the fifteenth century, with the possession of Sir John Fastolf's estates for its object, and the authenticity of his will for its pretext, and which resulted in the frustration of his scheme for the foundation of a college at Caister, and the substitution for it of a foundation for seven priests and seven poor scholars in Magdalen Hall, Oxford.³ By the time that it was brought to a conclusion in 1470,⁴ much Paston property had been destroyed, and Caister had stood more than one siege.

No learned dissertation could make so clear what the little intimate touches of these letters tell of the ecclesiastical life of the day, whether it is Margaret Paston's description⁵ of what her son, William, calls a living of but small value;⁶ the reasons she gives for her urgent desire for a licence to have

¹ In 1452 Norfolk was in a state of uproar, and one Charles Nowell seems to have been keeping the county east of Norwich in alarm by raids with his band of followers, who met at the house of one Robert Ledeham, and who seem to have generally chosen the vicinity of a church for their frays. They made an attempt to break open the White Friars' doors at Norwich, and assaulted John Wylton in Plumstead Churchyard (i, 237); assaulted the parson of Hasyngham and broke his head in his own chancel (i, 239); and Nicholas Church got himself beaten by Robert Dallyng at Stromshaw Church (i, 241). Another of the gang, Roger Church, contrived to be made bailiff of the hundred of Blofield, and then turned king's evidence and accused the leading gentry of taking part in an unlawful assembly at Postwick to stir up insurrection. John Paston writes on 25 April, 1452 (i, 232): 'Charles Nowell with odir hath in this cuntre mad many riots and sautes; and among othir, he and v of his felachip set upon me and mo of my servants at the Chathedrall Church of Norwich, he smyting at me, whiles on of his felawes held myn armes at my bak . . .', and later (i, 237). 'On Mydlent Sunday, certeyn of the seid felechip in the chyrche of Byrlyngham made a fray upon tweyne of the servauntes of the reverent fadyr in Godde, Bysschope of Norwiche, the seid servauntes at that tyme knelyng to see the usyng of the Masse, and there and then the said felachep would have killed the said two servauntes at the prestis bakke, ne they had be letted, as it semed.'

² The duke of Suffolk, Lord Scales, and the duke of Norfolk all in turn tried to oust John Paston from some portion of the property. In a regular assault and siege laid to Hellesden by the duke of Suffolk's men, the place was destroyed, and John Paston in Letter 534, dated 27 October, 1465, thus describes the treatment accorded to the church there: 'The Duckys men ransacked the church, and bare away all the gode that was lefte ther, both of ours and of the tenants, and lefte not so much but that they stode uppon the hey awter and ransacked the ymages, and took away such as they might fynd, and put away the parson out of the church till they had don.'

³ Nos. 645, 650, 661.

⁴ No. 657.

⁵ No. 819, iii, 231, 31 July, 1478. 'The comodytys off the parsonage and the valew off the benefyce off Oxned. My new parson off Oxned, when he is instute and inducte, at the first entre into the church and benefyce off Oxned, must off awncyent custom long contynued with in the dyosesse of Norwyche, pay to the bysschop of Norwyche, for the first frutes off the seyde benefyce, xiiij marke; for wyche xiiij marke, off the new parson be wyttyt and have favour a bowt the bysschops offycers, he schall have days off payment to pay the seid xiiij marke in xiiij yeare, that is a marke a yere, till it be payd; so that he can find suffycient mene to be bownd to the Bischopp be obligation to kepe his days off payment. And the chyrch is but litill, and is reasonable plesant and reparyd. [And the] dwelling place of the parsonage is ajoyning to the . . . d, well howsyd and reparyd, hall, chamberes, barn, doffhouse, and all howsys of office. And it hath a doffhouse worth a yere, xiiij*s* iiii*d*. And it hath ij large gardens with frute, and is yonyng to the place and chyrchyard, wher off the frute is worth yerly xxv*s* vii*d*. And there longeth to the seid parsonage in fre lond, arable, pasture, and meadow ayoyning to the seid parsonage, xxij^u acre ore more, wher off every acre is worth ij*s*, to latyn ij*s* ii*iij**d*. And William Paston, Justice, qwan he cam fyrst to dwell in the maner of Oxned, paid to the parson that was then, for the corne growyng on the parsonage londys and for the tythynges, ondely but in corne when it was inned in to the barn, xxiiij*s* ii*iij**d*. And the same yere the parson had all the awterage and oder profytes be syde the seyde xxiiij*s* ii*iij**d*. It is yearly worth, as the world goth now, x*li*. And it is but an esy cure to kepe, ffor ther ar nat past xx^u persons to be yerly howselyd. The parsonage stant be a fresh ryver syde. And ther is a good market town called Aylsham, within ij myle off the parsonage. And the cyte of Norwyche is within vj myle off the parsonage. And the see is within x myle off the parsonage. And if a parson cam now, and warr presentydd, institute and inducte, he should have by the law all the cropp that is now growyng, that was cryd and sowyn off the old parson's cost, growyng on the parsonage landes now, as his own good, and all the tyth off all maner graynys off the maner londes, and tenants londes, towards hys charges off the fyrst frutes. He that hath this benefyce and he were a pore man, myght have lycens to have service be side.'

⁶ No. 822, iii, 236. In a letter to the bishop dated 9 Oct. 1478, concerning a clerk presented by his mother and not admitted.

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the sacrament in her chapel;¹ the letter of the prior of Bromholm dated 31 January, 1461,² which speaks of 'the Commission that the Bishop of Norwich sent us on Thursday last past to gather the dimes, a shrewd labour for us, a great cost, and a shrew jeopardy;' or John Paston's indignant repudiation³ of the rumour reported to him by James Gloys, a priest and dependant of his, that he has procured one Sir John Tartyssale, parson of the the East church of Warham, and chaplain of the prior of Walsingham, to put into Parliament a bill of divers treasons done by my lord of Norwich, from which last it appears that the bishop also ran a risk of being attainted at the outbreak of the Wars of the Roses.

Bishop Goldwell was raised to the vacant see by the pope, and consecrated at Rome, 4 October, 1472, his temporalities being restored to him 25 February, 1473, on his return from the papal court, where he had been sent on a mission to Pope Sixtus IV by Edward IV, and had held the office of king's proctor. He had filled many important posts, and had been employed on missions to France as well as Rome, but after the death of Edward IV, he seems wholly to have retired from political life, and to have spent his remaining years in pious works and in the adornment of his palace and the cathedral. He died 15 February, 1498-9.

Thomas Janne or Jane was promoted to the see in 1499, being consecrated in October. But he died September, 1500, and was buried in the cathedral. There is nothing to tell of his episcopate, but that he paid the pope 7,300 golden florins for his appointment. Foxe says that in July, 1499, one Brabram, a heretic, was burnt at Norwich.

Bishop Nix, who succeeded Janne, was appointed in March, 1500-1, and was a consistent opponent of the reforming party which was steadily gaining ground in his diocese. His record as a persecutor has made his name the subject of execration, but it must be remembered that he faithfully adhered to the older religious views when it would have been to his advantage to modify them. The letters in which he writes of the efforts he had made to buy up all copies of the New Testament and other reforming works circulating in his diocese, show also that he was aware it was the king's wish, at certain periods in the ever-varying policy of Henry in the matter, that these should not be interfered with.⁴ Cardinal Wolsey was in Norwich in 1517 and again in 1520,⁵ for the purpose of making a final settlement of the dispute between the prior and the city, and his award was published in 1520.⁶ Bishop Nix's sympathies were evidently with the archbishop,⁷ and he did not conceal his animus against Wolsey. He wrote grudgingly of the appointment of Wolsey's kinsman, Wynter, as archdeacon of Norfolk,⁸ and he was soon

¹ Nos. 712, 755, and 751, in which last, she writes 29 Jan. 1475: 'I wold ye shuld spekyn with my Lord of Norwyche, and a say to get a lisen of hym to that I may have the sacrament her in the chapell, because yt ys far to the chyrche, and I am sekly, and the parson ys often owt. For all maner of casweltyes of me and myn, I wold havyt grauntyd, yf I myht.'

² No. 368, i, 542.

³ No. 255, i, 348, 25 July, 1455. 'I suppose ye know I have not usid to meddel with Lordes maters meche farther than me nedeth.'

⁴ *Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, pt. iii, 6,385. Another letter (*ibid.* ii, 3176, 14 June, 1527) shows that as well as making every effort to get rid of these heretical works in his own diocese, he contributed to help Archbishop Warham to buy up all copies of the New Testament for the purpose of destroying them.

⁵ *Ibid.* pt. i, 1113 (note).

⁶ The award (*ibid.* pt. i, 407, No. 1113) determines the respective jurisdictions and customs of the parties.

⁷ *Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii, pt. i, 77. ⁸ *Ibid.* iv, pt. iii, 4659.

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on bad terms with him and with another official, John Curat, and ordered certain persons to pay their dues to himself and not to Wolsey.¹ In 1529 he wrote to Wolsey of his distress at his displeasure and asked for an opportunity of answering 'any grudge you may have conceived against me.'²

He seems to have been always against innovators in his diocese; according to Foxe, Thomas Norrice was burnt at Norwich 31 March, 1501;³ Thomas Ayers, a priest of Norwich, at Eccles, in 1510, and Thomas Bingeys at Norwich in 1511. Writing in 1530, the bishop said that the gentlemen and commonalty in his diocese were not greatly infected, but only the merchants and those who lived near the sea, and he referred with much bitterness to 'a college at Cambridge called "Gunwell Haule," founded by a bishop of Norwich,' saying that he heard of 'no clerk who had lately come out of it, but savoureth of the frying pan, although he speak never so holily.'⁴ It was probably owing to the proximity of Cambridge to the sea-coast towns of Norfolk⁵ whither the writings of Luther were conveyed in the vessels of the merchants of the Hanse towns, that this university became familiarized with the Lutheran doctrines much sooner than Oxford, and it was again probably owing to the close connexion between Norfolk and the colleges of Trinity, Gonville, and Corpus Christi, that these doctrines quickly gained so firm a hold in Norfolk. Erasmus was professor of divinity at Cambridge, and Tyndal's removal there from Oxford contributed largely to the reform movement, which may be said to have begun with the little band of scholars who used to meet together at an inn called the 'White Horse,' later on to be known as Germany. It included many Norfolk men: Thomas Arthur, John Lambert, Robert Barnes, Matthew Parker (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury), Nicholas Shaxton (afterwards bishop of Salisbury), and Thomas Bilney. When Shaxton in 1531 applied for a licence to preach in the diocese of Norwich, the bishop would not grant it without a formal abjuration, because he had been accused of preaching heretical doctrines, and had conveyed heretical books into the diocese;⁶ but he obtained a living in the parish church of Fuggleston in Wiltshire through the influence of Anne Boleyn. The leading spirit of the little band was the martyr, Thomas Bilney, whom Latimer affectionately called 'Little Bilney.' His life was a rare example of abstinence and self-denial, and he was of a sensitive and shrinking disposition, and seems to have held no extreme views, remaining orthodox to the last on the power of the pope, the sacrifice of the mass, the doctrine of transubstantiation and the powers of the church. He preached frequently in Norfolk and Suffolk, and in 1526 was before Wolsey, but was dismissed. In 1527 he was confined in the Tower, and was afterwards convicted of heresy. He was persuaded to recant by his friends Farmer and Doncaster, did penance, and was released, but

¹ *Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII.*, iv. pt. iii, 5491, 5492 and 6139.

² *Ibid.* 5589, anno 1529.

³ *Acts and Monuments*, iv, 126.

⁴ *Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII.*, iv. pt. iii, No. 6385.

⁵ It was from these ports also that the reformers generally made their escape to the continent, and especially to Germany; that this was facilitated by many sympathizers appears evident from the letters to Wolsey of the Observant Friars, John West and John Lawrence, who describe their fruitless search for William Roys, a friar associated with Tyndal in the production of the New Testament, in the Grey Friars and town of Yarmouth, on the road between Lowestoft and Yarmouth, and lastly on the way to Lynn (*ibid.* pt. ii, 3960, and pt. iii, 5667).

⁶ *Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII.*, v, 297, 16 June, 1531.

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repented of his apostasy and returned to Norfolk. There he preached privately, but was eventually apprehended by the bishop's officers. As a relapsed heretic there could be but one fate for him, for which he prepared with great fortitude. He was constantly assailed by the entreaties of the four chief orders of the friars, each of whom wished to have the honour of re-converting him, and heard mass on the morning of his execution, 19 August, 1531. At the Lollards' Pit he spoke to the crowd, and read a paper handed to him by Dr. Pellys, the chancellor, but the nature of his last words is uncertain, and there was a hot controversy concerning them after his death, between Read, the mayor, and John Curat, an alderman.¹ During the previous year Thomas Hilton, another Norfolk man, one of Tyndal's secret agents in importing the forbidden New Testament, had been burned at Maidstone as a heretic.²

In 1534, the bishop, then ninety years of age and blind, incurred the penalties of a *praemunire*, because he had infringed the customs of Thetford, by citing the mayor before him.³ Chapuys, writing to Charles V, 11 February, 1534,⁴ says that the real reason was that he had burnt a doctor (Thomas Bilney), who was a companion and sworn brother of the archbishop of Canterbury, without waiting for the king's *placet* before condemning him, though it arrived before the execution, and that he was rich. He was adjudged to pay the heavy fine of 10,000*li*, and it was probably really to procure this money that the sentence had been pronounced. Public feeling in the county was so strong, on account of his great age, and the liberality with which in his later years he dispensed the immense wealth he had amassed,⁵ that Hewet, the mayor, had to petition Cromwell to take him into his service, 'as he is like to be undone for ever' on account of his action.⁶ Possibly we may see in this an indication of a reactionary feeling setting in within the county, as Hewet had previously been brought up before the bishop on various charges of heresy.

A certain truculence distinguished the bishop and alienates sympathy from him, but it is impossible to read without compunction of his last days; when, old and blind,⁷ with resources crippled to procure a costly pardon from the king, he again had to submit to the humiliation of a visitation in his see carried out by Archbishop Cranmer in the same year, in spite of his protests. The institution in 1534 of the suffragan bishoprics of Thetford and Ipswich⁸ by the Act of 26 Hen. VIII, cap. 14, must likewise have been very distasteful to him; as also the necessity he was under of renouncing the papal jurisdiction, in March, 1535.⁹

His death on 14 January, 1536, spared him the grief of seeing the dissolution of the religious houses, which took place under his successor, William Rugge or Reppes, consecrated 28 June, 1536. Preparations were already being made in 1535 for this step, to which the valuation known as the 'Valor

¹ *Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v. 522, 560.

² Stephens, *Hist. of the Engl. Ch.*, iv, 129.

⁴ *Ibid.* 171.

⁵ *Ibid.* ix, 978.

³ *Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 158.

⁶ *Ibid.* vii, 158.

⁷ The accounts given by the official, Mr. Southwell (*ibid.* x, 67, 85), of the trouble he had in searching for, and in guarding, the jewels, plate, writings, and goods of the late bishop, which are scattered abroad, of much value, as well as divers sums of money lent in the life of the late bishop, suggest a forlorn picture of senile irresponsibility at the mercy of the unscrupulous.

⁸ Hardy and Gee, *Doc. Illus. of Engl. Church Hist.* 253.

⁹ *Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 311.

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Ecclesiasticus¹ was a preliminary ; and in September of the same year a band of informers had been sent into his diocese to make an inquiry for the purpose of procuring incriminating evidence against the monks, as some sort of pretext for it. Their report or 'Compendium Compertorum' for Norwich² gives a list of abominable crimes. But the very grossness of its exaggerations makes it unbelievable. The visitors did their work hurriedly, they had a distinct object in view, their reports to Cromwell were secret, and the very houses which stood worst in them were afterwards declared to bear a fair character by gentlemen of the neighbourhood.³ Moreover, visitation had always been systematically and thoroughly carried out, and though misdemeanours and mismanagement had been dealt with, no indications can previously be discovered of such a state of affairs as this pretends to describe.⁴ The visitations of the fifteenth century point to a regrettable laxity and love of luxurious living, but cases of grave immorality are rare, and it must be remembered that the social reputation of a convent had a marked effect on its finances ; in the case of the nunneries especially an immaculate reputation was of vital importance ; and whereas none escaped unsmirched in 1535, for the forty previous years only one instance of immorality occurs in Norfolk, that of Agnes Smyth at Crabhouse in 1514.

In no county can the universal confiscation and plunder have carried more terror and dismay than in Norfolk. The very number of the foundations by which the spiritual and bodily needs of the people were looked after made their abolition the more universally felt. After the death of Bishop Nix, Parliament by an Act of 4 February, 27 Hen. VIII, transferred the ancient revenues of the bishopric to the king and his successors, and the estates of the abbey of Hulme and of the priory of Hickling were handed over instead as an endowment.⁵ Bishop Rugge—who had been abbot of St. Benet's, Hulme, since 1530, and under whose rule there, at a visitation carried out 14 June, 1532, discipline had been found to be very lax and the monastery heavily in debt—from the day of his appointment proved the king's complaisant tool.⁶ Such was his treatment of the bishopric, and so deeply did he get into debt, that he was compelled to resign in 1549, receiving an

¹ This is a most complete and valuable account of the church in the county and its property. It gives the value of procurations in the archdeaconry of Norwich as 72*li.* 13*sh.*, in that of Norfolk as 140*li.* 9*sh.* 7*d.* ; of inductions in that of Norwich as 4*li.*, in that of Norfolk as 6*li.* 14*sh.* 4*d.* ; of all castles, lordships, manors, and all other possessions spiritual and temporal belonging to the bishop as worth clearly per annum, 978*li.* 19*sh.* 4*d.*

² *Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 143-4. ³ *Rep. of the Commissioners*, Chant. Certif. Norf. No. 90 (P.R.O.).

⁴ The visitations for 1492-1532 for the diocese of Norwich have been published by the Camden Society.

⁵ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iv, 539.

⁶ It is interesting, however, to find even Bishop Rugge, while sorrowfully defending himself against sinister reports, as puzzled as many others must have been to know what the king's wishes in matters of doctrine really were. 'If he knew the king's pleasure as to what he should speak in his sermons, and what he should not touch, he would always conform himself thereto' (*Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII*, Gairdner, vol. xiv, pt. i, 865). Cranmer writes to Cromwell (*ibid.* vol. 12, pt. i, 80, 13 Jan. 1537) that it is reported the bishop will appoint none to preach that be of right judgment. This is in a letter asking him to grant the king's licence to preach to Mr. Gounthrop, parson of Weeting, 'a man of singular judgment and sobriety,' who cannot be allowed in the diocese, because the bishop's chaplain, Dale, a man without learning and discretion, publishes no good doctrine himself and preaches against Gounthrop. On the other hand, the bishop seems to have approved himself to the duke of Norfolk and Sir Roger Townshend, who describe his examination of the Observant Friar, Anthony Brown, as very clerkly 'though some in these parts doubted if the bishop meant well about Brown's opinions' (*ibid.* xiii, pt. ii, 34). On the question of the sacraments he sided with the king against Cranmer ; in 1540 he was appointed one of the commissioners for dealing with charges of heresy, and was accused of much harshness in that capacity.

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annuity of £200 to be paid quarterly, and a discharge from all liability for dilapidations and waste in his diocese.

It is not surprising that insurrections broke out in the county early in 1537, and the depositions of a considerable number of witnesses, which have been preserved, show that as well as the principal conspiracy at Walsingham, there were other towns in the country which would have been ready to follow the example of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, but for the vigilance of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and their emissaries. Churchwardens' accounts prove that a mediaeval parish was a kind of free republic, in which the churchwardens were answerable to the parishioners not only for the parish plate and money in the church chest, but often for considerable property in land and cattle. The evidence as to the Norfolk conspiracies testifies that they were the result of the threatened attack upon this parochial property as well as of the gradual destruction of the religious houses, and that the parishioners regarded the confiscations as a plundering of the poor for the benefit of the rich, as indeed to a large extent they were. The risings were undertaken chiefly by men of the peasant class and by innkeepers whose trade was bound to suffer severely by the suppression of pilgrimages to the numerous shrines of Norfolk,¹ while certain of the clergy were more or less actively involved.

The confessions of John Locke, John Brown, Hugh Wilkinson, and John Turnour of Old Buckenham,² show that Hugh Wilkinson of Buckenham St. Andrew offered John Locke of Old Buckenham, servant of Mr. Grey, the priest, and John Brown, also of Old Buckenham, as they were coming home from Stone Fair, an angel noble to kill the king's visitors in their beds on the night of Lammas Day last at Buckenham Abbey. Richard Fletcher, keeper of the common gaol at Norwich, who had to account for a seditious bill of news he had been setting about, said he had it of a clerk; and George Wharton, innkeeper of the 'Bell,' and keeper of the king's gaol at Lynn, questioned as to the same, said he gave a copy to Cornish soldiers going on pilgrimage to Walsingham.³ Robert Hawker deposed that George Gysburgh of Walsingham⁴ had said he thought it very ill done, the suppressing of so many religious houses where God was well served, and had suggested an insurrection of the commons who were oppressed by gentlemen; and George Gysburgh himself said that he met at Walsingham one Ralph Rogerson who said to him, 'You see how these abbeys go down, and our living goeth away with them; for within a while Bynham shall be put down and also Walsingham, and all the abbeys in that country;' and that he also said he would try to get a company to resist, which he thought he could do by firing some beacon, and when the company was gathered they would go to the king to complain. Sir Roger Townsend wrote to Cromwell⁵ that it appeared by the confession of one Wattson, that the sub-prior of Walsingham was 'infeclyf'; that the said sub-prior had been taken by the bearer, Sir Roger's son, and had made confession that the conspirators met at a game of shooting of the 'flyte and

¹ The image of Our Lady at Walsingham, brought to London and burnt at Chelsea (Blomefield, iii, 209), was the most popular; but there were many others, as the shrine of St. Wolstan at Bawbergh, before which six chantry priests and a vicar were constantly serving; the famous image of the Virgin at Thetford; of Our Lady at Lynn; the Holy Cross at Bromholm; the image of St. Henry at St. Leonard's Priory. Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 66.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, pt. i, 1268, 24 May, 1537.

³ *Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 1260.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. xii, pt. i, 1056.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1123.

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standard,' lately had at Binham, and that on Sunday next other games will be held at Longe Stratton, the prizes of which were proclaimed last May Day at Wyndham and other great towns; and that he (Sir Roger) had written to the duke of Suffolk to have secret espials made, as both at Walsingham and Bynham it was bruited that the shooting was only to assemble conspirators. In another letter Sir Roger asked Cromwell to thank the prior of the White Friars of Burnham¹ for his apprehension of Richard Laund, pinner of Norwich, one of the most rank traitors that were privy to the conspiracy of Walsingham, and for sending a book of 'congerations' and a paper of prophecies rehearsed by him, methods reminiscent of the Nun of Kent. Another conspirator urges that all the gentry shall be killed, even the children in their cradles, so that 'gentlemen shall be as rare as white bulls in Norfolk.' Elizabeth wife of Robert Wood of Aylsham landed herself in Norwich gaol, by saying

it was pity these Walsingham men were discovered, for we shall have never good world till we fall together by the ears: and with clubs and clouted shone shall the deed be done, for we had never good world since this king reigned.²

Certain witnesses from Aylsham³ show a curious combination of reforming principles and of insurrection. John Norgate denied the merits of St. Mary, and said that if he had the cross Christ died on, it should be the first block he would ryve to the fire for any virtue that was therein, with other equally blasphemous words. Richard Tomson the younger did not believe that the mass would profit his soul. Edmund Wythe, John Jones, John Tolwyn, and John Berker were declared by Henry Bone, the chief constable of the hundred, to have said when they heard that the king's visitors would come to the town of Aylsham, that they would sell their best cross and other jewels before they came, and to have commanded the churchwardens to deliver the keys of the chest where the cross and jewels lay; it was also deposed that when the churchwardens refused, saying that if the king wished to have them he was most worthy, they threatened the churchwardens that if the visitors had the cross away the churchwardens should pay the value thereof; and that the said four persons had also reported there was an Act of Parliament made that if the church lands were not sold before May Day, the king would have them; whereupon they sold them to defeat the king thereof, and converted the money coming from the sale to their own use. And forasmuch as the keys of the said chest were in their custody, it was also to be feared that they would sell the said cross and jewels, and take the profit thereof in likewise, which was of the value of V hundred pounds.

No doubt a great deal of parish property disappeared mysteriously in the general dispersion and its subversion of all ideas of immemorial right. The explanation of a previous witness, Richard Fletcher, 'as touching the basins' that he had them at Michaelmas last of his father-in-law, William Drake, in marriage with his daughter, and that William Drake had them of a priest for 8*li* 15*s*. is significant.⁴

The conspirators executed at Norwich were Ralph Rogerson, Thomas Howse, Richard Hendley, Thomas Menne, and Andrew Pax, on 26 May; at Yarmouth, John Semblye, and John Sellers, 28 May; at Walsingham,

¹ *Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, pt. ii, 602.

² *Ibid.* 1301.

³ *Ibid.* pt. i, 1316.

⁴ *Ibid.* xi, 1260.

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George Gysburgh and Nicholas Milom, sub-prior of Walsingham, 30 May ; and at Lynn, William Gysburgh and John Pecok, clerk, 1 June.¹

Three other clerks, William Gybson, John Grikly, and John Pante were also imprisoned for treason at the same time.²

There seems to have been another attempt at a rising in Lynn in 1540.³ In the same year, one⁴ Thomas Walpole was arrested by the bishop's chancellor as a 'seditious setter forth of a naughty book made by Philip Melanchton against the King's Acts of Christian Religion,' and for conspiracy with one Ford, of East Dereham, physician, touching conjurations. Conjurations had evidently come to be looked upon as a form of superstition, and as such had been made unlawful.⁵

By Letters Patent of 1538,⁶ the priory of Norwich was altered to an establishment of a dean and chapter, and the prior, William Castleton, was appointed first dean. He resigned, and John Salisbury, suffragan bishop of Thetford under the new Act, was made dean in the following year.⁷ To hinder all disputes for the future, a composition and final agreement was made 10 April, 1538, between the dean and chapter and the city, and thus, according to Blomefield,⁸ peace and amity were settled between the church and city, which from the time of the city's first charter had never before been done effectually. By the Act of 32 Henry VIII, limiting the number of places having right of sanctuary, Norwich Cathedral was appointed as a sanctuary or place of privilege for term of life.⁹

In 1545, Blomefield describes Robert Rugge, the mayor, and Dr. Rugge, the bishop, as both persecutors alike,¹⁰ and says that in that year the bishop incited the old duke of Norfolk against one Rogers of Norfolk, who was condemned and suffered martyrdom for the Six Articles ; also that he would have condemned to death Dorothy wife of John Bale, afterwards bishop of Ossory, who at one time held the rectory of Swaffham in Norfolk. Bale, who at twelve had been sent to the Carmelite convent at Norwich, then to Jesus College, Cambridge, and who, after being a fierce opponent of the new learning, was converted to it, and from the coarse, bitter tone he adopted in the controversy, was known as 'bilious Bale,' describes his wife's escape in his own peculiar style.¹¹ John Lambert alias Nicholson, burnt at Smithfield 30 Hen. VIII, was also a Norfolk man, converted by Bilney.¹²

¹ *Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, pt. i, 1300.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* xv, 748.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. xvi, 349, 424.

⁵ The Norwich Court Rolls show that hitherto licences had been granted to dig for treasure, and invoke spirits. The confession of one William Stapleton, clerk (*Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, pt. ii, 5,096), declares that not only he, but other parsons, including those of Lesingham and Leiston, had been successful in calling up spirits.

⁶ *Cal. L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. i, 867.

⁷ Rymer, *Foedera*, 5 Aug. 1539.

⁸ *Op. cit.* iii, 211, 212.

⁹ *Ibid.* iii, 212.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 214.

¹¹ In his *Book of Engl. Voyages*, pt. ii, 82, in the chapter entitled 'Prestes marrynge at Norwyche, prayned and scorned' (quoted Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 214) : 'A cruel justice and as wicked a mayre, within the cytie of Norwyche, emprisoned a faythful woman, and sought to put her to most shameful and cruel death, having none other matter agaynst her, but only that she had bene the wyfe of a *preste*, whych had bene (well bestowed) a preacher amongst them. But God in conclusion provyded a learned lawyer, and a ryghteous judge for her delyverance, to both their confusions. A wonderfull thyng, that thys should be cryed lawfull in their Cathedrall church, with ryngyng, syngyng, and sensyng, and in the Gild-halle condemned for felonye and treson. There ded they worship it in their scarlet gownes with cappe in hand, and here they improved it with scornes and with mockes, grennyng upon her like termagaunts in a playe ; but lete them no more loke to be forgotten of their posterite, than were Judas and Pilate, whom the world yet speaketh of. Bestly bussards and ignorant asseheads, more fit to keep swyne than to rule God's people.'

¹² Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 212.

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An Act for the dissolution of chantries, hospitals and free chapels was passed in 1545;¹ but provision only being made in this Act for the surrender of these foundations to Henry VIII, a new Act² was passed in 1548, after Henry's death, in much the same terms but omitting hospitals. This Act gave to the crown all colleges, free chapels, and chantries existing within the last five years, with all their lands and rents. All endowments for obits or anniversaries, and the property of all gilds and brotherhoods went in the universal confiscation. *The Acts of the Privy Council*³ record that

the Lower House did not only reason and argue against that article made for the guyldable lands, but also incensed many others to hold with them, amongst the which none were stiffer nor more busily went about to impugne the said article than the burgesses for the town of Lynne in the county of Norfolk.

Though there is little ground for finding in Ket's Rebellion of 1549 any sympathy with the old forms of the church, and though in his petition the only demands of a religious nature made are those for clerical residence and diligence in teaching, the rising was the direct outcome of this series of suppressions and confiscations. A certain religious aspect was given to the assembly on Mousehold Heath, by the presence of a chaplain, the vicar, Thomas Conyers, who daily said prayers; and Dr. Matthew Parker (later the archbishop), a Norfolk man, preached to the rebels.⁴ Though Robert Ket is described as a tanner, he held the manor of Wymondham from John Dudley, earl of Warwick. The parish church of Wymondham was the nave of the priory church, and after the dissolution, the men of Wymondham bought from the crown the choir and other parts of the monastic building. The immediate cause of the outbreak was the action of the royal grantee, John Flowerdew of Hethersett, who, in spite of this purchase, stripped the lead from the roofs and carried away the bells. The Kets, as the chief people in the place, resented this, as well as the harsh conduct of the new landlords in the enclosure of common lands, and a riot at Wymondham, in which the fences of Flowerdew and Ket were both torn down, started the movement. After the duke of Warwick had finally reduced the insurrection, Robert Ket was executed at Norwich, 7 December, 1549, but his brother William was sent to Wymondham, and hanged from the church tower.

The changes in doctrine and ritual were many and violent in the short reign of Edward VI; and his officials seem to have found it impossible to cope with the amount of church property to be disposed of in Norfolk; there was probably much embezzlement of church plate and valuables, partly by the churchwardens and partly by other parishioners, who must have felt that they were after all annexing what was their own, and not the king's. The injunctions for the removal of such images as led to superstition seems to have been interpreted in a manner which led to a great loss of beautiful objects, and much destruction of stained glass.

The Inventories of Church Goods and Ornaments for Norfolk in 6 Edward VI, at the Public Record Office furnish very sorrowful reading. List after list of valuable embroideries and plate ends with the direction 'to be occupied and used in the administration of Divine Service the sayd ij chales and ij bells,' or even in one case with 'the chales weying xiiij onces, &

¹ Stephens, *Hist. of the Engl. Ch.* iv, 231.

² Vol. ii, 193, 6 May, 1548.

³ Ibid. 250.

⁴ Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* iv, 43.

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the lytell bell in the steeple ;' this last instance being where there are two chalices and the larger weighed 16 oz., and three bells in the steeple, each weighing respectively 12, 8, and 6 cwt. Among the 'divers uses and intents' to which the money realized by the sale of certain of the goods was bestowed, at St. Michael at Plea 20 *li* was spent 'for the new glassing of xvij wyndows wherein were conteyned the lyves of certeyn prophane histories ;' at St. George of Colgate, 13 *li* was spent for 'glassyng 28 windows with whyght glasse, wyche war glassyd with faynde storys ;' and 15 windows were glazed at St. Mary Coslanye.¹

Bishop Thirlby had resigned the bishopric of Westminster, of which he was the first and last bishop, into the king's hands 29 March, 1550, and in the following April was appointed bishop of Norwich. At heart he was a Roman Catholic, and Bishop Burnet says he was appointed to Norwich, because it was thought he could do less mischief there, 'for though he complied as soon as any change was made, yet he secretly opposed everything it was safe to do.'² He had voted against the third reading of the Act of Uniformity, 15 January, 1548-9, but enforced its provisions. He was on the Commission for the Suppression of Heresy of 12 April, 1549 ; in January, 1550-1, he was appointed one of the commissioners to correct and punish all Anabaptists and such as did not duly administer the sacraments according to the Book of Common Prayer ; and when the second Act of Uniformity was passed in January, 1552, he protested against it in the House of Lords. He was soon high in Mary's favour, and in July, 1554, was translated from Norwich to Ely.

In the first year of the new reign the whole of the Edwardine legislation concerning the sacraments, uniformity, and priests' marriages was repealed ; the ratio of deprivations in the diocese of Norwich in February and March, 1553-4, is one to five of the beneficed clergy,³ which is only exceeded by that of London, where it was probably one to four. Norwich is the only see whose records are complete in this matter. Here there is a list extant for each archdeaconry, discriminating secular from religious and beneficed from unbeneficed clergy. John Salisbury, dean of Norwich, was deprived March, 1554.⁴

Bishop Hopton, who succeeded Thirlby 28 October, 1554, had been private chaplain and confessor to Queen Mary, and in spite of warnings had continued to say mass in her household throughout the reign of Edward VI. He was one of the most active persecutors of Protestants, and was zealously seconded by his chancellor, Michael Downing or Dunning.⁵ According to Foxe forty-eight persons in all suffered at the stake during his episcopacy. Among the Norfolk martyrs were William Allen, burnt at Walsingham ; William Carman of Hingham, burnt as a contumacious heretic ; Simon Miller, a merchant of Lynn ;⁶ Elizabeth Cooper, a pewterer's wife of

¹ Very interesting inventories have been transcribed in the *Norf. Arch.* i, 73, and vi, 361, from which these details have been taken. St. Margaret's, King's Lynn, was particularly rich in embroidered hangings and vestments, and possessed a 'crosse clothe of red silke embrotherd with thymage of Mary Magdalen ; copes of red silk embrothered with girdells and birds of gold, of the same with swannes of gold, of green silk with white byrds ; of blue velvet with stars ; of red silk with camells ; of purple silk with oak leaves ; of black velvet with flowers, &c. At St. Michael at Plea 238½ oz. of plate were sold.

² *Hist. of the Reformation*, ii, 753.

³ W. H. Frere, *Marian Reaction in Relation to the Engl. Clergy*, 49.

⁴ Gorham, *Reformation Gleanings*, 438. He was restored 1560.

⁵ Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* iv, 187.

⁶ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, viii, 380.

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St. Andrew's, Norwich ;¹ Richard Crashfield of Wymondham ;² Thomas Carman, who pledged Richard Crashfield at his burning ;³ John Noyes of Laxfield, shoemaker ; Cecily wife of Edward Ormes of St. Lawrence's parish ;⁴ and Thomas Hudson of Aylesham, glover.⁵ Thomas Rose, priest, was arraigned before Michael Dunning in 1556, for having preached and taught in the graveyard near the cathedral, and in other places in the city of Norwich,⁶ against the doctrine of the Real Presence. He had been sent by the lieutenant of the Tower to the sheriff of Norfolk, who had orders to deliver him to the bishop that he might 'travayle to reduce him from his heresy to the truth, otherwise to proceed against him according to the order of the laws.'⁷ But he was committed to the care of Sir William Woodhouse, and escaped beyond seas, to return in Elizabeth's reign.⁸

In October, 1553,⁹ Sir William Fermour with others received orders 'to redeliver such church goods as by them by virtue of a commission were taken from the parishes within the county of Norfolk, to such parishes from whence they were taken, and to send up such sums of money to the council for such goods as they have sold.'

That all these changes were not accepted in Norfolk without a murmur is shown in the committal to the gatehouse of Thomas Cobbe¹⁰ of Binham, for his moving of a seditious tumult in Norfolk. In the same month Sir Christopher Haydon, knt., was thanked 'for his diligent paynes taken in the trial out of a certain lewd talk in Norfolk';¹¹ and in July, 1556, Sir John Shelton is directed to advertise the earl of Sussex, now resident in Norfolk, of all things tending to the disquiet of the sheriff which he shall hear.¹² Strype says that the earl of Sussex stirred up Hopton's zeal against heresy, and directed him to establish a system of espionage over those who propagated unsound doctrines.¹³ In August, 1556, the earl was thanked for his diligence in apprehending such as spread abroad lewd and seditious reports.¹⁴

Six months after Queen Mary's death, Bishop Hopton died, heavily in debt. The dean and chapter elected Dr. Richard Cox to succeed him, 29 June, 1559, but on 28 July he was appointed to the see of Ely, and Bishop Parkhurst was not consecrated until 1 September, 1560. The choice of the dean and chapter had fallen on one of the most active of the minor English reformers, who, as one of the royal visitors in 1549, had swept the schools and colleges with destructive zeal, but Bishop Parkhurst was also a thoroughgoing supporter of the Reformation. On the accession of Queen Mary he had found it necessary to take refuge in Zurich, and the letters written after his return show that a warm friendship existed between him and Rudolf Gualter and other Calvinistic divines. He found the see thoroughly disorganized, and many livings without incumbents. But his strong Calvinistic views were accompanied by a certain indolence of temperament, and the laxity of his administration, as much as his encouragement of Nonconformist practices, brought upon him more than once the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth and of Archbishop Parker. He was hospitable and extravagant, and in 1572 lost so much money by the dishonesty of a servant,

¹ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, viii, 381.

² Ibid. 427.

³ *Acts P.C.* vi, 123.

⁴ Ibid. v, 371, 22 Nov. 1553.

⁵ Cranmer, 525.

⁶ Ibid. 398.

⁷ Ibid. 464.

⁸ Blomefield, iii, 276.

⁹ Ibid. v, 365.

¹⁰ *Acts P.C.* vi, 333.

¹¹ Ibid. 463.

¹² Harl. MSS. 421, fol. 188 (B.M.).

¹³ *Acts P.C.* iv, 354-5.

¹⁴ Ibid. vi, 316.

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that to refund it he moved from the bishop's palace to an episcopal grange at Ludham. One of his greatest friends was John Foxe, the martyrologist, who is said to have lived with him for a time, and to have preached in his diocese.¹

A commission was issued to administer the Oath of Supremacy, 23 May, 1559, and sessions were held in the following September at Norwich Cathedral; St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich; North Walsham, Walsingham, King's Lynn, Swaffham, and Thetford.² The signatures for the diocese seem to show a ready acceptance, but the impression left is that no great diligence was used to enforce subscription.³ Norwich is one of the eleven dioceses in which complete lists of the deprivations that resulted can be obtained from the registers; among the Norfolk clergy deprived were the dean of Norwich, John Harpsfield, and one Harcourt, a canon.⁴ The queen's speech at the opening of her first Parliament desired that such laws should be passed as would prevent both the danger of idolatry and superstition, and the opposite peril of irreverence and irreligion. Her first progress through the eastern counties convinced her, according to Strype,⁵ that 'there was little or no order observed in the public service, few or none wearing the surplice, and the bishop of Norwich was thought remiss, and winked at schismatics.' It would be no recommendation to Elizabeth that he conspicuously favoured the Genevan party, and was a married man.⁶

That there were many abuses existing was shown in the bishop's first visitation, begun 2 May, 1561, and that the iconoclasm in his diocese had been very widespread is clear from his own injunctions, which are of very great value, not only for the light they throw on the condition of the churches, but for their testimony as to church customs at the time.⁷

¹ John Foxe was appointed tutor, by the influence of the duchess of Richmond, to the orphan children of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, executed 9 Jan. 1546-7: two boys, Thomas, afterwards duke of Norfolk, and Henry Howard, afterwards earl of Northampton, and three girls. He taught them at the castle of Reigate for five years, and their subsequent careers testify that he did not interfere with their religious views. But when, on the accession of Mary, the old duke of Norfolk, grandfather of his pupils, was released from the Tower, he was dismissed. The elder boy, Thomas, had a great affection for him, and Foxe attended him on the scaffold at his execution; he had written a strong protest to him against his proposed marriage with Mary queen of Scots.

² Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, 96.

³ *Ibid.* 102.

⁴ *Ibid.* 237, 225.

⁵ *Life of Parker*, i, 212.

⁶ In August, 1561, an order was issued excluding women and children from residence in the enclosures of colleges and cathedrals.

⁷ Injunctions exhibited by John by God's sufferance bishop of Norwich in his first visitation beginning the second daie of Maye in the 3rd yeare of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth.

First, y^e every parson, vicare and Curate, doo so order the comon service within the City of Norwich & other lyke places where be dyvers parish churches in one toun, that it may be doon on y^e Sondaie by nine of the clock, before the beginning of the sermon, where any is appointed, y^e all the people after comon prayers be doon in their parish churches may resort thether to heare the sermon.

2. Item, that as many of them as be entred into orders do saie the morning and evening prayers daily in English or Latten, either openly or privatelie, that they may be the more ready in the Scriptures.

3. Item, that they see unto their Clerks and Sextons, if they doe ring at the buriall of the deade, noone or curphue, they ring but one peall, & that very shortt, omitting all other unnecessarie ringings as it is prescribed by order taken therein.

4. Item, that they neither suffer the Lordes table to be hanged and decked like an autler, neyther use any gestures of the popish masse in y^e time of ministracion of the communion, as shifting of the boke, washing, breathing, crossing or such like.

5. Item, that they baptize not children on the working daies, or when the congregation is not come together, except it be thought that evident jeopardie require the contrarie.

6. Item, that they marie no yonge folkes, except they examin them before, whether they can saye the articles of the Xtian faith, the Lordes Prayer, and the ten commandments: and if they cannot then to stay them from going forward till they can say them. Likewise that they examin the godfathers and the god-

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The county continued to win notoriety for its Puritanism, and in 1567 the archbishop visited Norwich, 'where he had understood many things to be

mothers, when they come to baptize childrē, in the same points : secretly and modestly, bearing with y^e age of some persons. For howe can they be sureties for another to be instructed in that faith, wich they cannot skill of themselves. Thirddie that they suffer none to come to the holie communion, except they also knowe the same necessarie points of religion.

7. Item, y^t they marie none before dewe time, y^t is before six of the clock in the somer, and seven in the winter, at what time the broade daie light doth appeare.

8. Item, that they preach theyr sermons limited by the quenes Maiesties Inuincions, that is euerie moneth one, or els at the leastwies get them to be preached, so that they themselves preache foure tymes in the yeare in their own persones, beeing habled thereto by their ordinarie : if they can not preache, then to reade som homely set out by the Quenes Majestie.

9. Item, that they with suche diligent trauail, industrie, and conference, do euerie weke reade & peruse two chapitres of the newe testament and studie the same, that they may be able to answere to all matters conteyned therein with the trewe understanding thereof to begynne with Sainct Mathewes Gospell, and after with Sainct Johns, and so consequentlie till they be gon ouer and so to the epistles. This to begynne in August next, & to make accompt to such as bi the saied reuerend father shalbe appointed y^e first Twesdaie of euerie moneth following. And besides this they shall also cause euerie quarter one sermon at the least to be preached at ther benefices bi some learned preacher till they be hable to preache them their selves. To this taske as touching y^e chapters y^e curates also be enioyned, though they haue no benefices.

10. Item, that they teache the Catechisme euerie Sondaie and euerie holidaide one howre at the leaste before euening prayer, and to beginne the same the first Sondaie in August next, and so to continue euerie Sondaie and holydaie.

11. Item, y^t they warne the parents and maisters to cause theyr children & youthe to learne the Catechisme, either in scholes or els at home, so as they may be examined by y^e minister every Sondaie and holydaie.

12. Item, y^t they requyre the yonge folkes unmarried to resorte to the hearing of the children examined and rendering of the Catechisme to thintent that they by hearing may learn the same, and thereby (besides discharge of their dewty towards God) auoid worldly rebuke and shame whyche shuld happen unto them, if they should be rejected from mariage for ignoraunce of the Christian faith, the Lordes Prayers and the Tenne Commaundementes, exhorting also thelder married folkes to be present, bothe for the good example of the youthe, and also to learn them selves, by hearing, if they, by reason of euill education in tyme of ignoraunce, haue not been sufficientlie instructed in tymes past.

13. Item, y^t they see the places filled up in walles or ellswhere, where images stood, so as if there had been none there. The stones, foundations, or other places, frames or tabernacles deuised to advance imagerie, holy water stones, also, to be quite and clean taken away, and the places where they were set, comely and decentlye to be made up with convenient expedition, or ells to declare to the ordinarie the lettes and staies thereof as soon as may be.

14. Item, y^t euerie parson, vicarre, Curate, & reader, shall euerie quarter ones, read openly in the pulpet, the Quenes Maiestie's Inuincions, and also these present Inuincions with the Confession hereunto annexed, and besides that, get him a copie of these Inuincions, and set them up by the last of September in some convenient place of theyr quier there to remaine still to be seene of them y^t lyst to reade them.

15. Item, y^t y^e maister, pryest, and other governours of all hospitals be vigilant and look diligently, as wel to the wel ordering and godly instructing of y^e sik & sore people within y^e same hospitals, as also to the uertuous and godli educacion of y^e children and other youth there, so as they may be taught to folow and fauour the sincere veritie of Almighty God, as it is now manifestly set forthe by the Quenes most excellent Maiestie & that they themselves also be followers thereof.

Among the interrogatories are : Whether any images, beades, bookes of saruice or vestiments not allowed by lawe be reserued of any man or in any place, by whome and where they be reserued. Whether al altuers, images, holwater stones, pictures, paintings as of thassumption of the Blessed Virgin, of the descending of Christ unto the Virgin in the fourme of a little boy at thannunciation of the Aungell, and all other superstitions and dangerous monuments, especiallie paintings & images in walle, boke, cope, Banner or elsewhere, of the blessed trinitie or of the father (of whom there can be no image made) be defaced and remoued out of y^e church and other places and are destroyed, & the places where such impietie was, so made up, as if there had ben no such thing there. Whether any minister or priest in the tyme of trouble have deuorced himself from his wyfe and whether his wyfe hath been maryed to any other man sythen, or that he himself hath married any other woman without judgment of the church.

How the changes in legislation as to the marriage of the clergy had affected their wives may be gathered from an entry in the register of the parish of West Rudham made by John Robotham, incumbent, 1626. 'M^d. Peter Stanclif, Vicar of y^e Church, was in y^e daies of Q. Mary enforced to put away his wife, who thereupon married to another man : but when Q. Elizabeth came to the throne, he took her again from her second husband. He lieth buried near the north door of the church with this inscription yet legible over the door : Peter Stanclif, Vicar.' Norf. Arch. i, 68. The will of another clergyman, Sir Robert Hunte, dated 7 August, 2 Mary (Arch. Norf. Lib. 1553-5, fol. 311, quoted in *Eastern Counties Collectanea*), bequeaths all movables 'unto Elenor my wyff yf the lawe of the Realme permytt yt yff not I give and bequeath to Elenor Baker all my movables.' It is hardly to be wondered at that with the possibility of further changes

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out of order, and the bishop himself not without his imperfections.¹ In a letter to Lady Bacon² he accounts for the very special interest he felt in the diocese, by saying Norfolk was his own county, and therefore dear to him, which indeed he proved by the many fellowships he procured for Norfolk at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.³ The archbishop's letters leave the impression not only that the bishop was responsible for some of the abuses existing, but also that his want of support of and even opposition to the archbishop were a great hindrance to reform. It is extremely instructive to compare the injunctions issued in both visitations.⁴ The answers to his

in these very changeable times, the wife of a clergyman was so often not his social equal, that at last the parson was frequently required to ask the consent of his bishop to his marriage; and that before his appointment to a benefice, if married, not only the candidate, but his wife, had to undergo examination at his application. (B.M. 5155, aa. 8.)

The answers to articles of inquiry at this and subsequent visitations show great neglect and disorder, and lack of things necessary, such as surplices, cloths for the communion table, &c. on the one hand, and a certain adherence to the older forms on the other. The Ordinary's visitation books teem with complaints of non-compliance with the queen's injunctions. In 1563, at Marsham, 'the Rood Loft is not pluckt down'; at Morton, 'the Rood Doors not stopped, and 8 Tabernacles remain in the wall'; at Bristow, 'they have pictures and other superstitious things hidden in the Rood loft' (quoted in *Norf. Arch.* i, 239). But in many cases the churches were much defaced by the tearing down of all 'images,' and it was years before the necessary steps for hiding the damage done were taken; at Upton, after the removal of the altar, as late as 1597 the archdeacon found it necessary to order 'the pavement of the s^d chauncell where the hygh altar stoode to be repayred and comelie paved.' (Percival O. Hill, *Hist. of Upton*, iii.) In any case the prescribed whitewashing over of mural paintings, and the painting of texts of scripture over the whitened spaces can have hardly had a beautifying effect.

¹ Strype, *Life of Parker*, i, 489.

² Ibid. 495.

³ Masters, *Hist. of Corpus Christi College*, 9, 98, &c.

⁴ Articles to be inquired of at the metropolitical visitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1567: Imprimis, whether Divine service be sayde or songe by your Minister or Ministers in your severall churches, duely and reverently, as it is set forth by the lawes of this realme, without any kind of variation. And whether the holy Sacramentes be likewise ministred reverently in such manner as by the lawes of this Realme, and by the Quenes Maiesties Injunctions, and by thadvertisements set forthe by publike authority, is appointed and prescribed.

Item, whether you have in your paryshe churches all things necessary and requisite for Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments, specially the booke of Common Prayer, the Bible in y^e largest volume, the Homilyes, with the Paraphrases of Erasmus: A convenient pulpit well placed; a comly and decent table for the holy Communion, covered decently, and set in y^e place prescribed by y^e Quenes Maiesties Injunctions: The chest or boxe for the pore men, and al other things necessary in and to the premises. And whether your Aulters bee taken downe, according to y^e commaundemente in that behalf geuen.

Item, whether your Priestres, Curates, or ministers do use in the time of the celebration of divine service to weare a surples, prescribed by y^e Quenes Maiesties Injunctions and the boke of Common Prayer. And whether they do celebrate the same divine service in the Chauncel or in the church, and do use all Rites and orders prescribed in the boke of Common prayer, and none other.

Item, whether your curates or ministers do publicly in their open churches read in manner appointed the Quenes Maiesties Injunctions and Homilyes: The Advertisements latelie sette forthe by publike authority. And whether the same in all poyntes be duely observed.

Item, whether your Curates or Ministers or any of them doe use to minister the sacramente of Baptisme in basons or els in the fonte standing in the place accustomed. And whether the same fonte be decently kepte. And whether they do use to minister the Holye Communion in wafer bread according to the Quenes Maiesties Injunctions, or els in common bread. And also whether they do minister in any prophane Cuppes, Bowles, disshes, or Chalices heretofore used at Masse, or els in a decent Communion Cuppe provided and kept for the same purpose only. And whether the Communicants do use to receyve the holy Communion standinge, sittinge, or els knelynge.

Item, whether ymages and all other monuments of Idolatry and superstition be destroyed and abolyshed in your severall paryshes: and whether your churches and chauncells be well adorned and conveniently kepte without waste, destruction or abuse of anythinge. Whether the roode losfe bee pulled downe, according to the order prescribed; and if the partition between the chauncell and the church be kepte. Whether your churchyardes be well fensed and cleanly kepte. Whether any sale have bene made of your Church goods, by whome and to whome, and what hath been don with the monye thereof comming. Whether your Chauncels and Parsonages be well and sufficiently repayred: whether any man haue pulled downe or discovered any Church, Chauncel, Chappell, Almshouse, or such like, or have plucked donn y^e bells, or have felled or spoyled any wood or tembere in any Church yarde.

Item, whether there be any Parsons that intrude themselfe, and presume to exercise any kind of mynistry in the church of God, without imposition of handes & ordinary auctoritie. Whether their Church or

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articles of inquiry show that report had not exaggerated the condition of affairs. George Gardiner, afterwards dean, one of the prebendaries, said that two of the archdeacons, Dr. Carew and Mr. Wendon, who were also prebendaries, were not resident, and that neither of them were ministers. That all went in semely and priestly apparel, saving Mr. Wendon, whom

Chappell be served with any readers. Or whether any Minister doe remove from any other diocese to serve in this, without letters testimoniall of thordinary from whence he came, to testify the cause of his departing thence, and of his behaviour. Or any being once Preist or Minister, that doth not minister, or frequente and resorte to the Common Prayer now used, and at tymes appoynted communicate. And whether anye suche doe goe and boaste him selfe lyke a lay man.

Item, whether your Parsons and Vicars be residente continually upon their benefices; whether they give themselves to deuoute prayer, discreate reading in private prayers, reading of the scriptures, and godly contemplacion, and releaue the poore charitably to their hability, according to the Quenes Injunctions. Whether they pray for the prosperous estate of the Queens Majesty, as is prescribed by her Grace's Injunctions.

Item, whether anye of your Ministers dothe or hathe admitted any notorious sinner or malicious person out of Charitie, without iuste penance done and reconciliation had, to receaue the holy Communion, or any that hath not receaued the same accordinge as to a Christian appertayneth, and by the lawes it is appointed. And whether you do heare or knowe any y^t doth use to say or heare the priuat Masse, or doe use any other seruice then is prescribed by the lawes of this Realme.

Item, whether your ministers doe call upon fathers, mothers, and maisters of youthe to bringe them upp in the feare of Almighty God, in obedience and in conuenient occupations. Whether they be peacemakers and exhort the people to obedience to their Prince, and to all other that be in authoritie, to charity and mutual loue among themselves. Whether they geue themselves to superstition and bee maintainers of y^e unlearned people in ignorance.

Item, whether your Persons, Vicars, and Curates be common gameners, hunters, haunTERS of taverns and alehouses; suspected of any notable crime; fauters of forrein poures, letters of good religion, preachers of corrupt doctrine; stubborne or disobedient to lawes and orders: Whether they be geuen to filthy lucre. Whether they be light either in example of life, or in unwont and unsemely apparell.

Item, whether any of your benefices be vacant, howe longe they have been vacant; who is Patrone. Whether there be any lay or temporall men (not being within orders) or children, or any other (within age) that hath or enioyeth any benefice or spiritual promociion, any Patron that suffereth any benefice to be vacante, and taketh the tithes and other fructes to himself.

Item, whether youre Ministers keepe their Registers well, and do present the copy of them once euerye yeare by Indenture to the Ordinary or his officers: and teache the 'Articles of the Fayth,' and the Tenne Commaundements, and the Lordes prayer, as is prescribed them in the Catechisme.

Item, whether your Parsons & Vicars have any other or mo benefices, wher & in what country they bee; whether they came to them by symony or other unlawful meanes. Whether they do let their benefice to farme, or els kepe them in theyr owne handes. Whether they keepe hospitalitie or not. Whether in their absence they leave their cures to honest, learned, or expert curates. Whether they make their ordinarye sermons, according to the Queens Maiesties Iniunctions: whether they admit any to preache unlicensed, or put by any that hath license. Whether they reade the Queens Maiesties Iniunctions as they ought to do, and saye there service sensibly and distinctly.

Item, whether the laye people be diligent in comminge to the churche on the holy daies, and with all humblenes, reverently and devoutly, doe geue themselves to the hearing of commune prayer in the time thereof, and otherwise occupy themselves in private prayers, readinge of scriptures, or other vertuous exercise. Yf any be negligent or wilfull. Whether the forfeiture be leued on their goods to the use of the poor, according to the lawes of this Realme in y^t behalfe prouided. And what mony hath been gathred by the churchwardens of the forfeits.

Item, whether there be in your quarters any that openly or priuily use or frequente any kind of diuine seruice or common prayer, other then is set forth by the lawes of this Realme; any disturbers of common prayers or letters of the worde of God to be reade, preached, or heard: any that by couerte or crafty meanes depraue or contemne y^e same: or that speake to y^e derogation of y^e Quenes Maiesties authority & Power, or of y^e lawes set out by publike authority.

Item, whether there be amonge you any blasphemers of the name of Almighty God, adulterers, fornicators, baudes, or receauers of such persons. Any suspected of inceste, or any other notorious fault, sin, or crime. Any dronkardes, ribaldes, common slaundersers of their neighbours, raylers or scolders, sowers of discorde between neighbours, by playes, rimes, famouse libels, or otherwise.

Item, whether there be in your parishes any Innkeepers or Alewives, that admit any resort to their houses in tyme of common prayer. Any that commonly absent themselves from theyre owne Church or otherwise idely or lewedly prophaneth the Sabbath daye. Anye that keepe any secret conuenticles, preachings, lectures, or readings, contrary to y^e lawes. Any suspected of heresy, or that maintain any erroneous opinions cōtrary to the lawes of Almighty God and good religion, by publike authoritie in this realme set forth.

Item, whether there be in these parties which minister the goodes of those which be deade, without authoritie; any executors y^t have not fulfilled their testators' will, specially in paying of legacies geuen to good

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he saw two years since go in a cloke with a Spanish cape, and a rapier by his side ; that one Mr. Smith, another prebendary, kept at Swyneshead in Lincolnshire, and was neither priest nor preacher ; that none preached, but my lord bishop and the said respondent ; and that Sir John Toller, one of the canons, was a great brawler and kept another man's wife.¹ This respondent presented that the prebendaries should be all priests and resident at home, and that some provision be made to save the woods from spoiling, which were now much spoiled ; but he stated that the church was in better reparation than it was these forty years.

and godly uses, as to the releife of povertie, to poore schollers, orphans, highwaies, mariage of poor maidens, and such like. Whether your Hospitals and Almshouses be justly used, according to the foundation & auncient ordinaunces of the same. Whether ther be any other placed in them than poore, impotent, and needy persons, that hath not otherwise wherewith or whereby to live.

Item, whether there be any which of late haue bequeathed in their testaments, or other waies there be appointed by ordinaries, any sumes of mony, Jewelles, Plate, Ornamēts, or annuities for y^e erectiō of any obites, diriges, trentals, or any such like use, now by the lawes of this Realm not permitted ; and if there be, that you present the names of such executors, the quantity and quality of the guifte, that order may be taken therein accordingly.

Item, whether there be any mony or stoke appertaininge to anye parishe Church in any mannes handes that refuse or differeth to pay the same : or that useth fraude, deceit or delaye to make any accompt in the presence of the Honesty in the parishe, for the same. Whether your churchwardens and others, aforetyme, have geuen the yearely accompte, according unto the custom as it hath been aforetime used. Whether the store of the poore mennes boxe be openly & indifferently given where neede is, with out parcial affection. Whether any stocke of cattell or graine appertaining to youre churches, be decayed : by whose negligence, and in whose handes.

Item, whether your schoolemaisters be of a sincere religion, and be diligent in teaching and bringing up of youth. Whether they teache any other grammar than such as is appointed by the Quenes Maiesties Injunctions, annexed to the same, or not.

Item, whether there be any amonge you that use sorcerie or inchauntement, magike, incantations, or nigromancie, or that be suspected of the same.

Item, whether there be any in these partes that have married within degrees of affinity or consanguinitie, by the lawes of God forbidden, so set oute in a table for an Admonition. Any man that hath two wives, or anie woman that hath two husbandes. Anie that being deuorced or seperated aside hath married againe. Any married that have made precontracts. Anye that have married without banes thrise solemnely asked. Anye couples married that live not together, but slanderouslie live apart : any that haue married oute of the parishe church wher thei ought to have the same solemnised.

Item, whether any your Ordinaries within this diocese, their Chauncellor, Officials, Commissaries, Registrars, and all and singular others that haue or do exercise any visitation or jurisdiction ecclesiasticall within any part of this diocese, have uprightly, faithfully and unfaynedly to y^e uttermoste of their powers observed in theyr owne persons and towards all other, put in due execution the Quenes Maiesties ecclesiasticall lawes, Statutes, Injunctions, and al her highnes other Commandements published for uniformity of doctrine and due order of the publik ministration of God's holy word and sacraments, and have commended and favored all such as sought the same, and condignely punished all suche as soughte the contrarye.

Item, whether any of them at anye time wittingly suffered faultes and transgressions to remaine unpunished, for mony, gayne, pleasure, friendshippe, or any other affectionate respecte, or yff any of them be or haue been burdensome to y^e subiectes of their seuerall Jurisdictions, by exacting or taking excessive fees, procurations, any rewardes or commodities by the way of promotion, gift, contribution, helpe, loane, redemption of penance, omission of quarter sermons, obtaining of any benefice or office, or any other like wages or means.

Generally, whether there be any euill livers or offenders of the lawes of Almighty God ; anye suspected of any notorious sinne, fault or crime, to the offence of Christian people committed : anie that stubbornlie refuse to conforme themselves to unitie and good religion. Anie that bruiteth abroad rumors of the alteration of the same, or otherwise that disturbeth good orders, and the quietnesse of Christes church, and Christian congregation. B. M. T. 1015 (1).

These very searching articles of inquiry are prefaced by instructions to the Commissioners for the Diocese of Norwich : First that you doe with all diligence travell to reduce the state of the clergy unto one uniforme order in their ministration and preaching. . . .

Additional testimony as to the very early hours at which church services were held at this time is to be found in the Records of the Corporation of Yarmouth, *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, 306b, 10 Aug. 15 Eliz. : Ordered that Sir James, the Minister, shall keep his howers at the church for morning prayer as followeth : from Hallowmas until Candlemas, to beginne his service at fyue of the clock, and so to contynewe winter and summer : And that if he doe neglecte his dewtye therein, he shall loose for euery defaulte xii *d* to be deducted from his wage.

¹ Strype, *Life of Parker*, i, 492 ; iii, 161.

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One of the gravest disorders was the number of livings simoniacally disposed of, and the great number unsupplied.¹ The archbishop writes to Lady Bacon how the lay gentry fleece the benefices : ‘ the best of the country, not under the degree of knights, were infected with this sore, so far, that some one knight had four or five, others seven or eight benefices clouted together ’ ; and ‘ that my lord bishop hath set a serving-man, not ordered, a mere lay-body, in the face of the whole city, to be a prebendary of this church. And that he hath at home at his house another prebendary, and bearing them great under my lord’s authority, despised mine to be at the church’s visitation.’²

One prebendary named Smith, finding the dean and chapter charged not to pay the rent of his prebend till he had shown good cause to the archbishop for his non-appearance, appeared before the primate, who persuaded him to resign his prebend, some pension being reserved to him, after having failed to induce him to take orders (the man gave as his reason that he had no knowledge of Scripture, though in profane learning he had) ;³ ‘ which the bishop of Norwich hindered, because Smith was bound to him to pay 5*ti* pension out of his prebend to a sister’s son of the bishop’s at Cambridge.’⁴ These descriptions of the prebendaries explain the possibility of their riotous behaviour indicated by the queen’s instructions to the bishop, 25 September, 1570, ‘ to inquire into certain innovations attempted by some prebendaries of the church, who have entered the choir of the church, broken down the organs and committed other outrages.’⁵

In any case, the difficulties of the bishop’s task at Norwich must have sometimes seemed insuperable ; with every shade of nonconformity to deal with on the one hand, and Roman Catholics⁶ on the other, it can hardly be wondered at that he inclined to a policy of inaction ; whatever course he

¹ In 1563 the bishop received a writ requiring him to return an account of the state of his diocese to the queen, and returned answer as follows :—‘ The diocese of Norwich contains the two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and 11 churches in Cambridgeshire. In Norfolk there are two archdeaconries, those of Norfolk and Norwich, and 24 deaneries, 12 of which belong to Norwich archdeaconry and 12 to Norfolk. There are other churches exempt in the dean and chapter of Norwich, excepting at an ordinary visitation, viz. in Norwich : St. Paul, St. James, St. Mary-in-the-Marsh, and St. Helen’s, and the churches of Trows, Ameringhall, Lakenham, Eaton, Sedgeforth, Hilderston, Hemesbye, Martham and Catton ; and though the inhabitants of Windham will not be called out of their town by process, according to the ancient composition of my predecessors, yet they refuse not to be subject to my ordinary jurisdiction. At my last visitation there appeared to be 289 parish churches in the archdeaconry of Norwich, and 402 in Norfolk archdeaconry. At last Easter there were in Norwich archdeaconry 168 rectories full, with incumbents, and 41 vicarages full, and the rest of the parish churches, i.e. 80, were void ; but some served with curates, which being not obliged to appear, I cannot certify. There is no parish so large as to have a chapel of ease except Winterton, which hath East Somerton chapel, and Wroxham which hath Salhouse. In Norfolk archdeaconry there are 184 rectories and 36 vicarages full, and the other 182 void, but some served with curates which cannot be returned. Redenhall hath a chapel of ease called Harleston, Derham another called Hoe. Pulham also hath one, and so hath Titshall. Some of the churches void in all the archdeaconries are donatives, and heretofore belonged to religious houses ; not being presentative, I can give no account of them.’ (Blomefield, iii, 556.)

² Strype, *Life of Parker*, i, 495.

³ Ibid. 496.

⁴ Ibid. 497.

⁵ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1547–80, 393. George Gardiner, appointed dean in 1573, was also one of this band ; the actual dean, John Salisbury, kept out of the affair. Dr. Salisbury had been accused of favouring the old religion, and for a sermon he preached 1 Dec. 1569, was for a time removed, but was afterwards reinstated, and in 1571 made bishop of Sodor and Man, which he held with his deanery until 1573, when he died. The bishop expressed great grief at his sermon. Public Library, Cambridge, EE. 2, 34, fol. 53r.

⁶ Certain priests apprehended in London on Palm Sunday, 1574, boasted that there were 500 masses said in England that day. Dr. George Gardiner in reporting this to Bishop Parkhurst, adds ‘ It stands your Lordship in hand to look about. The xth part of these masses were said in your diocese (if there were so many) : good conjectures saith so : and I pray God none of your officers be culpable in consenting to them. . . . The greatest diligence is too little, and the least speck of careless negligence is too much ’ (Gorham, *Reformation Gleanings*, 487).

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adopted was so certain to displease in some direction. His letters, many of which are preserved in the Public Library at Cambridge, describe his difficulties in dealing with papistical incumbents, show him to have treated them with great leniency and patience, and make it clear that he was assailed with criticism from all sides. In December, 1572, he writes: ¹ 'The Queen's Majesty is much offended with me that R. Willoughbie is deprived of certain livings within my diocese, and her Majesty is moved thereunto, as well that he was a physician to her Highness' mother, as for the respect of his age; but he was not deprived by me, but by the Act of the last parliament, for not subscribing to the Acts of Religion.' In the *Acts of the Privy Council*, in an information as to papists and recusants in Norfolk, this Richard Willoughbie, M.A., sometime fellow of Benet College, Cambridge, is described as having 'seemed a favourer of true religion, but by travelling to Paris in France is become a verie Papist, and supposed now to be a seminary priest.'² A letter to the archbishop, of 30 September, 1573,³ on behalf of Francis Morley, describes one Morley, who had been greatly complained of by his parishioners, as right honest, faithful, and of upright judgement; and writes of the malice of many of the parish (St. Gregory's), who speak of the Geneva psalms as Gehenna psalms, and bewray what they be by maintaining the rood loft in a fashion contrary to the rest of the rood lofts in Norwich, that is to say, 'as being in a manner whole, with the vault or sollar and the forepart, with the door and stairs to go up, so as little is wanting of that it was in the time of popery.' Another letter of 3 February, 1573,⁴ shows that the parishioners of St. Simon's church, of whom he writes, 'I could never understand of any good order or conformity in the same parish,' have also decided to take matters into their own hands, and have promised to seek reformation with the High Commissioners, being weary as they say, of complaining and receiving no redress, the matter they complain of being the bell ringing in the time of sermon.

In October, 1573, a new proclamation ordered the better enforcement of the Act of Uniformity, and though the results of the proceedings in Norwich show that few when brought to the point refused subscription, even in this instance Parkhurst's administration and that of his subordinates was exceedingly lax. Ministers who were suspended were yet allowed to catechize in the parish churches, and to use the exercise of prophesying in the open congregation. On the intervention of one of the commissioners to point out the scandal, Parkhurst wrote to his chancellor⁵ to put a stop to it; but at the same time he excused his action to another of the commissioners, of puritan leanings, by saying that he did not dare do otherwise in face of the opposition his lenity had evoked.⁶

Another direction in which the bishop would have preferred to interfere as little as possible was in the disputes of the Dutch and Walloon congregations, which since 1565 had been established in Norwich. By the Book of Orders for the Strangers, dated 20 April, 1571, it was enacted that religious questions were to be referred to the bishop on appeal from the consistories of the Dutch and Walloon congregations.⁷ The bishop, writing

¹ Public Library, Cambridge, EE. 2, 34, fol. 95.

² Public Library, Cambridge, EE. 2, 34, fol. 138.

³ Gorham, *Reformation Gleanings*, 484.

⁷ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 285.

⁵ Masters, *Hist. of Corpus Christi College*, 322.

⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 104 r.

⁶ Stephens, *Hist. of the Eng. Ch.* v, 186.

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to Henry Ballinger, 10 August, 1571, describes their refractoriness and dissensions, and states that at last he had, much against his will, to deal severely with them.¹ The archbishop of Canterbury had previously written to the archbishop of York, that he feared the bishop had prejudiced his own jurisdiction by disclaiming oversight.²

These strangers had been invited to dwell in the city of Norwich after they had fled from the persecutions of the duke of Alva, at the suggestion of the duke of Norfolk, who had been waited on by the city to find some remedy for the decay of the worsted manufacture. The Dutch congregation had the choir of the church of the Black Friars, and the Walloon, or French, the church of St. Mary the Less, near Tombland, assigned to them.³ At first the Dutch were much more numerous than the Walloons, but later the Walloons became of great importance.⁴ They had to pay double taxes or subsidies on the value of their personal property; to pay their own ministers, by whom they had to be furnished with a voucher before permission to reside in the city was granted to them, all their names being registered; to pay all the expenses of their churches and the entire support of their poor, beside 20*d.* in the pound on their rentals towards the pay of the parish clergy.⁵ But, in spite of heavy taxation, they flourished exceedingly, and roused much jealousy. The duke of Norfolk was extremely popular in the county, and his imprisonment in the Tower led to a rising in the summer of 1570 in favour of Mary queen of Scots and Norfolk, and against these refugees.⁶ It resulted in the execution for high treason and contempt of John Throgmorton, Thomas Brooke of Rollesby, and George Redman.⁷

The year 1570 marked a turning point in the treatment of Roman Catholic recusancy, which could no longer be overlooked after the bull of excommunication and deposition of the queen. Norfolk, which was the home of so many sects, furnished a considerable number of important recusants. The college of Douai was founded in 1568, and by the year 1578 had sent over fifty priests as missionaries to England; a marked increase in recusancy was followed by determined efforts to deal with it, and in August, 1578, the Council sat at Norwich and dealt with batches from several counties, including Norfolk. In a note of the names of such as were committed for papistry in the county, 1578, endorsed 'such as have been dealt withal by my Vicar General this progresse for refusyng to come to church,'⁸ Sir Henry Bedingfield, knt., Edmond Windeham, doctor of the civil law, Robert Grey, esquire, John Drury of Godwitt, gent., Humfrey Bedingfield, gent., John Downes, gent., Ferdinando Parris, esqre., Thos. Lovell, esqre., and Robert Lovell, esqre., remain in Norwich to be conferred wth all by the bishop, or such as he shall appoint between this and Michaelmas next; William Gibbon, gent., is contented to come to the church and conform himself, and is bownd by his bond to bring certificate thereof to the bishop; James Hubberd and Philipp Awdeley, conformed themselves and were dismissed with favour. . . . Rucwood and Robert Downes appear to have been committed close prisoners to the gaol of the county of Norfolk. By act of the Privy Council,

¹ *Zurich Letters* (Parker Society), 256.

² *Norf. Arch.* iv, 74.

³ *Norf. Antiq. Misc.* L. Toulmin-Smith. Account of the Walloon Church at Norwich, ii, 91.

⁴ Moëns, *Hist. of the Walloon Church*, Pref. i.

⁵ Blomefield, iii. 284.

⁶ Moëns, *Hist. of the Walloon Congregation*, 63.

⁷ Stephens, *Hist. of the Engl. Ch.* v, 153.

⁸ Cott. MS. Titus B. III. fol. 61.

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22 August, 1578,¹ . . . Ruckwood and Robert Downes were ordered to remain in the gaol of the county, they having been formerly communicated with, and stood obstinate; Humphrey Bedingfield of Quidenham, Robert de Grey of Martin, John Downes of Bowghton, esqres., and John Drury of Godwitt, gent., who had already previously been dealt with by the bishop, had to enter into bonds of 200*li* apiece, not to leave their lodgings in Norwich; and Thomas Lovell, Robert Lovell, and Ferdinando Paris were also committed to remain in their lodgings and to find bonds. So many important Norfolk families furnished members of the recusant party that the county came to be looked on as a stronghold of popery, and attracted particular notice from the central government. In the same month two justices of the peace in Norfolk were instructed to take order for displacing and putting out of service of such servants of Sir Henry Bedingfield as do not conform and come to church.² In September, the bishop was congratulated on his diligent travail, by which he had reclaimed Thomas Lovell and others, and was instructed to send up Dr. Wyndham to their lordships, since he remained obstinate and no mild course would reform him;³ and he was required in another letter to give orders for the apprehension of one Derham, a priest, attendant for the most part about the Lady Jerningham, for that he was suspected to be one that useth bad practices to the disturbance of the common quiet of this kingdom.⁴

Bishop Parkhurst had died 2 February, 1575, his last days being much disturbed by disputes with the archbishop about the suppression of prophesyings, which he would have liked to encourage, as well as the use of the wafer, to which he strongly objected. His successor Bishop Freake, as far as he dared, dealt tenderly with the recusants, and in a certificate he had to send in 29 October, 1577,⁵ said that many would probably conform, and that Lady Jerningham, being often troubled with certain melancholy passions, had service in English said in her own house. Bishop Parkhurst had previously written of her 'she is noted to be a great enemy to religion.'⁶

The political aspect assumed by recusancy led to the promulgation of severer laws against it, and their enforcement meant ruin to some of the Norfolk gentry, terrible impoverishment by fines, and continuous imprisonment for others. However leniently the bishop might try to apply the laws, the laws were stern, and he had no choice but to administer them. In January, 1578-9, he was informed that as Sir Henry Bedingfield could not conveniently repair to the city of Norwich to be conferred with on matters of religion, by reason of a disease in his leg, Sir Henry was to remain in his house, and the bishop and commissioners were to repair to him.⁷ The following month he received orders to return to the Privy Council the names of those persons, 'of whom their lordships have heard that in Thetford and other places in his diocese have been seen, not long since, in some men's houses, certain images, which either are reserved to the private use of them that keep them for idolitrie, or for other dangerous purpose of sorcerie or witchcraft.'⁸ In January, 1579-80, orders were issued concerning the arrest of Edward Jackson, a priest,

¹ Vol. x, 310.

² *Acts P.C.* x, 316.

³ *Ibid.* 333.

⁴ *Ibid.* 325.

⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1547-80, p. 562.

⁶ Public Library, Cambridge, EE. 2, 34, fol. 110 r.

⁷ *Acts P.C.* xi, 15.

⁸ *Ibid.* xi, 36.

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in Norfolk, and that any who be touched with like infection be apprehended.¹ The Bedingfields seem to have developed much ill-health in their enforced confinement, and Edmund Bedingfield, a prisoner for matters of religion, had permission, 4 May, 1579, being greatly afflicted with sickness, to repair to Bath until Michaelmas next, giving bonds, etc.² That this was only an interlude in a long period of imprisonment is shown by his release, 26 May, 1580, until the end of Michaelmas term, on bonds, sureties, etc., to arrange the marriage of his son with the daughter of Henry Jerningham.³

A very actual picture of this company of 'gentlemen prisoners committed for religion,' who were not allowed to communicate with each other except at meal times, and then only under strict surveillance, is afforded by the evidence in an examination made by the bishop, 24 October, 1580, as to a letter received by Robert Downes of Great Melton, from Salomon Aldrede, sometime hosier in Burchin Lane, London, and dated from Rheims in France.⁴ Robert Downes deposed that one Raph Downes of Lincoln's Inn delivered the letter to him 17 October, and that he had it of Mr. Ferneslie, dwelling nigh unto Fyncham, that he read about half the same in the presence and hearing of Mr. Roger Martin, and Mr. Humphrey Bedingfield, and their keeper the gaoler's servant, called Christopher; and until he got to that part where it was signified he would be honourably received beyond the seas, in presence of Mr. Martin aforesaid, Mr. Edward Sulyard, Mr. Bedingfield, and one or two of their servants. Mr. Michael Haire was also present at the reading of the said letter. The prisoner declares he read the letter aloud because of the mirthful nature of its contents, but it is evident that it was not for that reason he was being examined; and his statement 'that he knew nothing of the bull in the said letter because he did not read the letter through,' must be received with some reserve.

A letter from the bishop to 'Mr. Ferdinando Paris, esq.,' at Pudding Norton, dated 13 March, 1581, and signed 'your loving friende,' says:—

Having of late received very sharpe reprehension from my lordes of the Counsaill for my lenity extended towardes you and the reste in question for religion in these parts, upon some complaints made against me for that your liberty, I am hereupon urged to call you and the reste to prison, requiring you therefore not to fail in your repair to James Bradshaw's in Norwich within tenne dayes after the receipt hereof, there remayning as before, and so I bid you farewell in Christe.⁵

An order of the Privy Council of the same year deals with the escape of certain persons from the house of Sir Henry Bedingfield, and directs that search shall be made for Woodall and Colwell, also that Yelverton, from whom they have taken bonds, with sureties for his appearance to answer his doings touching the escape of Woodall, shall appear before the Council.⁶

In 1588 James Bradshaw, the gaoler at Norwich before mentioned, was charged with negligence in keeping recusants,⁷ and Walter Norton, Edward Downes, Robert Lovell, Ferdinando Paris, and Humphrey Bedingfield were to be removed from Norwich to Wisbeach.⁸ In that year Father John Gerard, the Jesuit, returned as a missionary to England and landed in

¹ *Acts P. C.* xi, 355.

⁴ *Lansd. MS.* 96, No. 59.

⁶ *Acts P. C.* xiii, 25.

² *Ibid.* 116.

⁵ *Hist. MSS Com. Rep.* v, 486a.

⁷ *Ibid.* xvi, 247.

³ *Ibid.* xii, 38.

⁸ *Ibid.* 317.

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Norfolk.¹ At Norwich he met Edward Yelverton, son of William Yelverton of Rougham, and Edward Yelverton took him home with him to Grimston, a neighbourhood where the squires were all recusant. The Townsends of Rainham, the Cobbs of Sandringham, the Bastards of Dunham, the Bozouns of Whissonsett, the Kerviles of Wiggenhall, all figure in the recusant lists. Father Gerard writes :—

Thus it happened that I remained for six or eight months with some profit to souls in the family of my friend and host, during which time he took me with him to nearly every gentleman's house in the county. . . . I reconciled to the church, during the period of my appearance in public, more than twenty fathers and mothers of families . . . as to poor persons and servants I received a great many, the exact number I do not remember. . . . Many, too, at that time received the inspiration to a more perfect life, among whom I may mention Father Edward Walpole, his cousin Michael Walpole, and others.²

Of all the recusant victims, Father Henry Walpole, cousin of Edward, stands out from the rest for his ability and devotion and literary talents ; and his youngest brother, Michael, was Gerard's most devoted adherent. The history of this family, which furnished so many staunch supporters to the cause, has been written by Dr. Jessopp.³ Henry Walpole had been enrolled at Gray's Inn, a favourite resort with Catholics, and entered the Society of Jesus at Rome 2 February, 1584 ; his second brother, Richard, followed him in 1585 ; and in the same year his cousin, Edward Walpole of Houghton, became openly recusant, and went to reside with his cousin William Walpole of St. Cleres, in North Tuddenham, his own parents, who were Puritans, having disinherited him ; in 1589, Henry's third brother, Christopher, joined the college at Rome ; another brother, Thomas, was also a recusant. Henry joined the missionary staff sent to minister to dying soldiers, and had to hear confessions under fire in French, English, Spanish, and Italian at Flushing in 1589. Here he was taken prisoner, and news of him sent home brought his brother Michael out to him. Later Michael proceeded to Rome, accompanied by another Norfolk gentleman, Thomas Goodrich. Edward Walpole of Houghton, too, abjured the realm, taking with him his cousin Bernard Gardiner, and they were received into the college 20 October, 1589.⁴ Next year Christopher and two Norfolk gentlemen, Thomas Lacy and Anthony Rouse, entered the college (22 August, 1591).⁵ Henry returned to England on the mission in 1593 ; was arrested, tortured, and condemned to death in 1595. Charles Yelverton, after much imprisonment, escaped to Rome, and was admitted to the Society of Jesus, 1601 ; his brother Edward was also a Roman Catholic. Henry Cornwallis of Brome and his son Richard were among those converted by Gerard ; Richard joined the college at Rome, 1598.

A list of Norfolk recusants in the State Papers Domestic⁶ gives, at Cossy the Lady Jerningham ; Mr. Charles Waldegrave and his wife ; Mr. Pratte, a priest ; Mr. Robert Downes and his wife, who doth dwell but a mile off from Cossy, the Lady Jerningham her house ; Mr. Nicholas Waldegrave, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis.

¹ *Autobiography of Father John Gerard, S.J.* 8.

² *One Generation of a Norfolk House.*

³ *S. P. Dom. Eliz. clvii, No. 88.*

⁴ *Ibid.* 22-27.

⁵ *Walpole Letters*, 15.

⁶ *Ibid.* 18.

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In 1591 is recorded the apprehension of George Gower, a priest taken at Norwich, a most dangerous seditious person ;¹ and that year the keeper of Norwich gaol was dismissed from his post for giving liberty to recusants committed to his charge.² Later, the Council was encouraged by the increase of conformity in Norwich, and the list sent of men who had submitted ;³ and in 1592 the bishop was commended for the great number he had persuaded to come to church, but whereas many had fled the country was directed to find out where they were.⁴ Directions were sent that the house of Thomas Lovell, esq., should be searched, as there had been great recourse of papists and recusants there,⁵ and as a result he appeared and made very earnest profession of his conformity 'these many years past, and that he had taken the oath of supremacy, and all his house are conformable save only his wife, to his great grief ; and his daughter, whom he promises to reform.'⁶ There must have been more than one such divided household in Norfolk, where the women seem to have remained firm when the heads of households, who had to pay the fines, thought it prudent to conform. Francis Woodhouse of Breccles was not a recusant, but his wife was, and his house was said to be a great resort of recusants and seminary priests. In 1587-8, Anne Howlet, a prisoner in the common gaol, was liberated, on bonds of 40*li* taken for her appearance, as her husband was conformable in religion, and was said to be very careful to persuade her to the like obedience.⁷

Instructions to the bishop to grant liberty upon bond to Richard Lasher, a scrivener, he being very poor, and having 'nothing to sustain his wife and many children, but his onlie industrie and traveyle in his profession,' and there being likewise some hope of his conformity (23 May, 1591),⁸ shows how hardly the laws must have pressed upon the poor. But most of the recusants in Norfolk were men of property, a fact which in some cases was their undoing, for there seem to have been always neighbours ready to inform against them in the hope of profiting by a grant of their recusancy fines ; Robert Clytherowe of Walsoken in Marshlande is even injuriously indicted as a recusant without cause, and had his corn and cattle restored to him on certificate of the bishop that he had been proceeded against in malice.⁹

Robert de Grey, a staunch Roman Catholic, seems to have been very persistent in evading the laws against recusants. A truly pathetic case is that of Mr. Humphrey Bedingfield, of Quidenham, who was already an old man at the time of his first imprisonment in 1578. By order of the Council, 20 March, 1588,¹⁰ he was committed to the charge of the parson of Quidenham, Mr. Reeve, with orders not to depart two miles distant from Mr. Reeve, and this is granted 'forasmuch as there is good hope of his conformity in religion, if he might have conference with some that are of right opinion therein, and for his ill-health'; but he was perhaps too old to change, for letters of Archbishop Whitgift of 1599¹¹ speak of Humphrey Bedingfield of Quidenham, recusant, as aged and infirm, and of very quiet and honest conversation, and ask that his appearance in person

¹ *Acts P. C.* xxiii, 208.

² *Ibid.* xxii, 366.

³ *Ibid.* xxi, 144.

⁴ *Ibid.* 176, 215.

⁵ *Ibid.* xxii, 203.

⁶ *Ibid.* xxiii, 343.

⁷ *Ibid.* 454.

⁸ *Ibid.* xvii, 112.

⁹ *Ibid.* 336, 365.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* xv, 368.

¹¹ In a MS. collection at Merton Hall relating to Norfolk recusants, 1597-1600, described *Norfolk Arch.* ix, 283.

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may be excused ; they add that he is said to be grown into great decay and poverty, and that he had been enlarged out of prison eleven years before, and committed to the private custody of a clergyman, one Daniel Reeve, D.D. (he had been appointed rector of Quidenham, 8 June, 1584, by consent of Humphrey himself). He lingered on, and had his confinement altered, 6 June, 1600,¹ that he might repair to the house of his son-in-law, Anthony Thwaytes, by reason of his sickness.²

The bishop of Norwich had had many other difficulties to deal with in addition to the recusancy question. When the multitude and the violence of the religious changes which had taken place since the first attack on the old order was made by Henry VIII are considered, it can be no matter for surprise that, though by the end of Elizabeth's reign there were beginning to be signs of recovery from the spiritual disorder which marked its commencement, this was accompanied by a very serious endangering of the ecclesiastical position. It not unfrequently happened that ministers were opposed by their congregation, either because they were disapproved of for their conformity or for its opposite. In 1576 a petition was presented to Parliament by certain preachers in Norwich concerning ceremonies insisted on by the bishop, against whom they made complaint ;³ and his suspension in that year of Richard Gawton, one of their number, who refused the surplice, set at nought the rubrics, preached without licence, and repudiated the existing church government, attracted much attention by reason of Gawton's friendship with Field and Wilcox, the authors of the *Admonition*, and among those who in 1572 drew up a definite Presbyterian organization at Wandsworth.⁴ In the same year also various persons were apprehended for publishing infamous books and libels against the dean.⁵ In 1578 the bishop was engaged in a hot dispute with his chancellor, Dr. Beacon, about fees,⁶ and was censured for using over-much severity, 'the circumstances being so rare and strange as to seem almost incredible.' He was also accused of having made such heavy claims against the estate of his predecessor as threatened to absorb the legacies which had been made to his servants and for pious uses within the city of Norwich.⁷ But for this his predecessor's administration should perhaps be blamed rather than himself. It is certain that he offered a firm resistance to Elizabeth's shameless spoliation of the bishopric of Ely, and to attack him would consequently be looked on as a profitable course to adopt.

¹ *Acts P. C.* xxx, 356.

² Among his fines he had to contribute in 1598 to the furnishing of post-horses. Other Norfolk recusants who had to contribute in August and September of that year (*Acts P. C.* vol. xxix) are Henry Everard of Swinsteede, Robert Downes of Melton, John Yaxley of Brumpton, Robert Lovell of Beechamwell, and Henry Carvell of Wiggenshall (31 August) ; Edward Wolverton of Wolverton, John Downes of Babingley, John Drewrie of Hamsworth, Henry Hubbard of Fincham, Giles Townsend of Wearham, Elizabeth Bedingfield of Holme Hall, Roger Townsend of Long Stratton, Thomas Foster of Old Buckenham, and William Melton of Buckenham Martin (3 September).

It is interesting, in connexion with the recusant families of Norfolk, to notice that when, on the death of Edward VI, Queen Mary's life and title were in jeopardy by the proceedings of the duke of Northumberland (much feared in Norfolk, since, as earl of Warwick, he put down Ket's rebellion), she took refuge in her palace at Kenninghall in Norfolk, and among the gentry who favoured her title and religion, and who waited upon her then, were Sir Henry Jerningham, Sir Henry Bedingfield, Sir William Drury, Sir John Shelton, and Mr. John Sulyard. (Blomefield, iii, 266.)

³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ii, 44.

⁴ Stephens, *Hist. of Engl. Ch.* v, 196.

⁵ *Acts P. C.* ix, 25.

⁶ *Ibid.* x, 320, 336, 394 ; and *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1547-80, pp. 601, 602, 604, 607.

⁷ *Acts P. C.* x, Pref. 25, and 320, 336, 369, 390, 394.

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Matthew Hamount, a plowright of Hethersett, was burnt in the Castle Ditch at Norwich, 20 May, 1579; he was condemned and sentenced by the bishop on the Tuesday before Easter, 14 April, for having said that

the New Testament and Gospel of Christ is but mere foolishness, a mere fable; that Christ is not God or the Saviour of the world, but a mere man, a shameful man, and an abominable idol; that he did not rise again from death or ascend unto Heaven; that the Holy Ghost is not God; and that baptism is not necessary, nor the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ;

and because he said the Queen's Majesty was of his opinion, he was also condemned by the recorder and mayor to lose both his ears, which were cut off 13 May.¹

In 1580 the bishop received directions for the suppression and examination of the sect of the Family of Love, 'of whom divers had been discovered in Norfolk.'² In 1581 he committed to custody Robert Browne,³ the founder of the sect called the Brownists, who has been claimed as the father of Congregationalism. He was a kinsman of Cecil, Lord Burghley, to whose powerful protection he appealed more than once, and never found it fail him. He had been before the archbishop in 1571, and was then censured by him. The whole story of his career was one of inconformity with whatever religious body his lot for the time was cast among, and the epithet Strype applied to him of 'very freakish' is perhaps the best description of him.⁴ On leaving Cambridge he had at once begun to preach without the bishop's licence. A licence was procured for him, but he was finally inhibited from preaching. Eventually he came to Norwich, where he and Robert Harrison, a former fellow-collegian, who had been dismissed from the mastership of Aylsham School, gathered a small company of believers, who called themselves 'the Church,' and came to be known as 'Brownists.' He was the subject of endless complaints to the bishop, and, in 1581, migrated with many of his followers to Middelburg, where he entered into a fierce controversy with the accredited ministers of the English Puritan Colony there. At last his congregation was broken up and he returned to England. In 1589 he conformed, and perhaps the last phase of his nonconformity may be discovered in this final repudiation of his own previously adopted principles. His sect and tenets remained long after he himself had renounced them, and Sir Walter Raleigh computed the number of Brownists or Separatists in Norfolk and Suffolk at not less than twenty thousand.

According to a manuscript register in Dr. Williams's Library, Archbishop Whitgift's call for a return of the clergy and a report as to their conformity, in 1583, shows that sixty-four ministers in Norfolk were not resolved to subscribe.⁵

In 1584 Bishop Freake was transferred to Worcester,⁶ and the following year Bishop Scambler was removed from Peterborough to Norwich. Wharton suggests that Scambler ruined both sees, and he was notorious as a

¹ Harl. MS. 537, fol. 113.

² *Acts P. C.* xii, 233, 317.

³ Strype, *Life of Archbishop Parker*, ii, 69.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ John Browne, *Hist. of Congregationalism in Norf.* 29.

⁶ In 1580 he had proposed a very notable scheme for the revival of the office of rural dean, by which many abuses of the bishop's court would have been checked. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, ii, pt. ii, 695.

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shameless spoiler. But his most unenviable distinction is that he urged the speedy execution, as a dangerous person of blasphemous opinions,¹ of Francis Ket, who in 1589 was burned alive in the Castle Ditch at Norwich. Ket seems to have been a mystic of the type of Johann Scheffler. Burton² notes 'how holy he would seem to be, the Sacred Bible almost never out of his hands, himself alwayes in prayer.' He was a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, and a grandson of Robert Ket, and is described as of Wymondham.

In 1584 a successor to the Unitarian Matthew Hamount had been burnt at Norwich in the person of John Lewes (who called himself Abdoit), condemned for denying the godhead of Christ and for 'other detestable opinions.'³

Bishop Scambler died 7 May, 1594, and William Redman, archdeacon of Canterbury, was consecrated 12 January, 1595. Chamberlain, writing to Sir Dudley Carleton, described him as 'one of the wisest of his coat.'⁴ The records of Norwich⁵ show that throughout his episcopate a steady effort was made to insist on the strict observance of Lent in Norwich and the rest of the diocese. He died 25 September, 1602, and was succeeded by Bishop Jegon, consecrated 20 February, 1603, who had previously been, in succession, master of Corpus Christi College, vice-chancellor of the university, and dean of Norwich.

We find James throughout his reign anxious that the decencies of religion should be insisted on; from the first also it was evident he wished to show tolerance to the recusants, and after a conference on 17 July, 1603, with a deputation of loyal Catholics, he settled to remit, at any rate, the collection of the fine of 20*ti* per month levied on the gentry for non-attendance at church. Acting on his instructions a general inquiry was instituted by the archbishop, and the returns for the archdeaconry of Norwich, dated 12 July, 1603, are in existence,⁶ and furnish a most interesting account of that portion of the country, which may presumably be taken as fairly representative of the whole. It gives the number of those who received the communion in every parish; the numbers of recusants, both men and women, without specifying their names; of those who did not receive communion; the names of all double-beneficed men in the diocese, whether they be endowed with vicarages or served with curates; what the vicarages were valued at; the stipend of the curate; the name of every parsonage endowed with a vicarage; and the patrons of the several benefices. The return for this archdeaconry shows, as might be expected, a very small number of non-communicants in comparison with the number of communicants; it shows also that where benefices were held in plurality they were of small value and only a short distance apart, and the name and state of the incumbent being given in each case proves that many of them were graduates at the universities. The

¹ Lansd. MS. 982, fol. 162 (B.M.)

² Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* ix, 10.

³ Liber Ruber Civitatis, fol. 12; Ledger Book, fol. 202; Dec. et Cap. Norw. fol. 185-6, &c.; Correspondence between the council and the mayor and aldermen.

In 1568 a proclamation calling attention to the slackness in keeping Saturday as well as Wednesday and Friday in Lent as fish days had been issued. In 1585 the provision with regard to Wednesdays was repealed (Stephen, *Hist. of the Engl. Ch.* v, 101).

⁶ Harl. MS. 595, 39, i, 166. Printed in *Norf. Arch.* x, p. i, by Dr. Jessopp (B.M.).

⁴ David's evidence, 124.

⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1601-3, p. 249.

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number of recusants, though perhaps less than might have been expected, is still considerable.¹

The archives of the same archdeaconry give a deplorable picture of the state of decay and neglect into which some of the parish churches had fallen by the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. The archdeacon's books for the years 1601 and 1603-4 state that at Braydiston,

'the porch there is uncovered in the rooffe; the church is annoyed with a heap of chips and ould tymber, very unseemelie; the church wyndowes in many places are broken'; at Beighton, 'the steeple there is to be new builded, the one half thereof is built, the other undone, so y^t it lieth open and the vermyn and fowles come into the same and defile the church'; at Upton, 'the chauncell there is in great ruine and decaie, so y^t the fowles and vermyn come in and do greatly defile the same; the grave of Edmond Browne is as yet uncovered, *culpa uxoris sue*; there is a sawing pit made in the churchyard there verie unseemelie, and in making thereof they digged up the dead'; at Buckenham, 'there want a comelie carpit for the communion table; the windowes of the church in many places there decaied and broken; the cloath of the communion table there is full of holes. The porch wanteth thaching'; at Wickhampton, 'the church there is unthached, the churchyard is unfenced'; at Lingwood, 'the pavement of the chauncel is decaied; the chauncell there to be comelie whyted; the dore of the said chauncell to be made new or the old dore to be sufficiently amended.'

The records also give the impression that those clergy who tried to bring about a more seemly and orderly condition of affairs in their churches were often met by a spirit in their parishioners which can only be described as impracticable. Much has been made of injudicious attempts to enforce conformity, but in Norwich it would appear that inexhaustible patience was exhibited in dealing with men who did not intend that order of any sort should be established. Among the clergy, and among their congregations, were many who rebelled against all regulations, even their own, after they had existed for any length of time. That this was the inevitable result of all that had gone before will be conceded, but it must have been difficult for the men who were in the midst of it always to keep this in mind, and yet that this was done is clear from a careful examination of the evidence.

It must be supposed that the vicar of Upton and his parishioners held greatly opposed views as to the manner in which he should discharge his duties,² and though 'Wicked Will' can hardly have been the exponent of

¹ The numbers are:—For Scottow, 1 woman; Colby, 1 man; Brampton, 4 women; Barston, 1 man; Latheringsett, 1 man and 2 women; Gunthorpe, 1 man, 1 woman; Sharrington, 1 man; Wells, 1 woman; East Walton and Bawsey, 1 woman; West Walton, 1 woman and 1 man; Wiggenhall (Jermyn), 1 man and 1 woman; Wiggenhall (Magdalen), 1 man; Wiggenhall (Mary), 15 men and 4 women; Strumpeshawe, 1 man and 1 woman; Postwick, 1 man; Thorpe Episcopi, 1 man, 2 women; (SS. Simon and Jude, Norwich), 1 man, 3 women; Thorpe, 1 man and 2 women; Ormesby, 1 man, 2 women; Caston and Woodrising, 1 man, 2 women; Breccles, 1 man, 2 women; Drayton, 1 woman; city of Norwich: St. Peter Mancroft, 1 woman; Eaton, 1 woman; and St. George's, Tombland, 5 men, 1 woman.

Fresh penal laws against recusants were passed in 1605 and 1606, and the profits of recusancy began to be used as a form of royal pension.

The State Papers Domestic show that grants of the benefits of the recusancy of the Norfolk gentry were continually made. The name of Walter Norton appears 29 Dec. 1603; William Staunton, 23 Dec. 1607; Lady Cobb, 21 Mar. 1608; Chas. Waldegrave of Staining Hall, 11 Mar. 1609; Edward Keynes, jun., 20 July, 1609; Cordwall Bradbury of Pickenham, 27 June, 1611; Margaret Browne of Fremnoll, 2 July, 1611; Charles Waldegrave and George Gryme, 12 Feb. 1612. On 4 Nov. 1620, the apprehension of 'Carvell of Norfolk, who is said to be treasurer of the recusants, and a contributor to the Emperor,' is recorded (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1619-23, p. 189).

² It appears from the records in the register of the archdeaconry of Norwich that the vicar, Sir Thomas Deyrton, was named in 1586 for 'abusing his parishioners with evill words,' and for 'not teaching the catechism, as he was commanded, to the youthe,' and again in 1597 for 'that he negligentlie supplieth his duetie, not reading of divine service.' Also that in 1612 'William Enderton, commonly called by the name of Wicked

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the views of any religious party, the lightness of his punishment suggests not only great forbearance on the part of the vicar, but even the possibility that he may have thought it unwise to inflict a severer one, considering the state of public opinion in his parish.

The number of puritan deprivations in the see of Norwich in 1605 was only five,¹ which says much when the extreme views of many of the clergy there are remembered.

The wages of the ministers of the city of Norwich were the subject of a petition to Parliament from them in 1605, and an order of Council was directed to the mayor and city, requiring them—

to enter into the due consideration of the estates and abilities of all the inhabitants of the said parishes, and from time to time to set down a proportionable tax on every one of them, such as shall be competent for the maintenance of the said ministers respectively, to be yearly paid them according to their difference in gifts, sufficiency, and diligence in their function.—15 Feb. 1606.

Blomefield says—²

And thus the ministers' wages used to be raised for some time, till Matthew Wren, bishop of Norwich, in 1638 procured His Majesty King Charles I to declare his royal pleasure under the great seal that if any person within the said city of Norwich should refuse to pay according to the rate of 2s. in the pound, in lieu of the tithes of houses, unto the minister of any parish within the sayd city, that the same should be heard in the Court of Chancery, or in the consistory of the bishop of Norwich, and that in such case no prohibition should be granted against the bishop of Norwich, etc., which by reason of the succeeding troubles, never took effect;

notwithstanding which, this was made the ground of one of the articles of impeachment against Bishop Wren.

In 1605 also an action was brought against the city of Norwich by the dean and prebends,³ concerning the charging the inhabitants in their precinct for the poor with the rest of the city; the dispute was not settled until 1614, when the precinct was exempted from paying to the city poor and obliged wholly to maintain its own.

In 1615 Thomas Tunstall, a priest, was hanged, drawn, and quartered, at the gallows beyond Magdalen gates. He confessed that he was a Benedictine friar by vow but not by act.⁴

Bishop Jegon is said to have been unpopular in his diocese because of his insistence on conformity, and because he did not exhibit a liberality in money matters at all in proportion to his great wealth. Archbishop Whitgift wrote to Sir Robert Cecil that he considered himself greatly abused by the bishop's having procured the mastership of Corpus Christi College for his brother Thomas at his resignation. He made the same brother archdeacon of

Will, servant of Robert Fisher, and Simon Bullocke of the said towne, did profanely and disorderly behave themselves in this sort, viz. upon Christmas daie last in the time of evening prayer, they came into the parish church of Upton aforesaid, with a great whalles bone upon their shoulders, and with y birdes, a robin redbreast and a wrenne, tied by a thridde and hanging upon the said bone, the said William making a great and a roing noyse all waie of his coming, and they went staggering to and fro in the mid allie in a scoffing and a wild profane manner, by the minister's seate (the sayd minister being reading divine service) they fell downe as though they were hevelly or grevously loaden, and then and there the sayd Wicked Will in such wild and profane and lewde maner as befor, kneling upon his knees he praid for the sayd Mr. Deyrton and his wife and for his great dog, to the dishonor of Almighty God, profanacion of the place, and evil example of others. Sexto Aprilis, 1612.' His punishment was to acknowledge his fault in the face of the church.

¹ Stephens, *Hist. of the Engl. Ch.* v, 321.

² Ibid. 60.

³ Blomefield, iii, 361.

⁴ Ibid. 366.

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Norwich in September, 1604, and six months afterwards managed to get for him the second stall in the cathedral, having induced its previous occupant to resign. One of the king's first appointments was that of Dr. Montgomery, a Scotchman, to the deanery, 7 June, 1603. Next year the dean was appointed to three bishoprics in Ireland—Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, and Dr. Edmund Suckling obtained for himself, 27 April, 1604, grant of the reversion of the deanery at the next avoidance. But although Dean Montgomery took up residence at once in Ireland, he could not be induced to relinquish his deanery until ten years had elapsed, and even then had to be indemnified for his loss of income. Dean Suckling in 1618, during the vacancy of the see on the death of Bishop Jegon, protested against the visitation of the see by the archbishop on the ground that the see was free from all ordinary or metropolitan visitation.¹ He was answered that the dean and chapter were subject to the visitation of the archbishop; that the see being vacant for the time, the rights of the dean and chapter were therefore obsolete and extinct; and that they had been subject to the ordinary visitation of the bishop of Norwich in 1586 and to the visitation of the archbishop in 1568.

Bishop Jegon died 13 March, 1617–18, and was succeeded² 21 May, 1618, by John Overall, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, described by Fuller as a 'discreet presser of conformity';³ the prominent part he had taken in enlarging the Church Catechism and in defence of the Thirty-nine Articles as well as his own visitation articles,⁴ confirm this. His connexion with Norwich was short, as he died 12 May, 1619.

He was succeeded by Samuel Harsnet, bishop of Chichester, who was translated to Norwich in June of the same year. He must have been a man of moderation, as he was denounced both for papistical and puritanical leanings. He is said to have expended 2,000 *li* in the repair of the episcopal palaces at Norwich and Ludham.⁵

In 1621 thirty-two ministers of the city of Norwich petitioned the Council for a renewal of the orders issued fifteen years before, that they might have a certain maintenance from the English in the town of 20 pence in the pound on the rent of their houses, as already granted from the Dutch and French inhabitants. They described themselves as at present dependent on the pleasure of the people.⁶ In the same year the bishop and mayor had to intervene in the affairs of the Walloon congregation; one Denis l'Ermite having complained that, being made a freeman of Norwich and frequenting the English church, he was still required by the French church to resort there as formerly. In a letter to the Council of 25 September, 1621, the bishop and mayor appear as champions of the French church. They declared that the innovation attempted by l'Ermite, and followed by others, of leaving their church and refusing to contribute to their ministers, would ruin the Walloon congregation settled fifty-five years before, and said that they had ordered l'Ermite to conform to the French church, which he promised to do, but afterwards refused on some unjust displeasure against the minister.

¹ Add. MS. 32092, fol. 306.

² The appointment of a successor to Bishop Jegon was the subject of a scandal very typical of the time (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1611–18, p. 532), 'The dean of St. Paul's fails to succeed the bishop of Norwich because he was so open in offering his 2,500 thanks that the court lacqueys talk of it.'

³ *Worthies*, 61.

⁴ Norwich, 1620.

⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1634–5, p. 10. Ludham had been burnt down in 1611.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1619–23, p. 259.

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Their order was confirmed by the Council, 10 October, 1621,¹ and in the month of January following, Denis l'Ermite was again reported to the Council for refusing payment of the rate of one penny per shilling on his house rent, levied for the maintenance of Fulk Roberts, the minister of the parish of St. Saviour's, according to the agreement made on the first entry of the strangers.² It can be easily understood that this double payment was found a heavy burden by the strangers, but it had been an original condition of their settlement, and Denis l'Ermite seems to have persistently tried to evade contribution to either; appearing again in 1623 with Joel Desormeaux and Samuel Cambry, who were reported by the mayor and justices of Norwich to the Council for refusing to pay contributions to the minister and poor of the Walloon congregation, with a note by the bishop that they allege petty grievances against the minister as the ground of their refusal, and that unless exemplary justice be exacted from them the Walloon congregation will fall to nothing.³ It is plain that it was to the process of disintegration which had begun in the Walloon congregation itself more than to the action of the bishop's successors that its ultimate disappearance was due. Sufficient credit has hardly been given to the bishops or the Council for their endeavours to preserve this congregation of strangers. As late as 1631⁴ we find an order of the Council to the Dutch church at Norwich that all members of the said church, although born in the kingdom, shall continue to be of such church so long as His Majesty shall please, and shall contribute to the maintenance of the ministry and poor as occasion shall require, which shows that attempts to evade this were continued.

In May, 1624, an accusation was brought against the bishop in Parliament, of suppressing lectures and sermons at Norwich, exacting undue fees, negligence in registrarship, prosecuting his parishioners for not praying to the east or standing during the *Te Deum*, etc., and commanding the setting up of images in churches. His defence was that he only put down lectures when they interfered with attendance on common prayer or cathedral service; that he had established several where needed, and that the accusations proceeded from the Puritans, whom he had vainly endeavoured to bring to conformity. He denied the other charges made by Mr. Stokes, a disappointed candidate for the archdeaconry of Norfolk.⁵ Locke writing to Carleton, 21 May, 1624,⁶ says that these charges were preferred against the bishop of Norwich by factious Puritans and reported to the Upper House by Sir Edward Coke, who, lawyerlike, amplified them, but that the bishop's answers were so satisfactory that the matter would have dropped had he not himself requested it to be examined for his credit's sake, and it was referred to the archbishop. A few days later the king, in his speech in reply to the speaker of the House of Commons, declared that he would rather commend than punish the bishops of Norwich and London for setting up and adorning images in churches and putting down popular lay lecturers, but would punish any suppression of popular ministers.⁷

¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1619-23, p. 297. The order is that Denis l'Ermite and all others of the Walloon congregation, although born in England, shall continue to belong to the Walloon church and conform to its discipline.

² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1619-23, p. 548.

³ *S. P. Dom.* vol. 165, No. 2, 19 May, 1624.

⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1623-5, 2 June, 1624, p. 265.

⁵ *S. P. Dom.* cxix. No. 58, 31 Jan. 1621.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1629-31, p. 476.

⁷ *Ibid.* 21 May, 1624.

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Though nonconformity continued to flourish in Norfolk, signs are not wanting that conformity also was reviving. In July, 1624, the bishop wrote to the bailiffs of Yarmouth thanking them for their diligence in suppressing conventicles.¹

An idea of the appearance of the Norwich churches at Christmas-time can be obtained from the churchwardens' account books²; and the sums expended in ivy and holly for decoration at this festival suggest a genial celebration not altogether compatible with rigidly Puritan ideas. This regard for times and seasons shows a different spirit from that exhibited at the archdeacon's visitation in 1609, when it appeared that six churches in Norwich were not even furnished with a surplice, two had no cup for the communion, and one had no linen cloth for the table.

In 1627³ the action of the dean, Dr. Edmund Suckling, in privately obtaining the grant of a patent respecting his deanery was called in question, and a dispute also arose concerning a charter obtained from the late king by the dean, and certain local statutes granted by him. It resulted in the dean's being committed to custody and suspended from office, and the prebendaries being called on to take charge of the government of the church. The report on the petition against the new statutes for the government of the cathedral church was referred to the king, and on 15 May, 1629, he confirmed the foundation by Edward VI of the chapter of Norwich, consisting of a dean, six prebendaries, and other ministers.⁴

By this time Bishop Harsnet had been made archbishop of York, to which see he was translated in November, 1628, being succeeded by Dr. Francis White, bishop of Carlisle, whose tenure of Norwich was but short; he was translated to Ely in 1631. Before his appointment to Norwich he had greatly distinguished himself as a controversialist. He brought a suit against his predecessor for dilapidations in 1631.⁵ Richard Corbet, bishop of Oxford, who succeeded him 7 May, 1632, did not hold the see even for so long a period, as he died 28 July, 1635.⁶

The popular system of endowing lectureships, where the lecturers, who were the leaders of resistance against episcopal authority, preached apart from the Prayer Book services, and not without contempt of the parish clergy, had firmly established itself in Norfolk. In the State Papers Domestic for 1630⁷ are some notes endorsed in Laud's hand, 'The feofment of Norwich,' describing a committee of twelve trustees for the advancement of religion in Norwich and Norfolk, which supplied the lecturers with funds, and he thus qualifies their methods:—

These trustees in their orders which they have framed have set down divers qualifications for the men whom they intend to provide for, as that they must be graduates,

¹ Swinden, *Hist. of Great Yarmouth*, 877–33.

² See article on Christmas church decorations at Norwich, *Eastern Counties Collectanea*, p. 144. St. Peter Mancroft. 1619. Paid Ram for hulver and Ivy at Christmas, 18*d*. 1621. P*a* for hollver & Ivey frankensene & packthred agaynst Christmis 20*d*. St. Mary Coslany. 1619. Payd Inerson for hulver at Chrismus & for brommes xij*d*. 1622. Item. Payd for hulver and Ive to garnesse y^e church 1*s*. St. Lawrence. 1625. Paid the clarke for the lining washing, for Bery hulver and Ivey & for Bromes 3*s*. 10*d*. St. Gregory. 1627. It^m for holver and ivy vij*d*.

³ S. P. Dom. xliv, 49; xlvii, 3; lv, 50; lxviii, 40.

⁴ Rymer, *Foedera*.

⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* vol. 1629–31, p. 537.

⁶ During his episcopacy a contest between the church and the city as to certain rights and liberties was arbitrated by the Lord Keeper and Mr. Justice Hutton, 2 July, 1634. (Blomefield, iii, 377).

⁷ Vol. dxxxi, 134 (*Cal. S. P. Dom. Add.* 1625–49, p. 400).

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conformable to the orders of the church, &c., but this only to the eye of the world. They have gathered up among good people 200*ti*, which they have sent up to 'our proto-trustees' in London, who will pay to one Bridges,¹ an absurd, turbulent fellow, by the way of Christian usury, 20*ti* per cent. yearly. That which they call at London spiritual preaching he calls preaching by expressions.

An instance of the way the system worked occurred at Yarmouth, where Mr. George Burdett was appointed lecturer by the Council 1 January, 1633.² The bishop had to settle a dispute between Dr. Matthew Brookes, minister of Great Yarmouth, and the lecturer, George Burdett, by 19 March, 1633.³ His settlement was eminently impartial. He ordered that minister and lecturer should each read prayers before his sermon; that all fees should go to the lecturer; that the lecturer should preach on all the scarlet days as they called them, and the minister should give the blessing to their fishing yearly, which they called the fishing sermon. On Wednesday the lecturer to begin his sermon at ten o'clock in the morning, but if there happened that day a christening, marriage, or funeral service, or churching service, the lecturer to begin his sermon at eight o'clock in the morning. Before this, in January, 1632,⁴ a commission had been appointed to settle a dispute between the dean and chapter of Norwich and the town of Yarmouth, and between Mr. Brookes, minister there, and the same town. Mr. George Burdett⁵ finally brought himself under the censure of the High Commission Court, and withdrew to New England, 'since which time there hath been no lecture, and very much peace in the town.'

The request of the dean, Dr. Hassall, 1 April, 1631, to Secretary Dorchester, for his coat-of-arms,⁶ is accompanied as an explanation by the description of an interesting custom. He writes that the bishop of Norwich has the same power of calling preachers to the cathedral as the bishop of London has of summoning preachers to Paul's Cross. He describes the solemnity which attends these sermons, which are preached in the winter within the cathedral, and from Easter to Michaelmas in a place called the Green Yard, where stands a pulpit very like Paul's Cross. This pulpit, being lately re-edified, is to be beautified with the arms of the king and three or four of the prime nobility; and the request to the secretary to send down his coat-of-arms for insertion, by the next week's carts, is made because the work is being done while he is high steward of the church. This re-edification was part of that persistent effort to restore a standard of seemliness and dignity in public worship which was so dear to the heart of Charles. And a letter was sent, 23 March, 1635, to the mayor and corporation by the king requiring their constant attendance at this sermon preached every Sunday morning either in the cathedral or Green Yard, and that they shall be there at the beginning of the service after the manner observed in the city of London, none to absent himself unless allowed by the bishop. At a court held 25 July, 1636, it was ordered that this should be done, and the manner of assembling for the procession was arranged.⁷ It

¹ Mr. Bridge subsequently held, in addition to his lectureship, two cures, the rectories of St. Peter Hungate and St. George Tombland. He added non-residence to plurality by withdrawing to Holland and remaining there rather than conform. He returned in 1642, but was ejected at the Restoration.

² *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1631-33, p. 507

⁴ *Ibid.* 1631-33, p. 259.

⁶ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1631-33, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.* 557.

⁵ Blomefield, xi, 370-72.

⁷ Blomefield, iii, 379.

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can well be imagined how this somewhat peremptory insistence on an excellent practice might irritate the citizens of Norwich at this juncture.¹

In April, 1635, Sir Nathaniel Brent held a metropolitical visitation in the diocese as Laud's vicar-general.² It furnishes a most interesting account of the condition of the churches visited, which suggests that the non-conformity in Norfolk was not so virulent as that of Suffolk, but shows a lamentable state of neglect in many parishes. The report of Norwich, visited 6, 7, 8 April, is that—

the Cathedral Church is much out of order. The hangings of the choir are nought, the pavement not good, the spire of the steeple is quite down, the copes are fair, but want mending. The churchyard is very ill-kept . . . There is likewise a window that letteth smoke and casteth an ill-savour into the north side of the church. . . . Many ministers appeared without priests' cloaks, and some of them are suspected for non-conformity, but they carried themselves so warily that nothing can be proved against them. . . . The Mayor and his brethren came not to visit me at my coming in. Afterwards I convented them for walking indecently in the cathedral church every Sunday in prayer-time before the sermon, and I admonished them to forbear for the future. . . .—*Swaffham*, 10 April: Few Puritans in this place, but much drunkenness, accompanied with all such vices as usually do attend upon it. The church is very fair and very well kept. Half of it was built by one Chapman, a pedlar.—*Lynn*, 13 April: Since the Court of High Commission took in hand some of their schismatics, few of that fiery spirit remain there or in the parts thereabout. But there are divers papists who speak scandalously of the Scriptures and of our religion. . . . The three churches in Lynn are exceeding fair and well kept, and the three ministers are very conformable and agree exceeding well, only in the principal church, called St. Margaret's, the communion table wanted a rail, and at the upper end of the choir instead of divine sentences of Scripture, divers sayings out of the Fathers were painted. . . . In these parts divers parsonage houses have been ruined, and much glebe land is embezzled.—*Fakenham*, 15 April: One Mr. Sline, a vicar, standing excommunicate, did officiate in his parish church, for which I have suspended him, and think fit he should be called into the High Commission Court next term. In these parts many parsonage houses are ruinous, for the repairing whereof a strict charge is given.—*Yarmouth*, 17 April: I was there entertained by the magistrates with very great solemnity. The town is now in quiet, and the chiefest promise absolute obedience to the laws of the church. Their church is very fair; it had two pulpits in it, standing one against the other, one of which I have caused to be taken down. The east end of the chancel is severed from the residue. The roof of the church is very ruinous. Two doors at the west end kept shut in time of divine service, and the churchyard thereunto adjoining it kept very indecently. . . . The magistrates desire a lecturer, but I find no inclination in them to give the choice of him to your grace.³

The following year other changes were ordered in the church of Great Yarmouth, where some inconvenient pews had been erected. At the visitation of the church by the bishop's commissioners, Drs. Corbet and

¹ The dean of Norwich mentioned in this connexion was a *protégé* of Elizabeth queen of Bohemia. On 10 December, 1624, he had written that he feared to misuse the queen of Bohemia's influence by accepting so poor a preferment as the deanery of Norwich, worth only 160*ti* a year. (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1623-5.) On the death of Bishop Corbet she wrote to Archbishop Laud commending to him Dr. Hassall, dean of Norwich, for whom she could answer that he was deserving and no Puritan. She added that she heard the bishop of Norwich was dead; that she said no more, but left all to the archbishop. This indirect but very plain request for the bishopric for this dean, who was no Puritan, received a courteous but very unpromising refusal from the archbishop, who, in explaining why he had not promoted the suit of the dean, made it clear that he considered Dr. Hassall guilty of overweening presumption in aspiring to the dignity.

² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1635. Abstract of Metropolitical Visitation, Pref. xxx, xxxi.

³ Under the year 1636, Blomefield, iii, 379, says that 'the pinnacle of the cathedral which had been injured by fire was re-edified. And now commotions began in the church, the citizens petitioning the mayor to get new lectures, catechizings, evening readings, &c., and to be performed by such factious persons as they should appoint. But the mayor and court refused them all, and would not apply to the Council as they desired.' Evidently all the onus for the discouragement of 'powerful preaching' did not rest with the bishop. As a matter of fact the moderate of both sides learnt to dread the lecturers as bitter instigators of strife and faction.

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Pawle, 10 June, 1636, it was ordered 'that all the highe pewes of the church be reduced to the height of the women's pewes,' and other orders were given for pewing.¹

The step taken in the latter part of August, 1635,² of sending directions to the strangers in the diocese that natives after the first descent shall conform to the English discipline and liturgy in their several parish churches, has been animadverted upon as an act of tyranny and one which produced a disastrous exodus of these desirable citizens, who in consequence returned to their native land. But it is evident from previous proceedings that the order was quite in harmony with the wishes of a large number of the persons concerned, and it was only to be expected that foreigners who had left their native land on account of religious persecution would take the first opportunity that offered of returning there. The letters of Peter Delawne and John Ellison, ministers of the French and Dutch congregations, in Norwich, in reply to Archbishop Laud's letter enclosing these directions, show no resentment, but on the contrary are couched in terms of gratitude.³ It is hardly to be supposed that this simply shows the servility of these ministers.⁴

Matthew Wren, bishop of Hereford, was translated to Norwich, 10 November, 1635. His was another very short occupation of the see, which he held for little over two years, being removed to the richer see of Ely in 1638. He had been chaplain to Charles, and the king had always a high respect for him. His ideal was 'uniformity of doctrine and uniformity of discipline,' and he had to deal with lecturers who were busily occupied in his diocese in working up the sabbatarian agitation, and in inveighing against the sinfulness of removing to the east end of the chancel the communion table, whose position in the aisle led to so many unseemly consequences, such as its use for the deposit of all kinds of burdens, hats, cloaks, etc., the inevitable rubbing and defilement of the communion cloth in the continual passing to and fro, and even in some cases to its being used as a bench and sat upon when seats were all full. Such a temper was working up⁵ that only a cipher could have failed to be the object of bitter animosity, and any cipher could obtain his share of the same, if he wore the title which was the head and front of all offending—that of bishop. Wren was no cipher, but a capable governor, who at Hereford had digested and reformed the statutes of the cathedral, and improved its revenues, and the public mind was soon excited against him after his removal to Norwich by William Prynne, who wrote against him under the name of Matthew White in *News from Ipswich*.

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 311 a and b.

² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1635, p. 340.

³ *Ibid.* p. 371.

⁴ The Puritans, however, could not refrain from making use of their enforcement as a ground of complaint, and it figures as one of the articles of impeachment against Bishop Wren. Even Clarendon accepts without questioning their assertion that he drove the foreign congregations out of the kingdom (*Hist.* vi, 183).

⁵ In November, 1637, Henry Tailor of Hardingham, and Susan his wife, were before the High Commission Court for having uttered factious and seditious words. Henry had insinuated that the archbishop was a favourer of popery. Susan had jeered at the service of the Church of England, and said it were as good to be at mass as at such service; she had also denied the right of the clergy to tithes, and affirmed that it was utterly unlawful for priests to have wives (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1637, p. 582). A news letter from C. Rossingham, 15 June, 1637, says that Alderman Atkins had removed from Norwich to London (1) because he was imprisoned for refusing to wear his arms at a general muster; (2) because of a prosecution of very many of the citizens of Norwich for not conforming to orders made by the bishop at his visitation; (3) also because there is very little preaching in that city (*ibid.* p. 219.)

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His brilliant intellectual attainments, and the liturgical knowledge which caused him to be selected as one of the revisers of the New Common Prayer Book for Scotland, would not be the least of his iniquities in puritan eyes.

In 1637-8¹ the ministers of Norwich again petitioned for the regulation of their wage. They complained that most of them had no certainty or competency for means of living, but by the voluntary courtesy of the people. It was ordered that the citizens and ministers should set down how much of certainty each minister had belonging to him, and what was allowed him by the voluntary contribution of the inhabitants, and also the contents of each parish, in regard of houses, rates, and number of communicants. The bishop and the petitioners undertook to present an authentic act of submission to the judgement of His Majesty from all the ministers of the city. It will be seen that proposals for assessments in these parishes were rendered necessary by the petition of these ministers, and were made on their behalf. But the action of the bishop in making them was also used as the ground of one of the articles of impeachment against him.

On his translation to Ely, the king asked Wren to furnish an account of his diocese of Norwich; and this is preserved among the Tanner Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. He advised the king² to divide that over-great diocese (having in it above 1,200 titles), and to make two competent ones of it; suggested that a cathedral for Suffolk might be had in Sudbury or St. Edmundsbury, with two archdeaconries, a dean, and four prebends in that county.

And for supply of maintenance [says he] there is a lease of the Greatest Part of the Bishopric of Norwich, containing about 80 parcels, granted at very low rents to Queen Elizabeth by Dr. Scambler (a chaplain of Archbishop Parker, who so desperately pill'd the bishopric of Peterboro' before, that he was by means of Secretary Heneage, translated to Norwich, to pleasure him the like there) which would very well bear a treble reserved rent.

Though he was translated on 5 May, 1638, his impeachment, on 19 December, 1640,³ the day after the impeachment of Archbishop Laud, was based mainly upon accusations made concerning his administration of Norwich. No more powerful argument in his favour could be provided than the spirit of invective in which the impeachment was drawn up; or its many imputations of motives, to which in his dignified answers he replied only by a categorical recitation of facts. The best account of ecclesiastical affairs in Norfolk during those two years is found in his defence, and in a certificate concerning the diocese furnished by Archbishop Laud to Charles in 1636; and is extremely valuable as typifying the course taken by an energetic bishop at this critical time in what was truly a hot-bed of nonconformity. His own 'Most Humble Answer' fully justifies Laud's assertion that he 'hath carried it with Temper.'⁴

Laud's certificate⁵ says:—

His lordship found a general defect of catechising quite through his diocese, but hath settled it; and in Norwich, where there are 34 churches, there was no sermon in the Sunday morning, save only in four, but all put off to the afternoon, and so no catechising.

¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637, pp. 167, 177.

² Wren, *Parentalia*, 51.

³ *Ibid* 45. He was severely handled by the Long Parliament, and imprisoned in the Tower almost twenty years, without ever being brought to trial for his pretended misdemeanours. In 1660 he was restored to his episcopal functions.

⁴ i.e. moderation.

⁵ Wren, *Parentalia*, 47.

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But now he hath order'd that there shall be a sermon every morning, and catechising in the afternoon in every church. . . .

At Yarmouth, where there was great division heretofore for many years, their Lecturer¹ being censur'd in the High Commission Court two years since, went into New England, since which time there hath been no lecture and very much peace in the town, and all ecclesiasticall Orders well observ'd. But in Norwich, one Mr. Bridge, rather than he would conform, hath left his lectures, and two cures, and is gone into Holland. (A note in the margin by King Charles is added here: 'Let him go, we are well berid of him.') The lecturers in the country generally observe no church orders at all; and yet the Bishop hath carried it with Temper, and upon their promise, and his Hopes of Conformity, he hath inhibited but three in Norfolk. . . .

For Recusants, whereas formerly there were wont to be but two or three presented, his Lordship hath caused above 40 to be indicted in Norwich at the last sessions. . . . His lordship's care hath been such as that though there are above 1,500 clergymen in that Diocese and many Disorders, yet there are not thirty excommunicated or suspended, whereof some are for contumacy and will not yet submit; some for obstinate denial to publish your Majesty's declaration; and some in contemning all the orders and Rites of the Church, and intruding themselves, without license from the ordinary, for many years together.

Last of all, he found that one half of the churches in his Diocese had not a Clerk able to read and to answer the minister in divine service; by which means the People were wholly disused from joining with the Priest, and in many places from so much as saying 'Amen.' But concerning this his Lordship hath strictly enjoined a Reformation.

Among the accusations against him are: that he employed his power to restrain powerful preaching; that in 1636 at Norwich he ordered chancels to be raised three or four steps; the communion table to be set at the east end, and a rail to be set about the table, and punished some, among them Daniel Weyman, for going within it; that he altered all pews so as to face east in the same year; ordered part of the communion service to be read at the communion table; used bowings and adorations to the altar; enjoined all persons to receive the sacrament kneeling at the rail, which caused many good people for fear of idolatry, to avoid, who were yet excommunicated;² that there should be no sermons on the Lord's Day in the afternoons, or week-days, without licence, and no catechizing but the questions and answers in the Common Prayer; that 'the more to confirm the people in profaning the Lord's Day' he enjoined the ministers to read publicly in the churches a book allowing sports on it, for not doing which several were suspended by him,³ and some deprived;⁴ that 'the more to alienate the people's hearts from hearing sermons he, in the said year, commanded all ministers to preach in their hood and surplice, a thing not used before in the diocese; and caused prayers to be omitted in the church of Knatshall two Lord's Days for want of a surplice;' that during his being bishop of Norwich, which was about two years and four months, he caused fifty godly ministers⁵ to be excommunicated, suspended, or deprived, for not reading the service at the communion table, for not reading the Book of Sports, for using conceiv'd prayers, and for not complying with some other illegal innovations, to the ruin of their families,

¹ See *ante* p. 282.

² B. M. Pamphlets, E. 168 (24). John Slyming, Samuel Duncan, Peter Fisher, Thomas Newton, Edward Bedwell, Edmund Day, John Frowar.

³ Ibid. Master William Leigh, Master Richard Proud, Master Jonathan Barr, Mr. Matthew Brownrigg, Mr. Mott, and divers others.

⁴ Ibid. Mr. Powell, Mr. Richard Raymond, Mr. Jeremy Borrowes, and some otherwise troubled.

⁵ Ibid. Among these: Masters William Powell, John Carter, Robert Peck, William Bridge, William Greene, Mott, Richard Raymond, Thomas Scot, Greenhill, Nicholas Beard, Hudson, Robert Kent, Jeremy Burrow, Thomas Allen, &c.

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whereby some of them were forced to go beyond the sea ;¹ that he had caused Mr. Edmund Calamy and others to leave the diocese ; that he employed for his commissioners, Rural Deans, etc., men he knew to stand affected to his innovated courses and to popish superstition, as Mr. John Nowell, Edmond Mapletoft, John Dunkin, Bonck, Dun, etc.

In his defence,² the bishop among other things says that at St. Margaret's, Lynn, the chancel was obscured by the erection of some seats with steps thereunto of a great height ; the chancellor of Norwich at one visitation gave order they should be altered ; then the mayor and others came to petition that the seats might remain as they were, and the chancel be raised, and this was done. That he had not ordered all pews to be altered that they might kneel with their faces altar-wise, but had made an inquiry with a view to checking abuses in pewing which had resulted from private individuals being allowed to build according to their own fancy. He denies that he in 1636 ordered the communion table to be set at the east end of the chancel, or that he ever used the word altar in any of his articles or directions ; but says that he had even permitted the removal of the table at communion time for more convenient hearing or communicating, as at Yarmouth where, although there was a rail by the vicar-general's appointment, he had given order that the communion table should always stand without and beneath the said rail ; that rails and inclosures before the communion table were not a thing newly or of late taken up, but necessary for preservation from defilement, etc. ; and also, that in visitation, he had often given instruction where to stand if any church were over large. That in all other reformed churches the communicants come to the table, which is the most convenient way, and avoids such mischances as might occur in carrying the sacrament to private seats. Also this has been the practice time out of mind, as at St. Michael's Coslany and elsewhere. Likewise that by his letters, once and again, he advised his chancellor not to cite or call into the court those that abode in the chancels and would not come up to the rail (7 May, 1637, and 23 May, 1637). That he excommunicated no man for not receiving ; nor doth he believe that any of them which are named in this article were excommunicated while he was bishop in Norwich. He therefore refers to the acts of court, as being informed that Fisher was never at all cited. Also that Newton, Bedwell, and Duncan were invited by the minister to come into the chancel, but they would not ; whereupon he told them that he would come down to them after he had administered to

¹ B. M. Pamphlets, E. 168 (24). Mr. William Bridge, Mr. Jeremy Burrowes, Mr. Thos. Allen, Mr. John Ward, and others of Norwich. It is noteworthy that this document, which leaves nothing unsaid of what might be supposed, or imagined to be the cause of any action of the bishop's, is content, when it comes to matters of fact, to fill up its lists, where the same names appear again and again under fresh accusations, with such vague phrases as 'and some otherwise troubled,' 'and others,' 'and many more.' As it even goes so far as to state that the death of Mr. Thomas Scot, minister of Norwich, which took place long after the bishop left the diocese, was in all probability to be traced to his persecution, no physical punishment being alleged, and he was in trouble in 1621, when Locke wrote to Carleton that he was sent for concerning 'the discourse,' and had gone away, it was thought into Holland (*S.P. Dom.* cxix, 99, Feb. 16) ; and in 1622 the same correspondence mentions that the bishop of Norwich has introduced Mr. Scot's brother to the archbishop of Canterbury, who promises him to favour his brother (*S.P. Dom.* cxxiv, 20, 20 Nov. 1622), it is hardly to be supposed that any name of which his accusers had actual knowledge would have been omitted. Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* (iii, 379), says that Francis Briggs, late of Honingham, clerk, curate of Barnham, Broom, and Welbourn, was deprived and degraded by the bishop of Norwich, 29 July, 1637, being convicted of wilfully murdering Rebecca Hunt, his servant, and was executed. Even the bishop's enemies must have allowed this punishment to be merited.

² Wren, *Parentalia*, 74-100.

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the rest ; but they went out of the church and would not stay. As for Slyming and Frowar, he never heard of them, and Edmund Day is long since dead. He denied that he did not allow the ministers to expound or open the catechism to the people, but stated that he directed that the catechism should be performed according to the catechism of the Church of England only, the great variety used being very distracting. He believed that no man was ever deprived for not reading the Book of Sports. As to ringing : the difference between bell-ringing, when there should be sermon or only prayers, had led to men coming only to sermon and not to prayers, and therefore he had enjoined no difference should be made ; in which matter he considered he used a lawful discretion. He described the prayers used when not out of the Prayer Book ; how some prayed for holy Machiavelism, some traduced the king and queen, etc. As to Knatshall he knows nothing, but the wearing of hood and surplice is no innovation, and has always been done at the cathedral, Wilby, Walsingham, etc. Mr. Scot was under suspension when the bishop came to the diocese : at his first court he absolved him for three months ; after that had him forborne for six months more ; after that for eight or nine months longer ; and had various letters from Mr. Scot expressing great acknowledgement of the favour, etc. Master William Powell was suspended for many defects against the canons, and had absolution soon after granted. Mr. Richard Raymond, the same. Mr. John Carter, curate in Norwich, of whom he had a good opinion till a succession of letters from his chancellor told him otherwise in 1636, he referred to his chancellor. Mr. Robert Kent, he finds, was a minister in Norwich now dead, whom the chancellor on one occasion suspended about ten in the forenoon, and absolved about three in the afternoon, he not paying a penny fee for his dismissal. Mr. Broom, curate in Norwich, fell under censure, was soon restored, and had licence *per totam diocesen*. Mr. Mott was suspended for direct defects and contumeliousness. Mr. William Bridge, being before in some intention to leave Norwich, was excommunicated for not appearing at the visitation (in which he was presented for very dangerous doctrines), and so presently departed to Holland. Yet was he after ten months' expectation restored again in the person of his proctor. But then, having left two cures all the while unprovided for, was in public form of law cited to residence, and not yet coming was expected near ten months more, and then the chancellor pronounced sentence of deprivation against him, as the law required, for desertion of his churches. Mr. Thomas Allen would not appear at the visitation and was excommunicated, then came into court and tendered a libel of defamation and defiance against all ecclesiastical government, and so absented himself for many months, was therefore cited to residence and deprived. Mr. John Ward of Norwich was excommunicated, cited, expected, and deprived for non-residence. Mr. Robert Peck was deprived for non-residence after a year's expectation ; it also appears by the records of this house, that Peck had been complained of by the justices to the bishop for misdemeanours, and that *annis* 1615, 1617, 1622, he was convicted for inconformity, simony, and non-residence. Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs and Mr. William Greenhill were deprived for non-residence. Mr. Edmund Calamy was never under any censure, but came to defendant two or three times in Suffolk and was very welcome to him ; Bishop Mountague

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removed him out of that diocese in that he would not permit him to continue as a lecturer in Bury, after he had taken the parsonage of Rochford in Essex. Mr. William Green, curate of Bromholm, was suspended for many defects, and among the rest for want of a clerical habit; but upon his submission he was presently absolved, and his licence to preach was only taken from him, he being very illiterate, having been of late by trade a tailor: of which sort of men many others must come into the reckoning to make up the number fifty that was under censure.¹ As to putting down of lectures, no answer can be expected unless a particular case be specified; but at Lynn there was a lecture, and at Norwich another, which the chancellor caused to be intermitted, and the defendant sent him word not to intermit the same. Two other lectures at Norwich had, the defendant now finds, been raised up the year before, whereof Mr. Bridge carried away one into Holland, and the other ceased by the lecturer returning home to his cure at Stalham, whereof he was vicar; and never did any of the city so much as crave an allowance from the defendant for others in their places. At North Walsham also he confirmed a lecture, one at Wymondham, and another at East Harling. As for rural deans he never used that name, nor did constitute any such.

The bishop also refutes charges as to extortionate fees, and other unworthy money transactions; and as to the accusation that he caused the exodus back to Holland of the strangers, says that it had begun before his installation, and was the result of lowered wages.

His successor, Richard Mountague, bishop of Chichester, who was translated to Norwich May, 1638, in the next year wrote of the diocese that it was 'as quiet, uniform, and conformable as any in the kingdom, if not more.'² He had distinguished himself as a brilliant controversialist, at first against the Romanists, but later, his pamphlets against Calvinism, called *A New Gag for an Old Goose* in reply to *A Gag for the New Gospel* brought upon him the wrath of the House of Commons. It can well be imagined how his record would militate against him in Norwich. But he was there for less than three years, and died 13 April, 1641, after having been again attacked in the House of Commons 23 February, 1641, on a petition from the inhabitants of St. Peter Mancroft concerning an inhibition directed by him against Mr. Carter, parson of that parish, after which a commission was appointed to consider his offences.

The saintly Bishop Hall followed, being translated from Exeter in December, 1641. Laud had suspected him of being favourable to Calvinistic and puritanical notions, and in his history of his troubles mentions his appointment in refutation of the charge that he offered preferment only 'to such men as were for ceremonies, popery and Arminianism;' but it was perhaps unfortunate that Norwich had in him at this juncture another bishop who had gained prominence not only for uprightness of purpose and character, but for intellectual force,³ and who was one of the most powerful defenders of episcopacy and the liturgy. He had fallen

¹ Several such cases are given in Suffolk and Cambridge, and include a weaver and stage-player, vicars non-resident for seventeen and twenty years, and not priests, some of debauched and scandalous life, and a Mr. Ash who intruded himself into a church where the minister had not been suspended.

² Laud, *Works*, v, 364.

³ Fuller (*Worthies*, 441) describes him as our 'English Seneca for his pure, plain, and full style.'

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under the Commons' dire disapproval when he was removed to the richer see of Norwich, and the king's action in making the appointment was bitterly resented.

He valiantly defended his order, and in his *Hard Measure* has left a vivid account of his own sufferings after the arrest of the bishops in 1641, on Pym's impeachment of them for high treason. They were liberated on bail, but their estates were forfeited; 400 *ti* a year was assigned for the maintenance of Bishop Hall, and he was ordered to go down to Norwich, where he made his first appearance early in 1642. On the passing of the act for the sequestration of the property of malignants April, 1643, commissioners were sent to Norwich, who not only impounded all the rents of the see then due, but seized everything in the palace, even the children's clothes. Utterly destitute, he applied to the committee of the eastern counties for an allowance, and the 400 *ti* already voted was assigned to him. This was at once stopped by the London committee, who ordered that only the fifth allowed to the wives and families of malignants should be granted him. Owing to difficulties in ascertaining the exact amount of the fifth, the bishop and his family were kept without payment.¹ He had been deprived of a great part of his private fortune also, and if it had not been for a small income his wife possessed, and for the profits still arising from the sale of his books, would have been in actual want. In 1644 the townsmen wrecked the cathedral and chapel,² and violently expelled the bishop from the palace, and he removed to Higham to a small house near the church, where he died 8 September, 1658; his life even in this time of poverty and distress was an example of steady uprightness and generosity. With great courage he had continued to ordain and institute even after the passing of the Covenant in 1644.

Even in puritan Norfolk the number of clergy ejected from their livings during the interregnum reached the not insignificant figure of eighty, and

¹ Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii, 55.

² In *Hard Measure* the bishop has left an account of this in his own words: 'Sheriff Toftes and Alderman Linsey searched my chapel for superstitious pictures, and sent for me to let me know those windows full of images must be demolished. I obtained leave that I might with the least loss and defacing of the windows give order for taking off that offence, which I did by causing the heads of those pictures to be taken off . . . There was not that care and moderation used in reforming the cathedral church bordering on my palace (10 June, 1644). It is no other than tragical to relate the carriage of that furious sacrilege, whereof our eyes and ears were the sad witnesses, under the authority and presence of Linsey (Alderman), Toites the sheriff, and Greenwood. Lord, what work was here! What clattering of glasses! What beating down of walls! What tearing up of monuments! What pulling down of seats! What wresting out of iron and brass from the windows and graves! What defacing of arms! What demolishing of curious stone-work, that had not any representation in the world, but only of the cost of the founder and skill of the mason! What tooting and piping on the destroyed organ pipes! And what a hideous triumph on the market day before all the county, when, in a kind of sacrilegious and profane profession all the organ pipes, vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross which had been newly sawn down from over the Green-yard pulpit, and the service books and singing books that could be had, were carried to the fire in the public market-place; a lewd wretch walking before the train in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service book in his hand, imitating in an impious scorn the tune, and usurping the words of the litany used formerly in the church. Near the public cross, all these monuments of idolatry must be sacrificed to the fire, not without much ostentation of a zealous joy, in discharging ordinance to the cost of some who professed how much they had longed to see the day. Neither was it any news upon this guild-day to have the cathedral, now open on all sides, to be filled with musketeers, waiting for the major's return; drinking and tobacconing as freely as if it had turned alehouse.' (Quoted in *Life of Bishop Hall*, by the Rev. John Jones, 405.) According to Blomefield (iii, 390), on 9 March, 1643-4, the court ordered that 'seven popish pictures that were taken from St. Swithin's, the Angel and Four Evangelists taken at St. Peter's, and Moses and Aaron and the four Evangelists that came from the Cathedral, and some other superstitious pictures, shall be burnt in the open market this day.'

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that is not inclusive of cathedral dignitaries who were displaced.¹ Of these it was said of Edmond Porter, prebendary of Norwich, and rector of Hevingham, who lived to see the Restoration, and only died in 1670, that 'he had provoked the party more than any of his brethren.' Perhaps nothing could explain so well the remarkable revulsion of feeling produced by the actual accession to power of the puritan party (a revulsion strong enough to bring it about that in 1660, Norwich was among the earliest cities to do homage to Charles, and in June presented him with 1000 *li* in gold and the fee farm of the city), than the spirit and methods exemplified by these ejections, most of them for political reasons. When the ordinance came out² that no sequestered minister should be allowed to teach a private school, there was nothing but penury left for most of them, and the widows and families of many had to be relieved by charity, some even coming upon the parish.

It is interesting to see that when Norfolk and Suffolk appeared among the eleven counties who petitioned for the abolition of episcopacy, Norfolk obtained 2,000 signatures to Suffolk's 4,400;³ and that when in 1653, the failure of State Presbytery and the neglect of ordinary church ordinances led to the formation of voluntary associations to deal with such questions as the want of means of ordination and of such modified discipline as would satisfy the clerical conscience, and enable them to administer the sacrament, Norfolk soon mustered a considerable number of members.⁴

¹ Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*. Dean Hassall (who died in such extreme poverty that one of his daughters was maintained by the parish); Dr. Andrew Bing, D.D., archdeacon of Norwich; Robert White, B.D., archdeacon of Norfolk; Prebendaries John Spendlow, M.A., Dr. Nicholas Howlet, D.D., Samuel Garey, B.D., Foulke Roberts, Dr. Edward Young, D.D., and Edmund Porter, D.D. Parochial clergy: Richard Anguish (Starston and Staring), Christopher Barnard (Dickleboro'), William Barwick (Hempnall), Thomas Bissing (Ighboro'), Robert Blowfield (Thorpe), Thomas Blofield (Axlenton), Thomas Botolph (Larlingford and Hackenham), Jo. Bretton (East Dereham), Matthew Brooke (Yarmouth), — Brown (Fowlesham), — Brown (Weston Longvile), Nath. Browne (Hunworth), — Burton (Fowlesham cum Themilthorp), Thomas Campbell (Swafeld), Stephen Carter (Horsford), Edward Catherall (Larbruck), — Catlin (Brinton), Robert Claphamson (Boughton), Hammon Claxton (Holt), — Coleby, D.D. (Cawston), Thomas Cooper (Edgefield), Thomas Craushay (Hardwick), Richard Davenport (Feltwell St. Nicholas), John Davy (Reningham), Edward Dobbs (Great Snoring), Edmond Duncon (Swannington), Daniel Dan (Felthorp), the vicar of Great Ellingham (name unknown), William Eaton (Drayton), George Fawcet (Beesingham), Nathaniel Flick (Hardingham), John Forth (Swainsthorpe), Edward Franklin (Great Cressingham), the rector of Gaverston (name unknown), Thomas Displin (curate of St. Sepulchre's, Norwich), Nathaniel Gill (Barrow), John Greenwood (Brampton), Stephen Harry (Aldboro'), Christopher Hatley (Morningthorp), John Hembling (Hickling and Palling), John Henson (Terrington St. Clements), Richard Howes (Knaption), Richard Kendal, Robert Leneane (Scottow), John Lethwaite (St. Peter's, Rockland), William Lock (Bunwell), — Lock (Norwich), Richard Subbitt (Swanton Abbott), Thomas Lushington (Burnham Westgate), — Merryweather (Stratton St. Michael and Tasboro'), John Moor (Wacton), William Morton (West Lexham and Rougham), — Pike (All Saints, Rockland), Richard Plummer (Alby and Susted), Thomas Reeve (Aldboro' and Coleby), Charles Riggs (Thwaite), John Scambler (Rackheath), Barnabas Shepherd (Ranworth), Nicholas Shepherd (Kirkby Beddon), Nicholas Sherwood (Earsham), Richard Slyn (Binham), Thomas Smith (Lackenham), Nic. Staines (Filby), Henry Starling (Homersfield), Thomas Stokes (Carleton Road and Heigham), — Talbot (Melton), Richard or Nicholas Taylor (Stanfield), — Tenison (Moundsley), Robert Tite (St. Julian's), Thomas Tabbing (Bayfield), John Ward (Ellingham Parva), John Watson (Kirkby Cane), Henry Watts (Wheatacre All Saints), Thomas Watts (St. Andrews, Rockland), — Wayte (North Wootton), Hugh Williams (Fornset), Thomas Wilson (Fulmodeston), — Wythe (Postwick); Prebendary Edmond Porter was also ejected from the rectory of Hevingham and Prebendary Foulke Roberts from the rectory of St. Clement in Norwich.

² On 29 August, 1654, was published the ordinance for the ejection of scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters. The ministers appointed to assist the commissioners for Norfolk and Norwich were Mr. Wm. Bridges, John Brinsley of Yarmouth, John Martin of Edgefield, John Money of Wymondham, Timothy Armitage of Norwich, Charles Frank of Thetford, Nathaniel Brewster of Aldby, Edmund Broome of Southreppes, Mr. Breviter, Samuel Smith of Sidestrand or Sintern, Mr. Harmer of Saxlingham, Israel Shipdham of Swaffham, Thomas Thorowgood, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Hogan of Lyn, Edward Corbet, Mr. Collings of Norwich, Mr. Peck of Hingham, John Newton of Great Dunham, and William Hall of Eveningham.

³ Shaw, *Hist. of the Engl. Ch. during the Civil War*, i, 26.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii, 153, 161.

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It was in Norwich and Norfolk that the Independent party first began to grow into a powerful body ; in the beginning under the leadership of Robert Browne, but after his withdrawal, under the far more capable and admirable John Robinson of Norwich. Considerable light is thrown on the relations of the Presbyterian and Independent parties in Norwich in 1646 by two pamphlets entitled respectively *Vox Populi*: or, *The People's Cry against the Clergy*,¹ and *Vox Norwici*,² an answer to the same, described on the title-page as—

An Hue or Cry after Vox Populi, or an Answer to Vox Diaboli, or a Libellous Pamphlet falsely styled Vox Populi, reviling the Magistracy and Ministry of Norwich. Wherein is laid downe, The Truth of the Rise and Progress of the said Ministers of Norwich their late Remonstrance, Together with the deceitfull dealing of the Independent Faction in getting hands to their Petition there annexed, and their juggling in other petitions in that city. As also what entertainment their Petition found in the Court of Maioralty and Committee for the County. Together with the Entertainment of this scurrilous Pamphlet in that city.

The *Vox Populi* thus retorted upon had also on its title-page a similar amplification, which explains it as—

containing the Rise, Progress, and Ruine of the Norwich Remonstrance framed and fomented by the late Ministers of that city, being encouraged thereunto by some great persons from above ; or The Humble Petition of the Knights, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the county of Northfolk and City of Norwich. A Protest against dissensions and oppressions practised in Norwich and Petition that the Church Government might be settled according to our Covenant.

Vox Populi had attacked the ministers who had presented a remonstrance against the declaration of 17 April previous, and especially against Mr. Thornbecke, who preached before the magistrates, 16 June, 1646, the day on which the mayor was sworn, and Masters Carter, Stinnet, Fletcher, Bond, Stukeley, Toft and Michel, who next day waited on the mayor to ask leave to present the remonstrance. It mentions that out of thirty-six parishes in Norwich, twenty-six were without ministers.

Vox Norwici vindicates the ministers, and sets forth that—

the City of Norwich, viz : the court of Maioraltie and Common Councill by their Act of Assemblie; the Rest of the well affected Citizens and Inhabitants, by the subscription of their names thereunto, doe vindicate their ministers, Master Thornbecke, etc. from the foule and false aspersions and slanders, which are unchristianly throwne upon them in a lying and scurrilous Libell, lately come forth, intituled *Vox Populi*, or the People's Cry against the Clergy, or rather the voice of a Schismaticke projecting the discouragement, and driving away, of our faithfull Teachers, but we hope his lies shall not so affect it.'

This pamphlet informs the reader that the ministers themselves 'will not be perswaded to ingage their pens in answering that fardell of untruths,' also that by an Act of Common Council the mayor and citizens disclaim all connexion with or responsibility for *Vox Populi*. On the whole it surpasses the other in abusiveness, and does not attempt to refute the assertion that twenty-six out of thirty-six Norwich churches are empty ; on the contrary, its line of defence seems to be that the godly have something more serious on hand than filling such posts.³

¹ B. M. Pamphlets, E. 351 (7).

² Ibid. E. 358 (4).

³ It gives an account of the lives of the ministers vindicated by it, and mentions that Master Carter hath lived minister of St. Peter's parish these seventeen years, except when he was banished by Bishop Wren and his chancellor, and because of his objecting to prelatical ceremonies was unmercifully persecuted by Bishop Wren and his chancellor and suspended, deprived and molested ; that Mr. Stinnet hath been troubled and

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That a reaction was beginning to set in is suggested by the action of the apprentices, who on 1 December, 1647, assembled at Norwich in the castle yard and subscribed a petition for the observation of Christmas Day, and presented it to the mayor. Apprehension of the spread of a froward spirit was evidently responsible for the—

Attestation of the ministers of the county of Norfolk and city of Norwich, in vindication of the Ancient Truths of Jesus Christ, and Prosecution of the Solemn Covenant, against the spreading errors and prodigious blasphemies that are scattered abroad in these licentious dayes, as it was Represented to the Ministers of the Province of London, 9 June, 1648. Concurring with them in their Publick Testimony.¹

About the beginning of April in the same year a petition had also been presented to John Utting, the mayor, and the court² by about 150 persons, praying for a more speedy and thorough reformation. They complained that faithful ministers were discouraged and slighted and the ejected ministers preferred and encouraged; old ceremonies and service book constantly used, and the directory for worship not observed; and petitioned that ejected ministers might be suspended preaching till they have given satisfaction to the assembly of divines, according to the ordinance of Parliament of 22 January, 1644, then ‘shall not Mr. Lock and Cadime with others be tolerated nor promoted to popular auditories, to the discouragement of all well affected persons.’ They insisted also that all the ordinances against superstition and idolatry, and for defacing of images, might have a particular order for their more speedy execution, and that the remaining pictures in several churches might be demolished or taken away—³

so shall the crucifix on the cathedrall gate be defaced, and another in the roofof the cathedrall neere the west door in the inside, and one upon the free school, and the imadg of Christ upon the parish house of St. George’s of Tombland be taken down, and many parish churches more decently made for the congregation to meet in.

molested more than once and another put in his place for neglecting the booke of Common Prayer and other ceremonies, and if in some things he hath conformed it is no more than some of the five apologists have done, who have been seen in Norwich to reade the Litany in the surplice and use the Crosse in Baptisme; that Mr. Fletcher was suspended in Bishop Wren’s time for the omission of some ceremonies; that Mr. Toft settled in a Pastorall charge some five years ago, his living not being worth more than 22*li.* per annum, never wore the surplice since he was a minister in Norwich, nor observed other ceremonies, but hath often preached and appeared against them; and that Mr. Mitchell left off the wearing of the surplice before he left the college in Cambridge. It uses one of the favourite puritan methods of controversy in printing on the title-page a text of scripture beginning ‘Thou art a liar’ and concluding with other unquotable words; and it is curious to see how giving the chapter and verse for the quotation attaches an air of guilt to the persons aimed at, as if in the first place it had been written in reference to their case.

¹ B.M. Pamphlets, E. 447 (6). This is subscribed by Robert Peck, minister at Hingham; Wm. Stinnet, minister of John’s of Maddermarket, in Norwich; Richard Johnson, minister at Ketringham; Joh. Martin, minister at Edgefield; Elias Crabtree, minister at Dickleborough; John Carter, pastor of Peter’s of Mancroft, Norwich; John Brinsley and John Swaine, ministers at Great Yarmouth; Isaack Rose, minister at Hadskow; Hugh More, rector of Burston; John Boyes, pastor of Tivesdale; Richard More, minister at Diss; Nathaniel Jocelyn, minister at Hardingham; Rice Allison, minister at Cley-juxta-Mare; Ed. Brome, minister at South-reppes; William Hall, minister at Hevingham; Nicholas Pit, minister at Bunwell; Thos. Sap, minister at Larlingford; Robert Daliel, minister at Roughton-cum-Stanworth; Tho. Jackson, minister at Itteringham; John Bond, pastor of Holt; John Collings, minister in Saviour’s Parish in Norwich; Tho. Henant, minister at Smalborough; Tho. Theoderick, minister at Rockland-tofts; Rich. Asteley, minister of Melton; William Lambe, minister at Merston; Edward Dawney, minister at Salthouse; Robert Watson, minister at Bakingstroppe; John Harmer, minister of Saxlingham; Will. Younge, minister of Kettlestone; John Yates, rector of Stifkey; Samuel Smith, minister at Sydestern; Richard Wels, minister at Fakenham; Tho. Toss, minister at Michaels of the Plea, in Norwich; John Butler, minister at Oldton; Edward Worseley, minister at Runton-cum-Beeston Regis; Nathaniel Michel, minister at Edenthorpe; John Smith, minister at Aylmerton; Richard Breviter, minister at Walcot.

² Blomefield, iii, 393.

³ Ibid. 394.

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According to Blomefield, the mayor, who was for the king, took little notice of this, and he was summoned to Parliament 22 April, 1648, and Mr. Christopher Baret, alderman, appointed mayor in his place; whereupon the mayor's friends drew up a petition to Parliament which was signed by many hundreds, and at last the commons met in the market-place and declared that by their oaths all freemen were bound to support their mayor and keep him in the city during his year; they collected in great numbers, vowed they were for the king, would purge the bench and common council, pluck the Roundheads out, and put such honest men in as would go to church and serve God. The assembly grew into a riot, which was put an end to by the explosion of ninety-eight barrels of gunpowder in the committee house, by which over a hundred persons were slain or wounded on both sides. The mayor then rode to London, and a thanksgiving day was appointed for deliverance from the mutiny; on Tuesday following Mr. Carter preached in the forenoon in the cathedral and Mr. Collings in the afternoon, each receiving 20s.

Some attempt to justify the confiscation of church property was felt to be necessary, and as a set off against sequestration the stipends of a few of the clergy (of whom the names of some happen to have appeared in the Attestation) received augmentation. An order was made by the Committee for Plundered Ministers 23 December, 1646, for the payment of a yearly rent of 32 *ti.* reserved to the dean and chapter of Norwich out of the impropriate rectory of Great Yarmouth, towards the maintenance of the ministers of the said parish, 'consisting of about 5,000 communicants, and the present maintenance of the ministers there amounting to but 20 *ti.* a year.'¹ A similar order was made 25 March, 1647, for an annual payment of 40 *ti.* out of the rents, tithes, and profits of the impropriate rectory of Ludham, parcel of the possessions belonging to the late bishop of Norwich, towards the further provision for the ministers of the parish of Great Yarmouth, and for the payment of the residue of the same rents and tithes, etc., not exceeding 50 *ti.* per annum, to the ministers of the said parish church of Ludham, the vicarage whereof is but 30 *ti.* a year.² The stipends of the ministers of Swetsham, St. Stephen's in Norwich, Southreppes, Stanfield, Ormsby, New Buckenham, Lynn, Swaffham and Oulton also received very considerable augmentation.³

Norfolk must have learnt under the Commonwealth that the quality of mercy was not the one most highly prized by the puritan party. In the year 1644 the notorious Hopkins had a commission from Parliament to make a circuit for the discovery of witches, and had 20 shillings allowed him from every town requiring his services. Yarmouth employed him in 1645, and presentments were made 10 September, 1645, of Alice Clipwell, Bridgitta Howard, Maria Blackbourn, Elizabeth Dudgeon, Elizabeth Bradwell, and Johanna Lacey; all except the last-named were hanged.⁴ From Quaker records we learn that already by 1654 Norfolk Quakers were suffering imprisonment. Without claiming that they would have received different treatment if the Episcopal had been the Established Church, and while acknowledging that their methods were probably very provocative, it is certain that under the Commonwealth they were treated with anything but

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, 313.

² *Ibid.*

³ *S. P. Dom. Interr.* cxxiii, No. 46.

⁴ From the Yarmouth Gaol Delivery Rolls, quoted in *Norf. Arch.* iv, 248.

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leniency. According to Besse, in his *Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, James Lancaster and Christopher Atkinson 'for declaring the truth and warning people to repentance in the streets of Norwich,' were sent as prisoners to the castle in 1654; and about the same time George Whitehead was sent to the same prison for 'exhorting the people in Peter's steeplehouse, Norwich, after the priest had done.' After being set at liberty he was again detained on going to visit another Quaker, Thomas Simonds, in prison; and as he was but eighteen years of age, and tenderly brought up, he suffered much through the hardships and severities he had to undergo in gaol. His fellow-prisoner, Thomas Simonds, had been sent to Norwich Castle for 'asking a priest a question in a steeple-house after sermon,' and had then been committed for contempt in keeping his hat on. The same year Dorothy Waugh was imprisoned for a quarter of a year for 'testifying against sin in Norwich market.' In 1655 Alice Day was imprisoned for speaking to a priest in a steeple-house at Norwich; and Thomas Bond went into an Independent meeting-house at Great Yarmouth, where he addressed the meeting, but was violently attacked by a deacon and taken to prison; imprisonment and fine also befell Richard Clayton and Elizabeth Court for speaking in Wymondham steeple-house; and Edward Warne for 'speaking in Westfield steeple-house after the priest had finished his performances.' These imprisonments are intelligible, though the terms seem to have been excessively long; but there is not the same excuse of provocation in some other cases of imprisonment recorded that year—those of John Clifton and Henry Love, taken out of a meeting and committed to prison; or of John Allen of Lamneas, committed to prison for having a meeting in his house. Of this last Besse writes: 'When the cause seemed insufficient they ensnared him about his hat, and thence took occasion to demand sureties for good behaviour, which unreasonable demand he refused to comply with, and was continued in prison.' In 1656 Robert Jacob of Wymondham, John Goddard of Rockland, Thomas Dormer of Taslingham, and William King, were imprisoned for refusing to swear. Many other cases of punishment are recorded, and on 2 or 4 March, 1659–60, a letter of protest was addressed to the mayor and aldermen of the city of Norwich by John Fuller and nine others against the breaking up of a meeting of theirs. The person who delivered it was sent to prison for having posted up some papers in the city inviting people to a meeting there appointed by George Fox.

In his *Journal*, George Fox, under the year 1654,¹ writes:—

The Lord did move the spirit of many to labour in his vineyard, among these Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead at Norwich. George Whitehead was a chief instrument in gathering a people to the Lord in and about Norwich. He suffered great hardships, long and sore imprisonments, and severe whipping for his testimony to the Truth.

Later he writes of his own experiences in Norfolk² in words which give a better notion than anything else can of what his meetings must have seemed to the people who had seen so much of a hard, inflexible, and inexorable temper in the preachers of the Word then among them:—

Then we passed to a meeting at Captain Lawrence's in Norfolk, where, it was supposed, was above a thousand people; and all was quiet. Many persons of note were present, and

¹ i, 190 (1901 ed.).

² i, 233–4.

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a great convincement there was. . . . We came to Yarmouth and there stayed awhile ; where there was a friend, Thomas Bond, in prison for the truth of Christ. There we had some service, and some were turned to the Lord in that town. . . . Another meeting in a town about five miles from there : there were some friendly people in the town ; and we had a tender, broken meeting amongst them, in the Lord's power, to his praise.

The *Journal* describes the difficulties encountered and overcome by George Fox on leaving this place, in a manner which bears testimony to the sweetness of temper which bore down so many obstacles. He had intended to ride to Lynn next morning, but was carried off from the inn where he spent the night by the constable and a rabble. Their intention had been to convey him before some Independent justices, whom he had offended in a disputation he had held with them after they had been introduced to him by Captain Lawrence, and whose ire had also been roused by the success of his meeting at Captain Lawrence's house. But they had to take him before a justice who was not an Independent, and he and his companions were released and went on to Lynn, which was then a garrison. Here they had a friend in Joseph Face, an ensign, and wished him to get a meeting together of the captain and officers and as many of the people of the town as feared God. ' We had a very glorious meeting among them, and turned many to the spirit of God.' Next day they got Joseph Face to have the gates opened for them by three in the morning, and rode 40 miles that day.

He tells how he was again in Norfolk in 1659, visiting Friends¹

till I came to Norwich, where we had a meeting about Christmas-time. The Mayor, having got notice of the same, had granted a warrant to apprehend me. I went to reason with the Mayor, and told him we were peaceable people, so he became moderate, and did not send his officers to the meeting. A large one it was, and abundance of rude people came, with intent to do mischief : but the Lord's power came over them so that they were chained by it, though several priests were there and professors and ranters. Thence to Colonel Dennis's where we had a great meeting.

Norfolk became a great Quaker centre, but for many years to come persecution and transportation were the lot of the Friends. King James's order of 25 July, 1688, for the admission of thirty Quakers as freemen of Norwich without taking the oaths, was met by the Council with a refusal, thirty-nine voting against their admission and only eight for it.² Men had still much to learn and a long way to travel before arriving at the point reached when in 1846, at the sudden death of Joseph John Gurney, a man distinguished not only by the munificence with which he promoted all public and private charities in his own city of Norwich and for the zeal with which he and his sister, Mrs. Fry, encouraged philanthropic and religious movements in the world at large, but also for his eminent position in the Society of Friends, Bishop Stanley preached his funeral sermon, the bells of Norwich Cathedral tolled his funeral knell, and the burial service of the chief of English Quakers was virtually celebrated in the cathedral itself.³

The petition⁴ of the inhabitants of the Close, Christchurch parish, Norwich, for a lease of the late cathedral to trustees with licence to receive

¹ *Journal*, i, 451.

² A. P. Stanley, *Life of Edward Stanley, Bp. of Norwich*, 78.

³ Blomefield, iii, 424.

⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1657-8, p. 372.

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and bestow in needful repairs the benevolence of such as will contribute thereto, dated 22 April, 1658, shows that the spirit of wantonness which had led to its ill-treatment was already left far behind.

After King Charles's restoration, 29 May, 1660, an Act was passed restoring to their benefices all clergy who had been deprived since the rebellion began, if they were not concerned in the king's death or Anabaptists; and Calamy¹ gives the number of those who were by their re-institution deprived in Norfolk, together with those deprived by the Act of Uniformity of 1662, as sixty-three, and gives nine who afterwards conformed. This is a considerably smaller number than that of those ejected during the Commonwealth; even of these many are described as silenced, but no benefice was held by them.

Bishop Hall had been dead more than two years when his successor, Bishop Reynolds, was consecrated 6 January, 1661. He had been chaplain

¹ *Nonconformists' Memorial*, iii, 1-23. Mr. John Banister (Aldy?). Robert Purt (rector of Barford and Gorston, two livings of considerable value; he continued preaching at Windham to a good old age). Charles Sumpter (Barton Hulm). John Loughes (Beconthorp, ordained by Bishop Reynolds, afterwards became minister of a Congregational church at Southrepps and Alby. He had such favour among his neighbours his meetings were never broken up). Mr. Burrough (rector of Blickling). Mr. Robert Watson (rector of Bodham. Had signed the Attestation as minister of Bakingstroppe). Mr. Christopher Amyraut (New Buckenham. Ended his life and labours as pastor of a congregation at Southrepps). Mr. Nicholas Pitt (had signed the Attestation as minister of the gospel at Bunwell). Mr. Thomas Worts (curate of Burningham; after his ejection was pastor of a congregation at Guestwick). Mr. Pittedate (rector of Bunwell). Mr. James Gedney (rector of Carlton). Thomas Lawson, M.A. (rector of Denton and fellow of St. John's). Mr. Elias Crabtree (rector of Dickleburgh). Richard More, M.A. (rector of Diss). Mr. Richard Vin (rector of Drayton). Mr. John Smith (curate of Elmerton. Signed the Attestation). Mr. Thomas Bayes (Earsham). Mr. John Butler (rector of Feltwell). Mr. William Hinton (rector of Fornsett). Mr. Richard Worts (rector of Foulsham and Guestwick. Pastor of dissenting church at Guestwick until his death). Mr. Shepherd (Funwell). Mr. John Hooker (Greatwich). Mr. Nathaniel Jocelyn (rector of Hardingham). Mr. Thomas Newman (rector of Heydon). Mr. Sheffield (rector of Intwood). Mr. Thomas Ellis (rector of Lopham, a Baptist, and as such deprived in 1663, by six justices). Mr. John Horne (All Hallows, Lynn). Mr. Fenwick and Mr. John Dominick. Mr. Paul Amyrant (rector of Mundesley). Mr. Robert Bidbank. Mr. Israel Shipdam? (Nayton? Naughton in Suffolk?). Mr. John Levington? (same as Neatishead?). Miles Burkitt, M.A. (vicar of Neatishead and Irestead). Dr. John Collinges (vicar of St. Stephen's, Norwich). Thomas Allen, M.A. (rector of St. George's, Norwich. Born at Norwich, had been minister of St. Edmond's there, was silenced by Bishop Wren for refusing to read the Book of Sports, and conform to other impositions in 1636. In 1638 fled to New England. Returned to Norwich 1651. After his ejection was chosen pastor of the Congregational church there). Benjamin Snowden, M.A. (rector of St. Giles, Norwich; ordained by Bishop Hall). Mr. Windress. Mr. Francis English (St. Nicholas, Norwich). Mr. Enoch Woodward (St. George's, Norwich). Mr. Thomas Benton (Pulham). Mr. William Sheldrake (rector of Reepham; after the death of Mr. Bridge, pastor of the dissenting congregation at Yarmouth). Mr. Sampson Townsend. Mr. Edmund Brome (Southrepps; exercised his ministry in private among his parishioners until his death). Mr. Edward Corbet (Northrepps). Mr. John Reyner (rector of Rollesby; had not the advantage of a learned education). Mr. John Reynolds (Roughton). William Bidbank, M.A. (Scottow. After his ejection was minister of the congregation at Denton). Mr. John Lucas (vicar of Stalham. Afterwards lived at Norwich; often preached as he had opportunity). Mr. Samuel Alexander (Stanfield). Mr. Thomas Benton, jun. (rector of St. Michael, Stratton). Mr. John Dalziel (rector of Swanton and Morley). Mr. John Green, sen. (Tunstead). Richard Lawrence, M.A. (rector of Trunch). Mr. John Green (vicar of Tunstead, where he came in 1657; continued in his pastoral relation and labours among his people for above fifty years. Had amicable correspondence with many who differed in opinion—particularly with Mr. Jeffrey, minister of North Walsham, and desired to be buried in his church). Mr. John Cory (of Walcott. Taught a private school at Norwich till his death). Mr. John Baker of Walsham. Mr. Nathaniel Mitchel (vicar of North Walsham; signed the Attestation as minister at Edenthorpe). Mr. Nathaniel Northcross (curate of Walsingham). Mr. John Mony (vicar of Wymondham. Continued preaching in and near the town as long as he lived). John Brinsley, M.A. Yarmouth. Mr. John Allen (several years teacher of the large church at Yarmouth, where Mr. Brinsley was pastor). Wm. Bridge, M.A. (Yarmouth, no benefice, Presbyterian Congregation). Mr. Job Tookie ('Pastor and teacher in the Congregational way at Yarmouth'). Mr. John Benton, of Great Dunham; Mr. Mark Lewis of Shipdam; Mr. Elwood of Walcot and East Ruston; Mr. Day of Hingham; Mr. Denham of Causton; Mr. Gooch and Mr. John Newton of Scharning; Mr. Pool of Homorton; and Mr. Odor of Blitching afterwards conformed. It is reassuring to see that so many of these ejected clergy were able to continue their ministrations; and none are described as having ended their days in the distress and poverty to which the previous ejections reduced the former incumbents.

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to King Charles, and when the civil war broke out came into prominence as a divine of Presbyterian sympathies,¹ but after putting before the king his opinion as to the position of the episcopate, and after much anxious conference with Calamy, Chalmers, and Baxter, he accepted the bishopric and the settlement. Contrary to the custom of those who change sides, he was very moderate in his treatment of dissenters. To the deanery the king appointed Dr. John Crofts, whose brother Lord William Crofts, had been with Charles in his exile and was in high favour at court.

A picturesque description survives of the bishop's first visitation after the re-establishment of the old order of things² :—

After the Lord Bishop of Norwich his return from Walsingham, he held four days of visitation at the Cathedral in Norwich, & had several learned & godly Divines preacht before him. On Friday, 7 November, his Lordship having appointed to hold a visitation at the Town of North Walsham (a Town where seditious Ministers have been as busy as any in that diocese) whereof notice having been taken by that worthy person, Sir William Paston, who considering the cold entertainment a Bishop was like to find there, invited his Lordship with his Officers and whole Retinue to lodge at his house in Oxnead the night before (being but 3 miles short of North Walsham), which invitation his Lordship most kindly accepted. And that nothing might be wanting to testify to his Lordship how free a welcome he might expect at Oxnead, Sir Robert Paston, eldest son to Sir William, one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the County, and a member of the Honourable House of Commons, went with his coach and an handsome retinue of servants, to wait upon his Lordship, and brought him and his Chancellor in his own coach to Oxnead (his Lordship's coach being filled with his Chaplain, Register, and other Retinue), where his Lordship had a noble reception, and was the next morning waited upon by Sir Robert Paston, and carried in his coach to North Walsham, being met by the way by hundreds of his orthodox Clergie, the Loyal Gentry, and other persons of Qualitie, who waited upon his Lordship into the Town, and as soon as he entred the Market Place, he was saluted from the Free School by a youth, son to Robert Jegon Esqre, and grandchild to a former Bishop of Norwich, in a handsome Latin oration : His Lordship, calling him from the scaffold to the coach side, took him by the hand and thankt him by the name of Little Nephew. After which his Lordship went to church, and after sermon ended, made a pious speech to his Clergie, exhorting them above all things, to holiness of life and soundness of doctrine, as the most excellent expedients for the Unity of the Church, of which he expressed his most passionate desires. After Sermon and Dinner ended, he returned to Church, where he confirmed Divers persons both of the Elder and Younger sort ; which holy action he prefaced with a most solemn and serious exhortation, declaring the nature, use, and end of that holy ordinance : Having finished his work at this place, he was reconducted by Sir Robert Paston that night to Oxnead, where he found again the like reception . . . he was again waited upon by Sir Robert Paston home to Norwich. On Munday next his Lordship holds another visitation at Windham, and after that intends to visit the City of Norwich, and so finish his whole Visitation.

After Puritanism came reaction. But under Bishop Reynolds the Conventicle Act of 1664 and the Five Mile Act of 1666 were administered with as little rigour as possible. A correspondence between Sir Thomas Meadows and Lord Townshend and others about nonconformity in Yarmouth in 1670³

¹ He was one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines 1643, though he put off taking the covenant until March, 1644, and had been one of the committee of twenty-two appointed to examine and approve of ministers. He was ejected from the deanery of Christchurch in 1659.

² Add. MS. 6307, p. 69, *Mercurius Publicus*, No. 47, 27 Nov. 1662.

³ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1670, pp. 512-3. Messrs. Thaxter and Huntingdon coming to the cushion in 1666, the Nonconformists who frequented the church forsook it, and the turbulent spirits who left the town returned, their meetings became public, and numbers increased, and not the least notice taken. This connivance put the Independents upon bringing Mr. Bridge to town, and Samuel Shipdham, a member of Bridge's congregation, solicited charity from all the Presbyterian party for their and the Independent ejected ministers. This gave the Independents such satisfaction that on their general and free contributions Bridge was brought back to town, and they flocked together in great numbers to Captain Raven, Bridge's father-in-law, who was proposed by Thaxter and Huntingdon for a common council man. . . . The faction increasing, one place would not suffice, and the grand meeting is now held at a house upon the quay near Huntingdon's house, where he puts no check upon them. . . .

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shows that this leniency resulted in a revival of dissent, looked upon with great disfavour by the authorities in Norfolk, who strongly supported Captain Clarke,¹ a churchwarden who was active in prosecuting dissenters. That their meetings had frequently been interfered with is shown by the fact that when they were prevented in the town they were held in Lovingland and Cobham Isle, islands adjoining.²

Numerous licences to preach were applied for by the dissenters in Norfolk under the Declaration of Indulgence, and again letters among the State Papers show that the Nonconformists there, even after the passing of the Test Act, believed, and declared their belief, that the king was on their side,³ thereby greatly incensing the church party. The meetings of very great numbers of Presbyterians and Independents in places called the Granaries in Norwich in December, 1674, led to a riot.⁴

There was much work to be done at the Restoration in repairing the cathedral and the bishop's palace, which had been let out in tenements. Parish churches had also to be supplied with many things that were necessary, and as late as 1676 the churchwardens' accounts for the parish church of Stockton contain an entry for the expenses of setting up the altar, and for hinges for the same.⁵ In July, 1674, the prebendaries petitioned for a change in the statutes regulating their residence, and by the advice of the bishop and the Lord Keeper, the king substituted, for the four months' continuous residence in a year then compulsory, a period of two months' continuously, with obligation to attend divine service then twice a day, except in case of necessity; and they were enjoined to attend whenever a *congé d'élire* was issued.⁶ Bishop Reynolds systematically endeavoured to improve the condition of the poorer clergy. He was also boundless in his charity and generosity throughout the great plague of 1666. Perhaps his greatest claim on the love and veneration of later generations is his contribution of the General Thanksgiving to the *Book of Common Prayer*. He died 28 July, 1676, and was succeeded by Bishop Anthony Sparrow, translated from the see of Exeter. He was an eminent loyalist, and the year before Cromwell died had published his well-known *Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer*, though at that time the use of the Prayer Book was forbidden under heavy penalties. He was much loved and respected at Norwich, and died 19 May, 1685.

His successor, William Lloyd, who was translated from the see of Peterborough 11 June following, was to become the most prominent of the non-juring bishops. By his prompt action in 1687 the declaration for liberty of conscience was never read in his diocese, and it was only by an accident that he was prevented from signing the petition of the Seven Bishops against it which resulted in their trial in 1688, when his assiduity in aiding them led to a threat that he should yet keep company with them.⁷ In December of that year Norwich showed its feeling by serious riots, in which several houses of papists in the city were pillaged, and much destruction was done at a lately opened 'popish chapel.' The rioters were dispersed by the trained bands, but had threatened to plunder the bishop's palace.⁸

¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1670, pp. 518-19.

² *Ibid.* 1673-5, pp. 454, 463, 468.

³ *Norf. Arch.* i, 189.

⁴ Bohun, *Autobiography*, 51-2.

⁵ *Ibid.* 255.

⁶ *Ibid.* 463.

⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1673-5, pp. 306, 322, 333.

⁸ Blomefield, iii, 424.

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Bishop Lloyd had been associated with Bishop Ken in 1685 in an effort to bring about greater vigilance in the admission of candidates to holy orders.¹ He was an excellent preacher, and during the short time of his occupancy of Norwich he won the confidence and affection of his diocese in a remarkable degree.² There were more non-jurors in his diocese than in any other except London, and the reason seems simply to have been the influence of the bishop and the respect he inspired. After declining to take the oaths, although he was suspended from the performance of his ecclesiastical functions, he was not formally deprived until 1 February, 1690-1, when the king at last decided to fill up the sees which had been kept vacant for some time in the hope that the late non-juring holders might be won over. Dr. Sharp, then dean of St. Paul's and previously dean of Norwich, had the choice of two or three bishoprics offered him, and among them Norwich, which he refused, declaring that he could not think of taking the place of the bishop, with whom he had lived on terms of great friendship,³ and it was accepted by Bishop Moore, who was consecrated 5 July, 1691.

It was not till 1 January, 1709, that Bishop Lloyd died, and in February, 1691-2, Archbishop Sancroft had delegated to him all his archiepiscopal powers in a formal document, dated at Fressingfield. This commission was never approved by Ken, and for a time brought the two bishops into opposition. But even those who did not entirely approve of Bishop Lloyd declare that he filled his difficult and delicate position judiciously. Dr. White Kennett speaks of 'the prudence and piety with which he managed matters, so as not thereby to give any umbrage to the government,'⁴ and Dr. Doyley also testifies to his prudence and caution.⁵ One action of his at this time has been the subject of much discussion and criticism; that of consecrating two new bishops, with Bishops Turner and White, 24 February, 1694, in spite of the strong objections of Bishops Ken and Frampton. These were Hickes, dean of Worcester, and Wagstaffe, chancellor of Lichfield, who took for titles two of those allowed by the Act of Henry VIII for suffragan bishops, Hickes being appointed bishop of Thetford, and Wagstaffe of Ipswich. They never seem to have claimed any territorial jurisdiction, but Hickes, a man of true piety and great learning, was a born fighter, and wrote continually with vigour and bitterness to widen the breach and aggravate the separation. Among the non-juring clergy of Norfolk who were deprived⁶ were two chaplains of the bishop, Richard Tisdale, rector of Felthorpe and Trostrey, and Richard Kipping, rector of Fakenham. A canon of Norwich, Francis Roper, fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, prebendary of Ely, and rector of Northwold; two petty canons, Gawen Nash, vicar of Melton, and John Shaw, vicar of Carleton; Henry Day, rector of Hunstanton; John Gibbes, rector of Gissing; Thomas Wright, vicar of Wymondham and fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; John Owen, rector of Tuddenham; John Pitts, rector of St. Lawrence, and Thomas Verdon, rector of Great Snoring and fellow of St. John's, Cambridge; and Francis Wace, rector of Blakeney, were also among those who thus gave up

¹ Abbey, *Engl. Church and Bishops*, i, 169.

³ Overton, *The Non-jurors*, 27.

⁵ *Life of Sancroft*, ii, 32.

² *Life of Dr. Humphrey Prideaux, Dean of Norwich*, 73.

⁴ Brydge, *Restitua*, i, 577.

⁶ Overton, *The Non-jurors*, 471-96.

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all their worldly prospects and accepted extreme poverty that they might keep their consciences inviolate.

In Bishop Moore, Norwich possessed not only an ecclesiastic of moderate views, who in his appointments carefully avoided any countenance of the extremists, but also one of great learning. He had been fellow of St. Catharine Hall, Cambridge, and at his death his library was purchased by George I, and given to the university. His daughter married Dr. Tanner, who became chancellor of the diocese in 1703, archdeacon of Norfolk 1721, and eventually bishop of St. Asaph.¹ Dr. Jefferey, archdeacon of Norwich, and Dr. Trimnell, archdeacon of Norfolk, who succeeded to the bishopric on Bishop Moore's removal to Ely in 1707, were both notable men, but the most vigorous and energetic man in the diocese was Dr. Humphrey Prideaux, who became dean in 1702, a scholar of large and varied learning. The Restoration had been followed by a period of universal laxity and corruption of morals, but the change for the better that was typified by the foundation of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in 1698, found its expression in the high characters of the men who filled the chief posts in the diocese of Norwich at that time.

A note among the State Papers Domestic for 1693² states that there were then in the diocese, 168,760 conformists, 7,934 nonconformists, and 671 papists. A correspondence in the British Museum of February, 1695-6,³ shows that at that date Sir Robert Yallop, Mr. Tasburgh, and others of the Norfolk gentry were suspected of Jacobite plotting, and that their meetings were held at the Goat Tavern, Norwich, kept by a Quaker; they were said to 'be great with the Papists,' and Sir Robert Yallop is described as maintaining Mr. Skelton, a non-juring minister, deprived for not taking the oath, to minister in a private chapel near his house. These names appear again among a list of the 'names of the Roman Catholics, non-jurors, and others who refused to take the oaths to H.M. the late King George transmitted to the late Commissioners for the Forfeited Estates of England and Wales after the unnatural Rebellion in the North, 1715';⁴ and with them several members of the Howard family, and representatives of the well-known recusant names of Bedingfield, Jernegan, and Waldegrave.

Gough, in his *History of the Quakers*,⁵ says that a spirit of persecution revived in Norfolk in 1698, although the Quakers then enjoyed the exemptions of the Act of Toleration, and that some priests, stirred up, it is said, by one Francis Bagg, who was formerly a Quaker, commenced hostilities by a challenge to a public meeting in their parish church at West Dereham. A pamphlet, called *The Quaker's Challenge*,⁶ is in existence which contains a certificate to the effect that the Quakers challenged the clergy, and gives a vivid picture of the course events were taking in a country parish, where feelings ran high. The certificate is attested by Edward Beckham, D.D., rector of

¹ The author of *Notitia Monastica*, published at Oxford, 1693 (and reprinted under the editorship of his brother, John, vicar of Lowestoft, and precentor of St. Asaph's, in 1744), bequeathed his famous collection of MSS. to the Bodleian Library, since when the records existing at Norwich have been considerably diminished.

² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1693, p. 449.

³ Add. MS. 28941, fol. 23. Extracts of some letters from Norwich relating to papists, 25 Feb. 1695-6.

⁴ *English Catholic Non-jurors*, 1715, by the Rev. Edgar E. Estcourt, M.A., from Original Returns in the custody of the Clerk of the Peace, Norwich.

⁵ Op. cit. iii, 417.

⁶ B.M. 105, c. 20.

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Gayton Thorp; Henry Meriton, rector of Oxborough; and Lancaster Topcliffe, rector of Oxwold, as well as by two justices of the peace, E. Wodehouse and J. Wodehouse. The meeting, which appears to have been tumultuous, lasted all day without any approach to a settlement of disputes; and the orthodox seem to have thought this extremely unreasonable of the Quakers, whom they had been sanguine enough to expect to convince promptly by their own unanswerable arguments. At last, 'the night approaching, and many of the People there being at a great distance from their homes, the magistrates then present, seeing nothing more (which might tend to edification) was like to be done, were pleased to put an end to the Contest and dissolve the Assembly.' Afterwards a certificate of proceedings at the meeting was drawn up and attested, not only by the above clergy, who were managers of the meeting, but by other persons present, among them John Meriton, rector of Boughton, Thomas Fysh, preacher of King's Lynn, and John Williamson, minister of the Gospel, so there were probably other nonconformists participating also. There is appended a certificate of several principal inhabitants within the parishes of West Dereham and other adjacent parishes to 'obviate the false reports given out by the said Quakers,' which at least testifies to a certain enthusiasm for the pastor, who came to the parish in 1691, and refused, very rightly, to defend himself. The parish is described as having 'fallen a prey' to the Quakers when he undertook it, 'having in it several divisions and sectaries, and but an exceeding small salary for a minister, discouraged most men from supplying the cure.' Instances of the 'pernicious principles of the Quakers and their rugged behaviour' are adduced, and must have been very trying to one described, as this incumbent is, as 'always averse that either he or his Brethren should engage in a public dispute.' But it is impossible not to feel a considerable measure of sympathy with the Quakers, who seem to have been fighting single-handed on this occasion against the combined forces of all 'the divisions and sectaries' and of the established clergy; and this feeling remains uppermost, in spite of the statement that the Quakers handed up provocations and challenges in the pulpit.

It is to be feared that the Norfolk men must at all times have justified Wesley's description of them as 'shattered by divisions,' and that, whatever the colour of their religious convictions, they all dearly loved a conflict.

Bishop Trimnell, who was consecrated bishop of Norwich 8 February, 1707-8, was strongly opposed to the High Church opinions and practices then becoming prominent. He had been connected with the diocese for many years, having been installed in a prebend of Norwich 4 December, 1691, and collated archdeacon of Norfolk 1698. As bishop he distinguished himself by the emphasis with which he urged the subordination of the church to the state, and was translated to Winchester 21 July, 1721.

A list of dissenting congregations, arranged under counties, for the years 1715 and 1772, shows that in 1715 there were in Norwich two Baptist congregations, two Independent, and one Presbyterian.¹

Bishop Green was appointed to Norwich 8 October, 1721. He was domestic chaplain to George I, a Whig, and a warm supporter of the

¹ By Josiah Thomson. Add. MS. 32057; on fol. 21 there is an account in shorthand of dissent in Norfolk.

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Protestant succession. He also was a Norwich man, who had gone from Norwich School to Corpus Christi College, where he ultimately became master of the college; and he had married a sister of the last bishop, Dr. Trimnell. He was removed to the richer see of Ely in less than two years after his consecration. Several bishops in succession after him held the see for only a short period. Bishop Leng, who was consecrated 3 November, 1723, and who was chaplain in ordinary to George I, died 26 October, 1727, of smallpox caught at the coronation of George II. William Baker, bishop of Bangor, translated in December, 1727, died 4 December, 1732, and no record survives of his ever having resided in his diocese. Dr. Robert Butts, dean of Norwich, who succeeded to the bishopric 20 January, 1733, is said by Cole¹ to have been universally hated by the time he was translated to Ely in 1738, though he seems to have shown zeal and earnestness in the management of his diocese. Blomefield writes affectionately of Sir Thomas Gooch, who was bishop from 17 October, 1738, to January, 1747, when he also was translated to Ely. He repaired and beautified the palace, and was in many ways a typical bishop of the eighteenth century; as kind and charitable as he was witty and vivacious.² He founded the valuable society for the support of the widows and orphans of the clergy of his diocese. Although a High Churchman,³ he was favourable to the plans then under discussion for the comprehension of moderate dissenters.⁴ Earlier in his career he had been rector of St. Etheldred's in the city of Norwich, which he then described in *Notitia Parochialis*⁵ as a 'rectory without endowment, worth, *communibus annis*, to him that officiates about 12 *ti per annum* with contributions,' and as containing about 150 souls. His successor, Bishop Lisle, was promoted from the see of St. Asaph 17 March, 1747-8, and died 3 October, 1749; he was followed by Bishop Haytor, then archdeacon of York, in whom Norwich again had a bishop both honest and zealous, and at the same time liberal and broad-minded in his views. In 1751, on the re-arrangement of the household of Frederick prince of Wales after his death, he was appointed tutor to the young princes. In 1753 he supported the Jews' Naturalisation Bill, which procured him much odium in his diocese. He published anonymously an account of the persecutions of the Quakers, and an essay on the liberty of the press, works which show him to have been somewhat in advance of his times. Horace Walpole describes him as 'a well bred, sensible man.'⁶

In 1751⁷ James Wheatley, who had been a Methodist preacher since 1742, and exceedingly popular, but who had been suspended and finally expelled from the society upon conviction of a serious offence, came to Norwich, where he was unknown, and began to preach out of doors. Before long a temporary building was erected for him called the Tabernacle, and though for some months the city was disturbed and alarmed by the behaviour of the mobs who collected to disturb his meetings,⁸ he had an immense success, and for a time supplied one of the largest chapels in the city. But in 1754 the judge of the ecclesiastical court of Norwich had to deal with

¹ Cole, MSS. xviii, 140, 233.

² Bentham, *Ely*, 212.

³ Walpole, *Memoirs*, 148.

⁴ C. J. Abbey, *Engl. Ch. and its Bishops*, ii, 68.

⁵ Lambeth Lib.

⁶ *Memoirs*, 87.

⁷ Tyerman, *Life of Wesley*, ii, 122.

⁸ An account of these disturbances and their instigators is to be found in letters in *Gent. Mag.* for 1752, 19 Feb. and 22 March, and in a *True and Particular Narrative* (B.M. 101, K. 18).

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him again for a repetition of his former offence, and upon his second conviction he left the kingdom. It was after Norwich had had this unfortunate example of Methodism, and when the city was still in an uproar about the conviction of James Wheatley, that John and Charles Wesley for the first time visited the place, though John Wesley was in feeble health, 8 July, 1754.¹ Perhaps it is hardly to be wondered at that he was not favourably impressed by his Norfolk experiences. On this occasion the brothers seem to have remained in retirement at first, at the residence of Captain Gallatin, but on the 14th Charles ventured to preach in the open street, when he reports that the congregation was tolerably quiet, all things considered; five days later John Wesley had to leave for London, having become seriously ill, and Charles continued at Norwich alone, preaching to large congregations, which included many clergymen. He received the sacrament from the hands of the bishop, took a lease for seven years of a large old brew-house to serve for preaching, and a little society of eighteen members was instituted. The opposition was fierce and sometimes brutal, but Charles Wesley preached with amazing success, and Methodism was fairly started in Norwich.

Wesley was in Norfolk on many subsequent occasions, but even after Norwich had become a Methodist station of great importance, work there was critical and difficult, probably, to a certain extent, in consequence of the James Wheatley episode. The meeting-house there, the Foundry, was rebuilt in 1757,² an unknown friend having given the money; and in that year, and in 1758, when he purchased the chapel built by the notorious James Wheatley, Wesley was more than once in Norwich.³ He paid three visits to the city in 1759,⁴ and at his second in April, he described the congregation as 'the most ignorant, self-conceited, self-willed, fickle, untractable, disorderly, disjointed society that I know in the three kingdoms.' It was at Norwich in 1760,⁵ that the three preachers, Paul Greenwood, Thomas Mitchell, and John Murlin began, without Wesley's permission, and against his wish, to administer the sacrament. At a visit in 1762 he excluded 200 members who neglected to meet in class;⁶ and at another in 1764 he describes the society as 'the most changeable in all England.'⁷ In 1764 he preached for the first time at Lowestoft, and wrote afterwards, 'a wilder congregation I have not seen'; but he was able to speak of being in Norwich in 1765,⁸ as 'with more comfort than ever before,' and again in 1767⁹ to say that 'all that remain seem deeply serious. Our old friend King Mob has departed,' though later Norwich was in trouble again, and he insisted strongly on 'members meeting their class every week, and being constant at church and sacrament.' He died in 1790, and Norfolk was one of the last places he visited. In October he was at Loddon, North Swaffham, King's Lynn, and Diss.¹⁰ At Lynn where he preached twice, making a collection the second time for the Sunday schools, he administered the sacrament, and had all the clergy of the town to hear him except one, whose lameness prevented him; and at Diss, his application to the rector for

¹ Tyerman, *Life of Wesley*, ii, 189.

² Ibid. 273.

³ Ibid. 313.

⁴ Ibid. 325, 334, 342.

⁵ Ibid. 381.

⁶ Ibid. 397.

⁷ Ibid. 518. In 1759 it numbered 660; in 1761, 412; in 1762, 630; in 1764, only 174.

⁸ Ibid. 535.

⁹ Ibid. 615.

¹⁰ Ibid. iii, 629.

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leave to preach in his church was forwarded by the rector to Bishop Horne, and elicited the answer: 'Mr. Wesley is a regularly ordained minister of the Church of England, and if Mr. Manning has no objection to Mr. Wesley's preaching in his church, I can have none.' It seems as if the great work of religious revival for which he had been doing so much for half a century had already produced fruit for him to see with his own eyes, in this instance not only of toleration, but of appreciation and religious enthusiasm in Norfolk.

But recoveries are uphill work, and this was a period when the prevailing religious apathy, the reaction against which eventually found its most marked expression as far as the church itself was concerned, in the Oxford movement of the next century, in Norfolk as elsewhere took long to dispel.

There is very little to record of Bishop Yonge, who was translated from Bristol to Norwich in November, 1761; or of Dr. Lewis Bagot, who in 1783 also was translated from Bristol to Norwich. When Dr. Bagot was removed to St. Asaph in 1790, Dr. George Horne, dean of Canterbury, was consecrated in his place, but died at Bath 17 January, 1792. Though a high churchman, and though he protested publicly against those who took their theology from the Tabernacle and the Foundry, he nevertheless showed courtesy to the Methodists, as has been before recorded. He was very little in his diocese, and the charge he had prepared for his primary visitation was never delivered. His successor, Bishop Manners-Sutton, became primate in 1805, and took an important part in the revival of church life characteristic of his time. He was a staunch supporter of the small but very active band of high churchmen of whom Joshua and J. J. Watson, H. H. Norris, and Charles Daubeney were the leading spirits. At Norwich his liberality and the expenses of a large family seem to have involved him in pecuniary embarrassments, which he cleared off when he became archbishop. He was a great favourite with the royal family.

Mention must not be omitted of the Taylors of Norwich, a family which has left its mark on the religious life of the time. Its best known member was John Taylor, the hymn-writer (1750-1826), a prominent member of the Octagon Presbyterian Unitarian chapel, of which he was a deacon. His mother was a granddaughter of John Meadows, an ejected divine, and her sister was the grandmother of Harriet Martineau. His father was the son of Dr. John Taylor, the dissenting divine and Hebraist, who came to Norwich in 1733, and in 1734 laid the first stone of the existing Octagon chapel at Norwich, and who, at its opening in May, 1735, disclaimed all party names, Presbyterian and the like, claiming that of Christian only.

Bishop Bathurst, part of whose career had already been spent in Norfolk, as rector of Witchingham, was consecrated 28 April, 1805, and died in 1837, at the great age of ninety-three. He was distinguished for the liberality of his principles, and for many years was considered to be 'the only Liberal bishop in the House of Lords.' He warmly supported the Roman Catholic emancipation, both by his speeches in the House of Lords, and by his presentation of a petition in favour of that movement from the Roman Catholics of Tuam. He stood almost alone among his episcopal brethren as an advocate of the Reform Bill, and this gave him great popularity. In 1835, being then over ninety, he went to the House of

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Lords to support Lord Melbourne's government. Under his presidency the Norfolk and Norwich branch of the Bible Society, which he called the most excellent of all human institutions, was inaugurated 11 September, 1811,¹ at a meeting held at St. Andrew's Hall, with a committee consisting of eight members of the Established Church, and eight of other denominations. One of its most prominent supporters was the Quaker minister, Joseph John Gurney, the well-known philanthropist and religious writer. The year before the bishop's death, it was proposed at a meeting held in the room of the Clerical Society of Norwich, 20 October, 1836, to form a Norwich branch of the Diocesan Church Building Association, and resolutions for forming it were adopted unanimously on 19 November, following.² This much-needed step prepared the way for the great work of rebuilding and restoring parsonages and churches which has been carried out by his successors.³ His charge at his primary visitation shows that he recognized the good points in the evangelicals, and he consistently advocated the claims of dissenters as well as of Roman Catholics; his own church views being so broad that he incurred the charge of socinianism. It has been thought that his general amiability rendered him far too lax in the administration of his large diocese,⁴ which his great age must for a long time at least have made a task altogether beyond his capacity.

He was succeeded by Bishop Edward Stanley, who, when he was consecrated 11 June, 1837, had for thirty-two years done the work of a most conscientious and energetic parish priest at Alderley, to which living he had been presented by his father. He was appointed by Lord Melbourne, after having refused the offer of Manchester, the immediate creation of which bishopric was then contemplated; he took a different side from the majority of the clergy on such questions as the Test Act, Roman Catholic Relief, and Church Reform,⁵ showing great moral courage in adhering to what was then regarded as a most unclerical position. His son, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, dean of Westminster, published his addresses and charges, and a memoir of his life. From this we learn⁶ that the diocese, until its partial reduction by the Ecclesiastical Commission at the time of his elevation, had comprised a number of benefices equal to that of the whole Protestant Establishment of Ireland, and still contained 863, an amount larger than in any other, except Lincoln and Chester. At his primary visitation Bishop Stanley gave the number of incumbents as 646, of curates not incumbents as 215, and stated that only 313 incumbents resided in their parsonages, and 106

¹ B.M. 4,193, dd. 57.

² 1891*e*, 2 (40*).

³ Even so Norfolk is remarkable for the number of churches that have disappeared, or are in a more or less ruinous condition. Kelly (1904 edition) enumerates seventy-two; Alprington, Anthingham, Ashby near Yarmouth, Attleboro', Babingley, Barwick, Barton Bendish, Bawsey, Bayfield, East Beckham, Beeston St. Andrew, Billockby, Bowthorpe, Buckenham Tofts, Burgh near Yarmouth, Burnham Sutton, Caldecote, East Carleton, Cley next Sea, Colveston, Little Cressingham, Eccles by Sea, Egmore, Fletcham, Foulton, Garboldesham, Gasthorpe, Gillingham, Glandford, Hackford next Reepham, Hargham, Hautbois, Hindolveston, Holverstone, Irmingland, Keswick, Letton, Leziatte, Lynford, North Lynn, Mannington, Marshall, Mintlyn, Oby near Yarmouth, Ormesby, Overstrand, Puttesley, Pensthorpe, Pudding Norton, Quarles, Raynham West, Ringstead Parva, Rockland St. Margaret, Roudham, Roxham, Ryburgh Parva, Saxlingham Thorpe, Shotesham, Somerton East, Stiffkey, Sturston, Testerton, Thorpe Parva, Tunstall, Wallington, Waxham, Weeting, Whitlingham, Wolverton, and West Wretham. Of course this is not so serious as it might be, because it must be acknowledged that Norfolk had been very much overbuilt.

⁴ J. H. Overton, *Engl. Ch. in the 19th Cent.* 113.

⁵ *Ibid.* 114.

⁶ *Addresses and Charges*, 29, 72.

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in their parishes but not in their parsonages, there being 326 benefices without parsonage houses, and 162 with parsonages not fit for residence. Out of 237 licences for non-residence, 202 were on account of no houses or unfit houses, 29 on account of ill-health, 6 only for causes unspecified. By the seventh year of his episcopate, 100 additional parsonage houses had been erected, and by the twelfth year 173. In 1842 another change¹ was made, by the revival of the office of rural dean, two rural deans being generally appointed to each deanery.

Dean Stanley says that non-residence, pluralities, carelessness in admission to holy orders, and imperfect administration of the rites of baptism and burial, had made the diocese a by-word for laxity, but that the abundance and contiguity of churches peculiar to East Anglia, rendered some of the omissions of service less hurtful in reality than by statistics they appeared to be; and similarly the non-residence and pluralities, which resulted from the same causes as well as from the extreme smallness of many stipends,² in many cases were an evil more apparent than real.

At the time of his entrance upon office party feeling in the county of Norfolk and city of Norwich is described as having been as strong as anywhere in the kingdom; and Bishop Stanley has been much criticized for having proposed for the vacant archdeaconry of Norfolk in 1846 a canon of Norwich who in 1840 had set on foot a petition to the House of Lords praying 'that the letter of the Prayer Book and the subscription to the Articles and liturgy might be rendered consistent with the practice of the clergy, and the acknowledged meaning of the Church of England.' The clergy petitioned the bishop not to make the appointment, but he refused to take the memorial unless the memorialists explained in what sense each understood the passages in the liturgy to which the archdeacon-elect had objected; and as they declined to do so he persevered in his intention till the discovery of a legal obstacle prevented him from carrying it into effect.

In 1843 he co-operated heartily with Father Matthew in a campaign he was conducting in Norwich, not only appearing on his platform, but entertaining him as his guest. The zeal and earnestness which made the twelve years of his episcopacy an epoch in the history of the see were accompanied by a sympathy for the efforts then being made in every direction, which was not always understood by his contemporaries; and his great dislike of high church views did not prevent him from being accused of belonging to that section, while his ready co-operation with dissenters led to his being said to prefer dissent. But any ill-feeling that may at first have been roused against

¹ William Dansey, *Horae Decanicae Rurales*, 446. Rural deans had ceased to exist in 1540, when according to Blomefield, they all came into the bishop's hands, and their jurisdiction into the archdeacon's. But they seem to have been re-instituted on Bishop Freake's suggestion, for we are told by Dr. Prideaux (*Directions to Churchwardens*, 9th ed. 179) that they continued here, and made their annual presentations. Bishop Wren denied that the office existed in his answer to his impeachment. On the restoration the keeping of synods and appointing of rural deans were both 'let down' by Bishop Reynolds, a Presbyterian in principle. Bishop Lloyd at his primary visitation went so far as to name rural deans, but found such opposition that he desisted.

² A table of the incomes of benefices in the diocese given at p. 72 shows that in 1837 they stood as follows; 33 below £50; 99 between £50 and £100; 108 between £100 and £150; 99 between £150 and £200; 163 between £200 and £300; 111 between £300 and £400; 90 between £400 and £500; 72 between £500 and £600; 32 between £600 and £700; 24 between £700 and £800; 14 between £800 and £900; 6 between £900 and £1,000; 6 between £1,000 and £1,200; 5 between £1,200 and £1,500; and 1 above £2,000.

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him by his vigorous reforms had given way to universal affection and esteem when he died in 1849.

He had a worthy successor in Bishop Hinds, who was dean of Carlisle when he was raised to the bishopric in 1849. He was a man of great learning and ability, but had to resign on account of ill-health in 1857, when he was succeeded by Bishop Pelham, who had long been connected with Norfolk, having been previously rector of Burgh Apton from 1837 to 1852. He also resigned in 1893, his long tenure of the see having witnessed a remarkable revival of Christian life and discipline; and though he himself was a strong evangelical, it was at this time that the high church movement led to the formation of various associations in Norfolk, of which the 'Laymen's Ritual Institute' for Norwich is an example; he was indefatigable in parochial organization; instituted a diocesan conference in 1879, and formed a scheme for the augmentation of small benefices at the expense of episcopal emoluments.

The immense outlay upon the repair and restoration of churches and cathedral during the last half century has continued under Bishop Sheepshanks, who was appointed in 1893, and is perhaps the most tangible proof that can be offered of the vitality and vigour of ecclesiastical life in the county.

APPENDIX NO. I

ON THE BISHOP'S LORDSHIP OF NORTH ELMHAM

The traditions of many centuries have declared with one voice, that when the early chroniclers told how the East Anglian see was divided into two bishoprics (A.D. 673), one of which was fixed at Dunwich and the other at Elmham, they meant that the Elmham named was North Elmham in Norfolk, and on this point no doubt was entertained till quite recent times.

In the fourth volume of the *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* (1869), however, Mr. Harrod, an antiquary of much learning and great acumen, took upon himself to propound a startling theory to the effect that the tradition was erroneous, and that when Bede and they who followed him spoke of Elmham they meant to indicate South Elmham in South Suffolk.

As has been already pointed out, the antecedent improbability of the two East Anglian bishoprics being set down in the seventh century within fifteen miles of one another, at the southern extremity of the diocese, and so leaving the whole of Norfolk without any resident diocesan, is so great that it is quite enough to make the modern theory at least doubtful. But its baselessness can be exposed by an appeal to *documentary* evidence which hitherto has not been brought into court.

When, about the year 1335, William Ayermin bishop of Norwich was in failing health—Anthony Bek, then dean of Lincoln—in view of the vacancy which actually occurred in 1336, appears to have set his mind upon succeeding to the bishopric. Accordingly he instituted inquiries regarding the revenues of the see and particularly with regard to the liberties and customs of the manor of North Elmham.

A formal report was drawn up by some official of the diocese and was sent to Dr. Bek at Lincoln, apparently before he set out for Avignon, where we find him in March, 1336. He was successful in his suit and Pope Benedict XII conferred upon him the bishopric of Norwich and consecrated him at Avignon in the following year.

The report referred to is now to be seen in the muniment room of the dean and chapter at Lincoln, and there the writer discovered and transcribed it in 1884.

This document sets forth in so many words that the bishops of Norwich had always claimed the manor of North Elmham, *tanquam caput baronie* appertaining to the church of Norwich, and held *in capite* of the king. The franchises, privileges, and customs of the lordship are set out with considerable minuteness, and a long succession of *cases* and precedents is drawn up illustrative of the rights and immunities exercised and established in the courts of the lordship going back to the time of Herfast, the last bishop of Elmham.

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At this point it will be advisable to turn aside from the Lincoln MS. and to deal with some entries in the Domesday Survey.

There we find that the original lordship of the bishops of Elmham had extended over a stretch of country some eight miles in extent from North to S.E. and about two miles wide; its boundary on the east being the head waters of the river Wensum as far as Billington.

It was a very extensive domain, and so thickly wooded that it afforded *pannage* for 1,100 swine. The whole lordship comprehended the *caput manerii* at Elmham, with a *berwice* or hamlet adjoining it on the south, and a second manor, the manor of Colkirk, on the north.

The survey makes mention of the church at Elmham, and of another church scarcely more than a mile off at Betley. No mention is made of any church at Colkirk.

But the survey tells us more than this, it notes that Herfast's immediate predecessor, Aylmer, Stigand's brother, who held the bishopric for fifteen years, had used Elmham as his episcopal residence, and Mr. Carthew further quotes a highly interesting and significant will of another bishop of the see, Ælfric,¹ in which an estate, presumably his private property, is left for the maintenance of the priests at Elmham—*unto Ælmbam the praestes to foddan*—so that it is evident there was something like a *chapter* of secular canons associated with the bishop here in the days of Bishop Ælfric, and presumably down to the time of the Norman Conquest.

To return now to the Lincoln document: Here we are told that Bishop Herfast after he had determined (or been compelled?) to transfer his residence from Elmham to Thetford—alienated the northern half of the fee of Elmham, including the manor of Colkirk, and enfeoffed his foster-brother of this manor, making him a sub-tenant of the bishopric of Elmham in perpetuity, by the service of a knight's fee.

The name of this foster brother (*nutricius*) is given in the Lincoln MS. as Richard de Saint Denys. This personage has long been a puzzle to Norfolk antiquaries; they have often tried, but hitherto without success, to find who he was and whence he came. As far as I know the Lincoln MS. is the only source of information regarding his intimate connexion with Bishop Herfast.

APPENDIX NO. II

NOTE ON THE DANISH OCCUPATION OF EAST ANGLIA

From the massacre of St. Edmund and of Humbert bishop of Elmham in 870, to the consecration of Eadulph in 956, we have a period of eighty-six years—during that time we know nothing of what was going on in the church of East Anglia, and in the next half-century only the names of some of the bishops of the see have come down to us. The veil is lifted somewhat when Ælfgar is appointed to the bishopric of Elmham, though of his two successors again we hear no more than their names. Ælfric, the last of them, died in 1043 having survived Canute the king some seven years.

The strong hand of the great Dane was needed, and the loss of that unique personality was felt through all his wide dominions. Not least was it felt in the church. Not till William the Norman won the realm of England by the sword did the reign of law begin again. But in that troublous time how had it been faring with the church in Norfolk? One thing seems pretty certain, viz. that for two centuries no part of England had been left, in religious matters, so entirely isolated. We are expressly told that there were no monasteries of any importance in East Anglia till Bishop Ælfgar bestirred himself and raised up from its low estate St. Edmund's Abbey in Suffolk, while at the same time Canute set himself to do the like for Norfolk. In the Great Survey of 1086 no fewer than 317 churches large and small are mentioned as existing in the county of Norfolk alone.² It is an enormous aggregate, and as an illustration of this noteworthy crowding of churches in our county, I venture at this point to make what at first sight may appear as a digression, but which really is no digression at all.³ The hundred of East and West Flegg at the extreme south-eastern corner of Norfolk may be described as an irregular quadrilateral, whose boundary on the east is the sea, along a coast-line of some nine miles. On the north, west, and south it is bounded by the rivers Bure and Thurne, rivers eminently navigable for sea-faring men a thousand years ago in their ships of war or their small trading vessels. The hundred is in fact an island. The Flegg district at no point from east to west is more than seven miles across as the crow flies. In this little area the

¹ Carthew, *Hist. of the Hundred of Launditer*, 1, 44. The chronicle gives 1038 as the date of Ælfric's death.

² Munford, *Analysis of the Dom. Bk. of Norf.* 88.

³ *Dom. Studies* (Domesday Commemoration), ii, 410.

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population during the eleventh century must have been larger than it is to-day. The richness of the soil, the fisheries on the coast, and the important salt industry¹ which gave employment to a large number of the inhabitants, constituted the wealth of the landowners and promoted general prosperity.

This curious district was wholly Danish in the tenth century. With the single exception of Caister all its twenty-seven parishes have Danish names. In the Survey (1086) there is specific mention of *eight* churches which were geldable; and at least seven other instances of early Norman remains, in more or less good preservation, are to be met with in the hundred at the present day. In 1368 the archdeacon of Norwich visited twenty-seven churches in this deanery, and the record of his visitation gave us a minute list of the furniture, vestments, books, sacred vessels, and ornaments which those churches contained. Since that time nine of these churches have fallen into ruins, and the benefices which they severally represented have been united with others, to the advantage of all parties; but even now it would be difficult to find in the whole deanery a church which is two miles distant from another. It is a safe estimate to make—from the evidence which the great survey affords and from the remains which survive to tell their own tale—that in the eleventh century there were no fewer than twenty churches in the Flegg Hundred.

But this collection of churches in so small an area must represent a continuous activity in church building during the whole period going back even to St. Felix's day. Between him and his successors in the bishopric as far as building, restoring, and rebuilding the houses of God in the land is concerned there can have been no solution of continuity. Moreover, as a rule, the little ecclesiastical territories governed in religious matters by their rectors, or resident parish priests, are in Norfolk smaller in extent than in any other English shire—suggesting that their boundaries were laid down when the number of landowners was large and their manors or estates were small.

To divide a tract of land eight miles by six into twenty-seven distinctly marked parishes, and to provide each of these parishes with a church built at the expense of the people, with a sufficient maintenance for a resident priest ministering to their religious needs, and more or less responsible for their social and educational requirements—all *this* implies the working out of a great idea imposed upon a people in the first instance by a great personality, and taken up with a certain contagion of enthusiasm by those who followed in his steps. The cutting up of the county of Norfolk into many hundred separate parishes, so that not a single acre in the shire could be found that did not belong to some one or other of these parishes may have taken centuries to bring to its completion, but it must have begun somehow, somewhere, at some point of time. The question is what time?

The assertion made by Thomas of Elmham that Archbishop Theodore (668-90) exerted himself, and with success, to stir up the faithful to build churches and mark out parishes in the towns and villages of some of the English provinces² was interpreted by earlier historians to mean that Theodore was 'the creator of the parochial system' in England, while one, who in such matters is by far our greatest authority, has pronounced of this passage that it is 'mere tradition or invention.'³

Recent researches however have gone far to prove that there may be much truth in this assertion. A careful study of Professor Imbart de la Tour's remarkable volume has compelled me to arrive at the conclusion that there are strong grounds for believing we must put back the sub-division of dioceses into rural deaneries and parishes to the seventh century.⁴

It was certainly a measure which Theodore had much at heart, and which would be attended with comparatively little difficulty in East Anglia, where the opposing influence of any powerful monastic foundation was altogether insignificant.

Here, we are told, the Danes (who had already conquered East Anglia in 870) after the battle of Ethandune and the baptism of their King Guthrum, returned home and occupied and divided the land. I cannot resist the conviction that this curious expression in the chronicle refers to the ecclesiastical organization whereby the land had already been partitioned into a number of parochial units, each with its well-marked boundaries, and that what is meant is that the invaders adopted the territorial divisions which they found ready to hand, availing themselves of those divisions for their own convenience, and doing on a small scale what William the Conqueror did on a large scale when he distributed the thousands of English manors among his Norman followers. How the bishops of the East Anglian see fared under the circumstances we can only guess; but we

¹ In the Dom. Bk. salt works are mentioned at Filby, Trigby, Mautby, Runham, Stokesby and Herringby, all lying in a cluster within easy access of the Bure. But at Caister no fewer than thirty-nine salt works are reported as in active work. How much the Caister *salinae* may have influenced the early importance of Yarmouth has never, I think, been enquired into.

² *Hist. Mon. St. August. Cant.* 115, p. 285.

³ Bishop Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* vol. i, c. viii, 85.

⁴ *Les Origines Religieuses de la France, les Paroisses Rurales du IV^e au X^e siècle*; par Imbart de la Tour. Professeur à l'Université de Bordeaux. Paris, 1900.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

do know that they suffered considerably, and that the almost immediate effect of the Danish revolution was that the East Anglian *Episcopate* was very seriously impoverished. Possibly during the time when our record fails to give us even the names of any bishops, episcopal functions may have been discharged by some bishop of another see, as in the cases of Deodred, who held the see of Elmham with the bishopric of London in the tenth century, or of Stigand, who held it with the archbishopric of Canterbury, and of Grimketel, who again held it with the bishopric of Selsey in the 11th. In any case, though, we hear of no great cathedral or important bishop's house in East Anglia, nor till quite the end of this period, or of anybody, whether of monks or canons associated with the bishop as an organized council of assessors, helping him in the discipline and administration of the diocese; ¹ it is nevertheless manifest that in the 11th century the bishop of Elmham was a prelate with a large revenue and considerable patronage at his disposal, and occupying a position eagerly coveted by unscrupulous ecclesiastics, not too nice in the means which they resorted to for securing to themselves so important a piece of preferment.

APPENDIX NO. III

ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS OF THE COUNTY

Felix was the first bishop of East Anglia, and Bede in his ecclesiastical history says that in 630 or 636 he established a cathedral and palace at Seham or Soham in Cambridgeshire.² His diocese would then consist of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire. The see was almost immediately removed to Dunmoe (Dunwich) in Suffolk by Felix. After the resignation of Bishop Bisi, the fourth bishop, about 673, the diocese was divided under two bishops, one bishop having his see at Dunwich, and the other at Elmham. Bartholomew Cotton, in giving a list of the bishops of Elmham and bishops of Dunwich from 673 to 785, calls them the two bishops of the East Angles.³

In the time of Egbert the bishops had been so much impoverished by the incursions of Ludecanus, king of the Mercians, that the division of the bishopric of East Anglia into halves, or a northern and a southern bishopric, ceased, and one bishopric was made out of the two, having its seat at Elmham,⁴ and consisting of the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and part of Cambridgeshire. Herfast, bishop of the East Angles, translated the see to Thetford,⁵ about 1075; and Herbert de Losinga removed it to Norwich in 1093, in consequence of the determination of a council held by Archbishop Lanfranc that all bishops' sees should be placed in the most eminent towns of their diocese.⁶

Under the year 1121 Bartholomew Cotton states that the bishopric of Norwich consisted of four archdeaconries and forty-five deaneries; the archdeaconry of Norwich with twelve deaneries; of Norfolk with twelve deaneries; of Suffolk with thirteen deaneries; and of Sudbury with eight deaneries. He gives the deaneries in Norfolk as:

In the Archdeaconry of Norwich—

Norwycum vel Taverham	Holt	Brekles
Blafeud	Walsingham	Lenniam
Ingwrthe	Toftes	Teford
Sparham	Brisele	Fleg

In the Archdeaconry of Norfolk—

Reppes	Brok	Fincham
Humilied	Redenhale	Hecham
Depwade	Rokelund	Dunham
Waxtonesham	Kenewiche	Hengham

¹ The will of Bishop Ælfric, however, proves that there was a body of priests at Elmham, who must have stood to the bishops in the relation of a *chapter*, probably of *secular canons*, and concerning whom in the Synod of Celchyth, it was advised or enacted 'ut Episcopi diligenti cura provideant quo omnes canonici ui canonice vivants' (see Hadden & Stubbs, vol. iii, p. 450, s. 4). Mr. Hunt has some valuable remarks on this subject in his *Hist. of the Engl. Ch. to the Norm. Conq.* 239.

² *Hist. Eccl.* ii, 15.

³ *De Episcopis Norwicensibus* (Rolls Ser.), 387.

⁴ *Ibid.* 388.

⁵ *Ibid.* 389.

⁶ Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, xxix.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

The taxation of Bishop Walter de Suffield,¹ of 1253-4, shows the same deaneries; but gives Norwich and Taverham separately, thus making a total of thirteen deaneries for the Archdeaconry of Norwich. It also gives the number of parishes in each deanery, and a list of churches untaxed in Norwich.

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORWICH

Deanery of Taverham containing 18 parishes				Deanery of Thoftes containing 11 parishes			
"	Blafeld	"	34	"	Breccles	"	14
"	Ingworth	"	39	"	Brisele	"	36
"	Sparham	"	31	"	Lenn	"	53
"	Howt	"	30	"	Thetford (left blank) ²	"	
"	Walsingham	"	20	"	Norwich	"	29
"	Flegg	"	26				

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORFOLK

Deanery of Depwade containing 23 parishes				Deanery of Hecham containing 22 parishes			
"	Humelyerd	"	28	"	Kenewick	"	47
"	Waxtonesham	"	44	"	Fyncham	"	39
"	Reppes	"	31	"	Rokeland	"	37
"	Hengham	"	43	"	Burnham	"	35
"	Broch	"	67	"	Redenhale	"	25

The numbers in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, of 1291³ are as follows :

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORWICH

Deanery of Norwich containing 29 churches				Deanery of Toss containing 10 churches			
"	Taverham	"	16	"	Walsingham	"	20
"	Blafeld	"	28	"	Holt	"	29
"	Flegge	"	21	"	Sparham	"	25
"	Brisele	"	32	"	Ingworth	"	35
"	Thetford	"	6	"	Breclis	"	14
"	Lenn	"	52				

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORFOLK

Deanery of Brok containing 61 churches				Deanery of Waxtonesham containing 45 churches			
"	Depwade	"	21	"	Rokelund	"	35
"	Rydynhale	"	25	"	Carynewise	"	40
"	Humlyerd	"	26	"	Fyncham	"	32
"	Hengham	"	39	"	Hecham	"	21
"	Repp	"	29	"	Brounham	"	32

In 1329 the deaneries of the city of Norwich and of Taverham were again united,⁴ and several parishes were also united before the date of the Valor Ecclesiasticus,⁵ drawn up in 1535, which gives the following figures :—

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORWICH

Norwich Deanery				{ 1 cathedral church 1 collegiate church			
Taverham	"	"	"	43 rectories	1 vicarage	5 chapels	5 chantries
Blafeld	"	"	"	19 "	4 "	1 "	1 "
Flegge ⁶	"	"	"	13 "	7 "	1 "	1 "
Ingworthe	"	"	"	37 "	7 "	1 "	1 "
Sparham	"	"	"	30 "	7 "	—	1 "
Holte	"	"	"	28 "	5 "	—	—
Walsingham	"	"	"	11 "	6 "	1 "	—
Bryseley	"	"	"	25 "	6 "	1 "	—
Lynne	"	"	"	29 "	16 "	3 "	9 "
Toftrees	"	"	"	10 "	3 "	—	—
Breccles	"	"	"	8 "	6 "	—	1 "

¹ Harl. MS 1005.

² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 52. The town was always in the archdeaconry of Norwich, but before the dissolution acknowledged no archidiaconal jurisdiction, for the deanery contained all the city, the two Snareshills, and Santon-by-Downham, and the sole peculiar jurisdiction over all the churches, monasteries and inhabitants, except the abbey and nunnery, which were exempt.

³ Rec. Com.

⁴ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iv, 550.

⁵ Rec. Com.

⁶ Also Carnary Church in Great Yarmouth churchyard.

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ARCHDEACONRY OF NORFOLK

Fyncham Deanery	. . .	23	rectories	5	vicarages	1	chapel	
Cranewise	" . . .	28	"	14	"	2	"	3 chantries
Hecham	" . . .	8	"	1	"	1	"	—
Reppes	" . . .	31	"	5	"	—		1 "
Waxton	" . . .	41	"	19	"	—		—
Brooke	" . . .	39	"	6	"	1	"	—
Depwade	" . . .	16	"	3	"	1	"	—
Humilyard	" . . .	15	"	4	"	2	"	—
Rockland	" . . .	24	"	6	"	1	"	—
Hingham	" . . .	29	"	11	"	2	"	—
Thetford	" . . .	3	"	—		—		—
Burnham	" . . .	28	"	9	"	—		—

The office of rural dean fell into abeyance about 1540 in Norfolk, according to Blomefield,¹ and was not revived until 1842, when Bishop Stanley reintroduced it into his diocese, appointing in most cases two rural deans to each deanery. By that time a considerable change had been made in the diocese, an Order in Council of the Ecclesiastical Commission of 19 April, 1837,² having transferred part of the archdeaconry of Sudbury from the diocese of Norwich to that of Ely. Many unions of parishes had also taken place, the diocesan having the privilege of granting a personal union of parishes on account of the small extent and value of many benefices in the diocese.³ The abstracts of the census for 1811,⁴ and of that for 1821,⁵ state that the summary for the county of Norfolk was collected from the registers of 691 parish churches. In the Clergy List of 1842 the parishes are assigned thus :

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORWICH

Deanery of Blofield containing 25 parishes				Deanery of Lynne containing 44 parishes			
"	Breckles	"	15	"	Norwich	"	35
"	Brisley	"	24	"	Taverham	"	15
"	Flegg	"	21	"	Thetford	"	4
"	Holt	"	21	"	Toftrees	"	5
"	Ingworth	"	31	"	Walsingham	"	14

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORFOLK

Deanery of Brooke containing 51 parishes				Deanery of Humbleyard containing 18 parishes			
"	Burnham	"	25	"	Redenhall	"	25
"	Cranewise	"	30	"	Repps	"	28
"	Depwade	"	18	"	Rockland	"	26
"	Fincham	"	26	"	Sparham	"	26
"	Hingham	"	38	"	Waxton or		
"	Hitcham	"	15	"	Waxham	"	34

The census for 1871⁶ states that with the exception of the parish of Emneth, part of the parish of Brandon, and part of the ecclesiastical district of St. John, Little Ouse, which are in the diocese of Ely, and part of Central Wingland, in the diocese of Lincoln, the county is in the diocese of Norwich; and that it contains parts of nine parishes which extend into the adjoining counties, namely, Brandon, Mendham, Outwell, Rushford, St. Cuthbert (Thetford), St. Mary (Thetford), Upwell, Wetney, and Central Wingland; that the diocese of Norwich has a total population of 668,123, containing⁷ part of Cambridge, viz. the parishes of Outwell, Upwell and Wetney; the entire county of Norfolk with the exception of the parish of Emneth, part of the parish of Brandon, and parts of the parishes of Feltwell and Kilgay, with Feltwell Anchor, formerly extra-parochial, and part of Central Wingland, formerly extra parochial; also the entire county of Suffolk except the deaneries of Blackburn, Thedwaster, and Thingoe, and parts of the deaneries of Clare, Fordham, and Sudbury. It will thus be seen that by the arrangement of 1837 the diocese covers, roughly speaking, the counties of Norfolk and East Suffolk. It contains an area exceeded only by that of St. David's, and has a number of clergy surpassed only by that of London. The *Clergy List* for that year shows a considerable number of changes.

¹ Vol. iii, 447.

³ *Abstract of Census*, 1811, xxi.

⁶ *Digest of Engl. Census for 1871*.

² *Eccl. Com. Orders in Council*, i, 48.

⁴ p. 103.

⁵ p. 82.

Compiled from Official Returns (authorized by the Registrar General), 177.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 57.

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ARCHDEACONRY OF NORWICH

Deanery of Blofield containing 28 parishes				Deanery of Lynn (Marishland) containing 7 parishes			
"	Breccles	"	15	"	Norwich	"	36
"	Brisley	"	26	"	Sparham	"	26
"	Flegg	"	22	"	Taverham	"	15
"	Holt	"	23	"	Thetford	"	4
"	Ingworth	"	31	"	Toftrees	"	8
"	Lynn	"	43	"	Walsingham	"	14

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORFOLK

Deanery of Brooke containing 52 parishes				Deanery of Heacham containing 16 parishes			
"	Burnham	"	25	"	Humbleyard	"	20
"	Cranwich	"	30	"	Redenhall	"	26
"	Depwade	"	20	"	Repps	"	28
"	Fincham	"	28	"	Rockland	"	26
"	Hingham	"	38	"	Waxton	"	37

It had long been felt that the diocese was altogether too large and unwieldy, and in 1894 further and very important changes in the county were made by the introduction of a new archdeaconry, that of Lynn; in that year the Rev. Arthur Thomas Lloyd, D.D., was appointed suffragan bishop of Thetford and archdeacon of Lynn; he being the second suffragan of Thetford appointed under the Suffragan Bishops Act of 1534.¹ The *Clergy List* for 1895 gives the arrangements after this redistribution as follows:—

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORWICH

Deanery of Blofield containing 26 parishes				Deanery of Repps containing 26 parishes			
"	Flegg	"	18	"	Sparham	"	26
"	Holt	"	21	"	Taverham	"	16
"	Ingworth			"	Waxham		
	(N. Div.)	"	16		(Happing Div.)	"	16
	(S. Div.)	"	16		(Tunstead Div.)	"	20
"	Norwich	"	32				

ARCHDEACONRY OF LYNN

Deanery of North Brisley and Toftrees . . . containing 9 parishes				Deanery of Fincham (Western Div.) . . . containing 5 parishes			
"	South Brisley.	"	18	"	Hitcham or Hea-		
"	Burnham . . .	"	22	"	cham . . .	"	15
"	Cranwich (North Div.) . . .	"	14	"	Lynn (Marsh-		
"	Cranwich (South Div.) . . .	"	18	"	land) . . .	"	16
"	Fincham (Eastern Div.) . . .	"	20	"	Lynn (Norfolk)	"	29
				"	Thetford . . .	"	3
				"	Walsingham . .	"	12

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORFOLK

Deanery of Breccles . . . containing 15 parishes				Deanery of Hingham (Forehoe Div.) . . . containing 19 parishes			
"	Brooke (Eastern Div.) . . .	"	25	"	Hingham (Mit-		
"	Brooke (Western Div.) . . .	"	24	"	ford Div.) . .	"	13
"	Depwade . . .	"	20	"	Humbleyard . .	"	22
				"	Redenhall . . .	"	26
				"	Rockland . . .	"	27

¹ His only predecessor was John Salisbury (see p. 258). The appointment of Dr. Hickes by Bp. Lloyd cannot, of course, be reckoned.

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25. Cox
26. Fil
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- 57-59. "



60. Thetford, Dominican.
61. " Austin
62. Walsingham, Franciscan.
63. Yarmouth, Dominican
64. " Franciscan.
65. " Carmelite.
66. " Austin.

HOSPITALS.

67. Beck.
68. Boycodestade, Coxford.
69. Hardwick.
70. Hautbois.
71. Herringby.
72. Horning.
73. Ickburgh.
74. Langwade.
75. Lynn, St. John Baptist.
76. " St. Mary Magdalen.
- 77-80. " Lazar Houses.
81. Norwich, St. Giles.
82. " Hildebrond.
83. " St. Paul.
84. " St. Mary Magdalen
- 85-89. " Gates, Lazar Houses.
90. " St. Saviour.
- 91-94. " Other small Hospitals.
95. Racheness in South Acre.
96. West Somerton.
97. Thetford, God's House or Domus Dei.
98. Thetford, SS. Mary & Julian.
99. " St. Mary Magdalen.
100. " St. John Baptist.
101. " St. John.
102. " St. Margaret.
103. Walsingham, Lazar House.
104. Walsoken.
105. Wymondham.
106. Yarmouth, St. Mary.
- 107-108. Yarmouth, Lazar Houses

COLLEGES.

109. Attleborough
110. Lynn, Holy Trinity or Thoresby.
111. Norwich, Chapel-in-the-Fields
112. Raveningham.
113. Rushworth.
114. Thetford, Bailly End or Gild of St. Mary.
115. Thompson.

ALIEN HOUSES.

116. Docking.
117. Field Dalling.
118. Horstead.
119. Lessingham.
120. Sporle.
121. Toft Monks.
122. Welle in Gayton or Well Hall.
123. Wercham, St Winwaleoc.
124. Witchingham.

Reference.
RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

BENEDICTINE MONKS.

- 1 Norwich Cathedral Priory
- 2 Aldby Priory
- 3 Lynn Priory
- 4 Norwich St Leonard's Priory
- 5 Yarmouth Priory
- 6 Hain St Benedict's Abbey
- 7 Wymondham Abbey
- 8 Burnham Priory
- 9 Hardham St Faith's Priory
- 10 Modeney Priory
- 11 Molycourt Priory

BENEDICTINE NUNS.

- 12 Blackthorpe Priory
- 13 Carrow Priory (Norwich)
- 14 Thetford St George's Nunnery

CLUNIAN MONKS.

- 15 Castle Acre Priory
- 16 Yarmouth Church Priory
- 17 Sleesholm Cell
- 18 Bramholm Priory
- 19 Thetford St Mary's Priory

CISTERCIAN NUNS

- 20 Marcham Abbey

AUSTIN CANONS.

- 21 Croke Abbey
- 22 Weston Priory
- 23 Broomhall Priory
- 24 Old Buckenham Priory
- 25 Luton Priory
- 26 Litcham Priory
- 27 Hempton Priory
- 28 Hickling Priory
- 29 Great Walsingham Priory
- 30 Mount St. Mary's Priory
- 31 Pentney Priory
- 32 Peterstone Priory in Burnham
- 33 Thetford Priory of the Holy Sepulchre
- 34 Walsingham Priory
- 35 West Lynn Priory
- 36 Weybourne Priory
- 37 Weybridge Priory
- 38 Wormegay Priory

AUSTIN NUNS.

- 39 Crabhouse Priory

TRINITARIAN CANONS.

- 40 Ingham Priory

GILBERTINE HOUSE

- 41 Shoultham Priory

PREMONSTRATENSIAN CANONS.

- 42 West Lynn Abbey

KNIGHTS HOSPITALERS.

- 43 Langley Abbey
- 44 Wendon Abbey

FRIARIES.

- 45 Blackfriars Carmelite
- 46 Burnham Norton Carmelite
- 47 Lynn Dominican
- 48 " Franciscan
- 49 " Carmelite
- 50 " Austin
- 51 " Friars of the Sack
- 52 Norwich Dominican
- 53 " Franciscan
- 54 " Carmelite
- 55 " Austin
- 56 " Friars of the Lesser Orders
- 57-59 " "

ECCLESIASTICAL MAP

of

NORFOLK.

Showing ANCIENT RURAL DEANERIES and RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

Scale of Miles.

0 1 2 3 4 5 10



- 60 Thetford Dominican
- 61 " Austin
- 62 Walsingham, Franciscan
- 63 Yarmouth Dominican
- 64 " Franciscan
- 65 " Carmelite
- 66 " Austin

HOSPITALS.

- 67 Beccles
- 68 Buxton, Cuxford
- 69 Hardwick
- 70 Hattis
- 71 Hemmby
- 72 Horning
- 73 Litcham
- 74 Langs
- 75 Lynn, St John Baptist
- 76 " St Mary Magdalen
- 77 " Lazar House
- 78 " St Giles
- 79 " Hildesheim
- 80 " St Paul
- 81 " St Mary Magdalen
- 82 " Gates, Lazar House
- 83 " St Saviour
- 84 " St Saviour
- 85 " St Saviour
- 86 " St Saviour
- 87 " St Saviour
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- 200 " St Saviour

COLLEGES

- 109 Attleborough
- 110 Lynn, Holy Trinity or Thoresby
- 111 Norwich, Chapel of the Lights
- 112 Raveingham
- 113 Raveingham
- 114 Thetford, Holy End or Guild of St. Mary
- 115 Thompson

ALIEN HOUSES

- 116 Docking
- 117 Field Dalling
- 118 Horstead
- 119 Lussingham
- 120 Spole
- 121 Toft Monks
- 122 Walle in Gaydon or Wall Hall

THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF NORFOLK

INTRODUCTION

The religious houses of Norfolk were exceptionally numerous, even when the great area of the county is taken into consideration.

The Benedictines were powerful in the district, though Norfolk had no great house of the black monks that could vie with Bury St. Edmunds. Cnut, in the very year that he became king of England, founded the abbey of St. Benet at Holme, amid the desolate swamps by the Norfolk Broads. Here the monks so greatly prospered and increased, that in the course of a few years they were strong enough to send off a swarm of their comrades to take the place of the canons ejected from the restored abbey of St. Edmund in Suffolk. With the advent of the Normans and the removal of the bishop's chair to Norwich, came the establishment of the cathedral priory of the Holy Trinity which was entrusted to the care of the Benedictines. Four out of the five priory cells of Holy Trinity were in this county, namely those of Aldeby, Lynn, Yarmouth and St. Leonard's, Norwich. Wymondham, for several centuries an important cell of St. Albans, became in the fifteenth century an independent abbey. Norfolk possessed two Benedictine priories of some importance, those of Binham and Horsham, as well as three others of smaller size at Modeney, Molycourt, and Mountjoy.

The Benedictine nuns had three settlements, if the priory of St. George's, Thetford, on the Suffolk side of the water, is included. Carrow Priory, on the verge of the city of Norwich, was much valued for the education it afforded to the young ladies of the county. The Thetford nuns were so much under the shadow of the monks of St. Edmund that for two centuries their very food—bread, beer, and even cooked meats—were forwarded to them by cart, once a week all the way from Bury St. Edmunds.

The Cluniac monks had three considerable houses: Castle Acre, with its two small cells at Normanburgh and Slevesholm; Bromholm, of so much repute as a place of pilgrimage to the special relic of the Holy Cross; and Thetford, removed from the Suffolk to the Norfolk side of that town in 1114. The story of the Cluniac houses, originally alien, but released for the most part from foreign tribute and granted charters of naturalization when the French wars subsided, is always interesting; this is specially the case with the three Norfolk priories.¹

There were no Cistercian monks in the county, but a Cistercian abbey of nuns was founded at Marham in the reign of Henry III.

¹ The question of the Cluniac establishments is discussed at some length in the Introduction to the 'Religious Houses of Northamptonshire,' and in the accounts of the priories of St. Andrew, Northampton, and Daventry. *V.C.H. Northants*, ii.

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The Austin Canons were exceptionally strong in Norfolk, particularly near the sea-board. One of their houses, Creak, was an abbey but of no particular size. By far the most famous was the priory of Walsingham, of continental as well as English repute as a place of pilgrimage. Pentney Priory was a house of good repute and much appreciated for educational purposes. The other fourteen priories were of comparatively small account.

At Crabhouse there was a house of Austin nuns, and at Shouldham a Gilbertine establishment, with a community of nuns and canons in separate blocks of buildings but with a common church.

The Trinitarians or Maturins had a house at Ingham, using part of the parish church as their conventual chapel. The Norwich episcopal registers show the curious fact that the bishop instituted not only the prior or warden, but also the sacrist who ministered to the parish.

The White Canons or Premonstratensians had three abbeys, at West Dereham, Langley, and Wendling; they must have been brought into close contact with the people, for they usually served the various churches in their gift.

At Carbrooke the Knights Hospitallers had a preceptory, from whence the alms-gatherers for their order went throughout the whole county.

Norfolk was singularly rich in houses of the various mendicant orders. Norwich, Lynn, and Yarmouth had establishments of each of the four great orders; Thetford had both Dominican and Austin Friars; the Franciscans were at Walsingham; and the Carmelites at Blakeney, and Burnham Norton. In addition to this, there were some houses of those minor orders of friars, who were suppressed in favour of the greater orders about 1300. At Norwich and at Lynn there were thirteenth-century houses of Friars of the Sack, and the county town had also houses of both the De Domino and Pied Friars.

Of hospitals the county had a great supply, exceeding forty in number. No fewer than twenty-three of these were lazaret-houses. The smaller of these lazaret-houses had usually no regular endowment, but were dependent on alms, so that the record references to them are but casual. At Norwich there were five of these small leper-houses, at five of the gates, in addition to the definite establishment of St. Mary Magdalen, a little distance from the city. At Lynn there was the rather unusual establishment of a hospital partly for sound and partly for unsound brethren.

The colleges or collegiate churches numbered seven, of which the Chapel-in-the-Fields, Norwich, was the earliest (thirteenth-century) example, and Thoresby's or Holy Trinity, Lynn (sixteenth-century) was the latest.

The alien priories, attached to great abbeys of France, numbered seven; of these the priory of Sporle, to which the bishop instituted, was the most important.

A certain amount of early light is thrown on the religious houses of the county by the metropolitical visitation of Archbishop Peckham. He was in this diocese from November 1280 to the following January, when we know that he visited the houses of Wymondham, and St. Benet-at-Holme, Coxford, Creak, and Castle Acre, and probably many others. It is clear that he found the monasteries on the whole in a creditable state, very little to find fault with, and very little to reform. If there had been any flagrant

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abuses, we should have been sure to hear of them, for Peckham was the last man to show any mercy to monks who had gone wrong.

The episcopal registers for Norwich diocese contain, as far as our search of them has extended, no accounts of visitations save of one Suffolk nunnery. Probably such visitation records were, in this diocese, always kept in a separate volume. We know that this was the case during the latter part of the life of the monasteries, from the highly interesting visitation registers of Bishops Goldwell and Nicke, extending from 1492 to 1532, which are now at the Bodleian.¹ At that period episcopal visitations were undertaken every six years, and twenty-seven houses were thus regularly visited by their diocesan. In that volume much that is sad and much that was irregular came to light, but the cases of good reports infinitely outweigh those of the contrary nature. The same may be said of the visitations every three years of the Premonstratensian houses for about the same period, which were exempt from diocesan control. All these reports are frankly dealt with under each house. The severity of the discipline exercised by the visitors, particularly in the houses of the White Canons, is most marked.

The condition of the Norfolk monasteries at the time of their suppression has been most fully and critically examined, by Dr. Jessopp,² and the horrible *comperta* of Cromwell's tools set down side by side with the detailed reports of the county commissioners of the same year.³ The latter give us the details of twenty-four religious houses, and in nineteen cases the report as to the moral condition and general character of the inmates is highly favourable.

HOUSES OF BENEDICTINE MONKS

1: THE CATHEDRAL PRIORY OF THE HOLY TRINITY OF NORWICH⁴

An intrinsic part of the great scheme of Bishop Herbert de Losinga (himself a monk) when he transferred the episcopal seat from Thetford to Norwich, was the building of a monastery for the Benedictine monks, who were to have the charge of the new cathedral church. The bishop's palace was built on the

north side of the great church, and of the monastery on the south. The foundation stone of the church was laid in 1096, and by the year 1101 the monastic buildings were sufficiently advanced for occupation. The bishop gathered together sixty monks, and in September, 1101, at Windsor, sealed the foundation deed, which was witnessed by the king and queen, the two archbishops, eight bishops, the papal legate, and by many earls and abbots. By this deed the bishop

¹ Edited for the Camden Society in 1888 by Dr. Jessopp.

² *The Norwich Antiquarian Miscellany* (1883), ii, 434-63.

³ Cert. Norf. No. 90.

⁴ The chief printed account of the early history of the cathedral priory of Norwich is the chronicle of Bartholomew Cotton, a monk of this house, who died in 1298. Part of the original chronicle, termed *Historia Anglicana*, consisting of fifty-three parchment folios, is among the Norwich muniments. Another copy is in the Cotton collection, Nero C. v. This chronicle was printed and edited by Dr. Luard, in the Rolls Ser. in 1859.

Numbers 1 and 5 of the registers or chartularies of the capitular muniments also contain accounts of the founding of the priory. Only a few of the actual

documents prior to 1272—the date of the great fire—are preserved, but they fortunately include charters of William Rufus and of the first bishop of Norwich.

The Norwich Cathedral Domesday Book is a large folio volume of about a thousand pages, giving full details of the temporalities and spiritualities of all the religious houses in the diocese. It was compiled about the beginning of the fifteenth century. A note on a flyleaf at the end of the calendar states that it was given by Brother Robert Middleton to the office of the sacrist. Robert Middleton was cellarer in 1403.

There are twelve volumes of old chartularies or registers pertaining to the dean and chapter of Norwich.

The following is a very brief statement as to their

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fixed the possessions of the see as well as those of the priory.¹

The taxation roll of Pope Nicholas, 1291, yields £489 7s. 2d. as the total annual value of the priory. Of this sum £46 8s. came under spiritualities, consisting of portions or pensions from twenty-eight parish churches in the archdeaconries of Norwich, Norfolk, and Suffolk, varying in amount from 4s. to £4. Of the temporalities, £36 9s. 5½d. came from different parishes in the city of Norwich. The five places that yielded the largest incomes outside the city were—'Sechford,' £76 18s. 4½d.; Hemsby and Winterton, £41 11s. 2½d.; and Hindolveston, £18 os. 7½d.

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* shows a great advance in the annual value of the priory during two and a half centuries, for the income was then estimated at £1,061 14s. 3½d. The increase largely arose from the considerable number of appropriations of churches that had been gained during that period by the priory.

In the county of Norfolk the priory then held the appropriations of thirty rectories, as well as of two moieties of rectories. These produced an income of £207 6s. 10½d., the largest being Bishops Lynn £38 13s. 4d., and the smallest

Riston £1 13s. 4d. They also held three small rectories in Suffolk, which added £9 6s. 6d. to their income. In addition to this they possessed the city rectories of St. Paul, St. James, St. Gregory, St. Giles, St. Martin Coslany, St. Martin at the Palace Gates, St. John Berstreet, St. John de Sepulchre, St. George Colegate, and St. Peter Parmentergate; these together with the tithes of the gardens of the Carmelites, produced an income of £21 11s. 8d.

The commissioners made an entry to the effect that the priory also held the city rectories of All Saints Fybridge, St. Vedast, St. Saviour Fybridge, St. Cross, St. Mary the Little, St. Cuthbert, and St. Etheldreda, but that no claim had been made for many years on the parishioners of these churches in consequence of the poverty of the inhabitants. A further sum of £23 1s. 4d. issued from over thirty pensions from religious houses to which churches had been appropriated; a small pension to the cathedral being the usual condition of episcopal licence to appropriate. Old established portions or pensions from different parishes brought in £16.

The small sum of £3 13s. 8½d. represented the offerings made that year at three shrines in the hands of the priory, viz. £2 19s. 7d. at the

contents; a somewhat more extended description is to be found in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* i, 881-9:—

1. A small folio, written about 1300, but with later insertions. It contains the history of the foundation of the monastery and the establishment of the see at Norwich, and transcripts of royal charters, papal bulls, grants from benefactors, and general title deeds up to about the end of Edward I's reign.
2. The Almoner's Register, chiefly of the time of Edward II and Edward III, and in the main concerned with properties pertaining to the almoner's office.
3. A register, written about the end of the fifteenth century, treating of the liberties of the priory, particularly against the city of Norwich.
4. A small quarto volume chiefly devoted to charters and grants by bishops of Norwich to the priory.
5. A small quarto volume, known as the 'Celerer's Boke,' mostly in the writing of Ralph de Elingham, cellarer, in 1282.
6. Another small quarto, known as the Chamberlain's Book, of about the same date as the last.
7. A small register giving the charter of foundation and other charters and bulls; this is also of Edward I's reign.
8. A paper volume of copies of deeds, the oldest of them transcribed in the fourteenth century.
9. *Proficuum Maneriorum Prioris et Conventus*, compiled in the reigns of Edward II and Edward III.
10. A miscellaneous collection of deeds, *temp.* Edward I and Edward IV.
11. An interesting volume of various dates, known as the Sacrists' Register.
12. Miscellaneous deeds *temp.* Edward III.

The Ledger Books begin in 1538, and the Chapter Act Books in 1566.

The two large folio volumes of Tanner's MS. collections for Norwich diocese contain valuable excerpts from the episcopal registers and from many other documents (some of which have since disappeared), arranged according to parishes. Tanner was chancellor of Norwich and archdeacon of Norfolk before he became bishop of St. Asaph.

At the British Museum there is a single manuscript of some value pertaining to the history of the priory, namely, Stowe MS. 936, a terrier or rental of Norwich Priory, covering 115 folios, and of early fourteenth-century date. It is imperfect at the beginning; the lands specified are all in the county of Norfolk, viz. Hindringham, Hindolveston, Newton, Eaton St. Andrew, Taverham, Elmham, Catton, Plumstead, and Martham. The names and holdings of the tenants are set forth in full detail.

The manuscripts given by Archbishop Parker to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, included a valuable customary of this Benedictine Priory. In Stanley's catalogue of this library, printed in 1722, it is thus described: 'N. xxxvi. *Consuetudines Ecclesiae Norvicensis seu Ordinare vel Brevarium Norvici in usu per annum, cum Calendario ad initium libri.*'

The old customary has not been printed, but an expert states that it is on much the same lines as the customaries of Westminster and Canterbury, recently edited by Sir E. M. Thompson for the Henry Bradshaw Society.

Reference is made later on to the fine collection of Obediatory Rolls of this priory extant at Norwich, and to a few of the same series now at the Bodleian.

¹ *Hist. Eccl. Nor.* Bodleian MS. 8 B xvi, 2, cited in Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 15-16.

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image of the Holy Trinity in the cathedral church; 13s. 7d. at St. Robert at the cell of Holme; and 6½d. at the image of St. Leonard's cell, Norwich.

The actual manors that were then held by the priory were those of Hemsby, Martham, Great Plumstead, Catton, Newton, Eaton, Field Dalling, Great Cressingham, Taverham, Hindolveston, Hendringham, 'Sechford,' Thornham, Labenham, Ambringhall, Thurberton, and Aldeby, all in Norfolk.

The historical or local incidents connected with this priory are not very numerous, nor are any of them of primary importance.

The long-continued disputes between the monks and the citizens began in the reign of John, when there were legal contests as to the respective rights of commoning on lands near the city between the priory tenants and the ordinary townfolk. The charters of the monks are of a much older date than those of the citizens, and the priory resented the liberties granted to the borough by Richard I and his two successors. Hence they stood strenuously to what they considered the rights of their tenants in common pasture, and more especially in tollage. This so enraged the populace, that in 1232 certain of the more violent forcibly entered the monastery, robbed it of some of its contents, and set part of it on fire. The king was then at Bromholm, Norfolk, and sent the sheriff to hold an inquisition as to the affray. The burgesses refused either to allow the sheriff to hold an inquest or to hold one themselves, whereupon the king seized all their liberties. The city soon submitted, and the seizure was released. The dispute, however, broke out with fresh rancour in 1239, when the abbot of Ramsey, the provost of Beverley, and four itinerant justices vainly endeavoured to make peace. Eventually Henry III came to Norwich, and a decision was given in favour of the priory as having the older liberties. The point at issue was that the monks claimed to exercise all their liberties in their own jurisdiction and lands; whereas the citizens claimed to exercise their liberties on the priory site and lands, as they were not specially excepted in the city charters.¹

There was comparative peace between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities for about twenty years, but in 1256 the strife broke out anew. In that year the city complained that the priory officers were taking landgable² in the afternoon, when the city bailiffs had taken it in the morning. This led to a great disturbance, but the courts again upheld the priory, for the prior was able to prove that he only took land-

gable in Holm Street, and other parts exempt from city jurisdiction.³

A grievous tumult arose in 1272, brought about by the old cause, namely, the priory's claim to the liberties of their own property within the city. The citizens attempted to hold a fair on 9 August on Tombland before the monastery gates, and, as this was priory property, William Burnham the prior directed the servants of the monastery to disperse the fair-holders. This led to violence, in which some of the citizens were killed. The city coroner held an inquest, found the servants guilty of murder, and issued warrants for their arrest. Upon this the prior closed the monastery gates, having procured a large force of servants and tenants to defend it. Certain of the priory party made raids upon the city, which so enraged the townsmen that they assembled in vast numbers, fired the gates, burnt all the cathedral church save the Lady Chapel, and almost the whole of the conventual buildings, killed many of the monks and their retainers in the cloisters and precincts, and sacked the church and priory of all its plate, vestments, and books, treating similarly the houses of the priory tenants. The prior fled to Yarmouth, where, instead of trying to allay the storm which was mainly of his own creation, he gathered together an armed force, and entered Norwich to the sound of the trumpet and with drawn sword, and put to rout the citizens, with the loss of many lives and much property. Meantime the Bishop of Norwich called together his clergy at Rye in Suffolk, and on 30 August excommunication was pronounced against the four bailiffs of Norwich, the town clerk, the members of the common council, and others unknown, and the whole city put under interdict.

The king summoned a parliament at Bury St. Edmunds on St. Giles's Day, and by their advice proceeded personally to Norwich on 14 September, when the bishop, by royal request, took off the interdict from the city. The king's justices, according to the city roll, condemned thirty-four of the offenders to be drawn with horses about the city till they died; others were hanged on the gallows; the woman who first set fire to the monastery gates was burnt alive, and divers persons forfeited their goods to the crown. On the other hand the prior was committed to the bishop's prison, and the priory with all its manors was seized into the king's hands. The king also seized the city and all the liberties that had ever been granted it, and appointed wardens to keep the city in his name.⁴

¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iii, 52.

² Cotton's account of this terrible and long-sustained affray (*Historia Anglicana* [Rolls Ser.], *passim*) is obviously one-sided. Blomefield (iii, 53-62) gives a full account from the different chronicles, such as those of Holinshed, Fabian, Matthew Paris, and Matthew of Westminster, and cites from the old city roll (*Book of Charters or Liber Albus*, 127).

¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iii, 46-7, where the various rolls are cited.

² Landgable was an old house tax, usually of 1d. for each inhabited tenement.

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The king appointed the prior of Binham warden of the property of the Norwich priory, and left the city on 27 September. The next day Prior Burnham resigned; the convent elected William Kirkby in his place on 1 October, and the king redelivered to him the goods and revenues of the monastery.

Under its new ruler the priory demanded of the city 4,000 marks for damage, appealing in 1274 to the Roman court to enforce the claim. The pope took the wise course of referring the whole matter to the decision of the king, who determined (1) that all parties should try to be real friends; (2) that the citizens should pay 3,000 marks towards rebuilding the church, in six annual sums of 500 marks; (3) that they should give for the use of the high altar of the church a pix of gold weighing ten pounds, and worth £100; (4) that the priory might make new gates to their monastery; and (5) that some of the chief citizens should proceed to Rome at their own expense to assure the pope of the truth of the agreement, and to beg his pardon and peace. On the city complying with these terms, the king restored it to its ancient dignity. In 1276 the pope's general absolution came from Rome, and was published at Norwich on Palm Sunday by the priors of the Dominican and Franciscan houses of that city.

On Advent Sunday, 1278, William de Middleton was enthroned as bishop, and the now completely restored cathedral church was by him dedicated, in the presence of the king and queen, and of three other bishops and a great concourse of nobles.¹

Other disputes between the priory and the city as to the respective limits of their jurisdiction took place during the reign of Edward I, but were solved by appeals to the law courts. In 1306 an important composition was agreed to with regard to the claim of the priory that Tombland, with Ratton Row, Holm Street, and Spiteland was their demesne, and that their tenants therein could sell and trade without contributing to any city tollage or tax. The agreement decided that henceforth Tombland should always be kept clear, and not used as a market, as a rope-walk, or to lay timber thereon, save that the priory might hold there their Whitsuntide fair, and that every Sunday at such times as there was a synod held at Norwich, victuals and fruit might, as usual, be sold at the priory gates; that at every fair the citizens were to choose first which half they would have for their stalls, for which they were to pay no kind of toll, and that the other half was to be the prior's; that the city coroner might hold inquests on the priory demesne, but that the prior should name a brother to act as his assessor, and that the jury should be drawn solely from the parish where the offence had occurred; that the prior and

coroner might hold their leets in Holm Street and Spiteland without any city officer; and that the bailiffs were not to distrain or enter on the demesne, nor levy any tolls or customs for the city; but if any sold merchandise there they were to pay such tolls to the prior, and the prior was to answer for them to the city bailiffs.²

Edward III and Queen Philippa, when they visited Norwich in 1344, and Richard II and his queen, during their visit were lodged in the priory.³

In 1329 there was a fresh readjustment of the recurring disputes, whereby Prior William Worsted secured better terms than hitherto for his tenants in the exempt liberties, including toll-free passage on the River Wensum.⁴

A strange kind of riot, called 'Gladman's insurrection,' arose in the city in connexion with claims to mills in 1442. William Hempstede, mayor for that year, was charged with designedly raising an insurrection, declaring they had power in the city to slay both bishop and prior, and the abbot of Holm, and to spoil their goods, and that the king, by reason the city was a county by itself, had not the power to punish them for so doing; whereupon John Gladman, a city merchant, rode on horseback as a king, with a paper crown on, and a sceptre and sword carried before him, and with a great armed troop of 3,000 on horseback and foot⁵ proceeded to the priory gates, calling out: 'Let us burn the priory and kill the prior and monks.' The priory gates being guarded, they dug a passage under them for entry, and carried wood thither to burn the priory, and placed guns against it. At last, by threats of killing the prior and all the monks, they obtained from them an evidence of the priory sealed with the city seal relative to the meadows by the river. This they took away, and for a week, from Monday after St. Paul's Conversion, kept the city gates shut as against the king, and would not suffer the Duke of Norfolk, nor the Earl of Oxford, or any of the king's ministers, though showing the royal commission, to enter. This extraordinary outburst ended in the liberties of the city being seized into the king's hands, and they thus continued until 1447, when Mayor Hempstede and his associates pleaded guilty and threw themselves on the king's

² Cited by Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iii, 71-3.

³ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iii, 88, 112.

⁴ The elaborate agreement is set forth at length by Blomefield (*Hist. of Norf.* iii, 143-4).

⁵ The subsequent defence alleged that the procession was but a Shrovetide sporting, and that Gladman was merely 'crowned as Kyng of Crestemesse'; the riot, however, took place at the end of January, six weeks before any Shrovetide mummary was due; possibly Gladman, who seems to have played the part of 'King of Misrule' annually at the Shrovetide carnival, put on his 'property robes' in a spirit of semi-jesting riotousness, and was then carried by the temper of the mob further than he had intended.

¹ Cotton, *op. cit.* i, 401.

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mercy. Thereupon, after payment of a fine of 1,000 marks, the liberties were restored.¹

Through the influence of Cardinal Wolsey, a composition was entered into between the priory and the city in 1524, whereby the latter resigned all claims to jurisdiction within the precincts to the priory, whilst the monastery gave up all claim to jurisdiction in Tombland, Holme Street, Ratton Row, and Spiteland. The city also made certain other surrenders to the priory, such as freedom from all tolls and customs, both by water and land, for all goods bought or sold for the use of the convent and their household.²

On 6 April, 1539, the great monastery of Norwich was dissolved. The monks were for the most part changed into prebendaries or secular canons, whilst the last prior, William Castleton, became the first dean of the new establishment.

Among the muniments of the city of Norwich is a copy of the charter, quaintly described as the document 'whereby the prior and monks are changed from the monkish state into a dean and chapter, and so made secular priests and altered their cowl.'³

Some consideration must now be given to the considerable number of old documents relating to the inner working and life of the cathedral priory of the Holy Trinity.

In the treasury of the cathedral of Norwich no fewer than 1,400 of the old account rolls of the great Benedictine priory are carefully preserved. They are 'obedientiary rolls,' that is, they pertained to the obedientiaries or chief officials of the priory, and are concerned with the yearly accounts pertaining to the office of the particular official. The earliest roll is of the year 1272; many earlier ones were probably consumed in the devastating fire of that particular year. The date of the latest of the pre-Reformation series is 1535.⁴

A general account roll of the year 1363 gives a *Status Obedientiariorum*, with the total receipts of each officer of the convent, beginning with the prior. The officials enumerated on this roll, under the prior, were as follows, the year after each giving the date of the earliest roll still extant of that particular office:—Cellarer

(1303), sacrist (1274), chamberlain (1292), precentor (1283), almoner (1276), infirmarer (1313), commoner (1284), pittancer (1289), hostellar (1320), refectorian (1289), gardener (1340), and warden of St. Paul's Hospital (1423). The priors of four out of the five cells of this cathedral priory also sent in their account rolls—Yarmouth (1355), Aldeby (1381), Hoxne (1394), and St. Leonard, Norwich (1348).

The most interesting rolls for a history of the actual working of the great cathedral in mediaeval days are those of the sacrist; they happen, fortunately, to be more numerous than any of the others, although there are considerable as well as occasional gaps in their sequence.⁵

The income of the sacrist's office came mainly from the voluntary offerings of the faithful. The chief of these were the offerings at the high altar, to the north of which stood the costly patronal images of the Holy Trinity. In 1301 the offerings at the high altar were £43 16s. 7d., the Lady altar £14 11s. 4d., the Relics altar £8 16s. 7d., the box (*trunca*) of the Cross £6 17s. 2½d., the box at the head of Walter the bishop 56s. 5d., and the box of St. Hippolitus 12s. 6d. For the next few years these offerings were of approximately similar amounts; in 1304 the high altar gifts were £46, and in 1305 £45, but soon afterwards they diminished.

The results of the Black Death, here as elsewhere, were to stimulate the devotions of many of the survivors. The rolls are, unfortunately, missing of the immediate years on each side of the great pestilence, but in 1343 (the latest before the pestilence) the total receipts of the sacrist were only £114 19s. 4½d., whilst the total for 1364 (the first extant after the pestilence) was £188 13s. 1½d., the rise being chiefly attributable to the offerings. For this latter year they were: At the high altar, £54 7s. 1½d.; 'ad crucem,' £21 19s. 7d.; 'ad reliquias,' £7 8s. 2½d.; in the Lady chapel, £3 0s. 2½d.; at the image of St. Osyth, £3 6s. 4½d.; and at the image of St. Hippolitus, 11s. 7d. The two lowest of the offerings before various other images were St. Katherine 1¾d. and St. Anne 1d. This year's receipts also includes the contents of a box (21s. 0¾d.) at the door by the presbytery.

The receipts for 1369 were £192 14s. 0½d., and the expenses £190 11s. 2½d. The high altar offerings were £49 13s. 8d., and those 'ad crucem' £17 0s. 8¾d. The image of St. Katherine, which had been new made in 1364, brought in 2s. 6½d. The expenses of that year included £2 6s. 7d. for gilding two archangels at the high altar.

⁵ Through the courtesy of Dr. Bensly, the writer of this section was able to make extracts from a variety of these and other rolls; but he is more indebted to the numerous abstracts of the rolls of the sacrist, precentor, and infirmarer, which were taken some years ago by Mr. Page, and kindly put at his disposal.

¹ The numerous chronicles and rolls as to this outbreak are cited by Blomefield (*Hist. of Norf.* iii, 149-55, and Hudson and Tingey, *Rec. of the City of Norwich*, i, 340-6, and *Introd.* lxxxviii-xcvii).

² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iii, 195 and 196.

³ Liber Albus, ff. 104-5.

⁴ The Rev. H. Symonds, formerly precentor of Norwich Cathedral, compiled a useful catalogue of the rolls. There are also eight Norwich obedientiary rolls in the Bodleian, dating from 1324 to 1507. Six of them pertain to the refectorian, one to the precentor, and one to the cellarer (*Cal. of Chart. R.* 237.) There are more obedientiary rolls, we believe, extant of Norwich Priory than of any other English Benedictine house save Durham.

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In the year 1400 a considerable impetus was given to the devotional offerings owing to a bull of papal indulgence (to last for seven years) to penitents visiting the three chief altars of the priory during the feast of the Holy Trinity. This produced in 1401 the sum of £49 16s. 10d. at those altars during the dedication feast, and the offerings at the high altar during the rest of the year rose to £62. The effect of the bull of indulgence was perceptible throughout the time it was in operation; the high altar oblations in 1403 were £77.

The first year that this indulgence at the Trinity dedication festival came into operation (1401) a special feature was introduced into the services, probably at the time of high mass. The figure of an angel in the roof of the body of the church descended with a great censor, censuring the doubtless vast congregation in the nave. The charge for preparing the figure this year was 9s. 1d. The angel was generally brightened with silver foil year by year, a charge for which constantly occurs. After a time the like solemnity was also enacted at the feast of Corpus Christi, and an entry constantly occurs of 2s. for the man in charge of the apparatus for lowering and raising the censuring angel at those two feasts. At Easter, 1487, Henry VII was present at Norwich, and in his honour the pageant occurred a third time that year. This solemnity was interrupted by the great fire of 1463, when the roofs of the cathedral were destroyed, and was not resumed until 1474.

The offerings steadily decreased; those of the high altar, in round numbers, were £54 in 1442, £33 in 1452, £26 in 1462, £20 in 1482, £18 in 1491, £13 in 1504, and in 1536 only £4 15s. 3d.

The second source of the sacrist's income was from the appropriated churches of Scrouteby (Ormesby) £37 1s. 2½d., Hemsby, £18 10s., Banburgh £17 8s. 2d., and Eaton £11 13s. 5½d. The figures given are those from the roll of 1301, when these four churches brought in an income of £84 12s. 10½d., but tithes were exceptionally high that year; in 1328 the four churches only produced £47, in 1403 £43.

A third source of income was from tithes and rents. Latterly, a variety of pensions granted to the mother church of the diocese by religious houses at the time of the appropriation of rectories were assigned to the sacrist. A fourth small source of income, of a fluctuating character, arose from legacies of usually quite small sums. Bequests in wills to the cathedral church all went to the sacrist.

With regard to the sacrist's expenditure, as there was no separate master of the fabric at Norwich, the most important items are those concerned with the upkeep of the church and the conventual buildings.¹ The ornaments of

the church naturally came under the charge of the sacrist. A few items are here given from the expenditure side of the rolls under this head.

The shrine of St. William was beautified in 1305, the sum of 6s. 8d. being spent on 140 leaves of gold and 11d. for 150 leaves of silver. White lead, vermilion, and orpiment (yellow arsenic) cost 2s. 2d., and oil for painting 10d., while Simon the painter and his boy received 25s. 6d. in wage and victuals for nine weeks. In 1369, fixing three basins with cords and pulleys, each carrying a wax taper to burn continually before the high altar (Holy Trinity), 26s. 6½d.; 1386, for a beautiful lantern hanging in the choir, nothing, because Alice de Reppis gave it; 1400, for making two chalices, 26s. 8d.; 1404, for a jewel bought for the body of Christ at the feasts of the Holy Trinity and Corpus Christi, £12; 1406, for chains for the great thurible that serves from the roof of the church on the feast of the Holy Trinity, and mending the same, 2s. 3d.; 1494, for the repair of the pix in which was kept the milk of the Blessed Virgin, 3s. 4d., and for cleaning the crowns of the Holy Trinity, 5d.; 1505, Thomas Worcester, goldsmith, for making the shoes of the Holy Trinity, 22s. 10d.; 1510, for a ladder with a carrying stand made with iron-work to put the tunics and crown upon the second person of the Holy Trinity at fit times, 2s.

The repair and renewal of the church vestments, as well as of the church napery, also came under this department, the entries being of a kind common in such accounts and presenting no particular features of interest. The clock entries are numerous and interesting right through the accounts; mending the clock cost 6s. 5d. in 1290; and in 1325, when a large sum was expended on an elaborate new clock and chimes, with two dials and beautifully decorated, a regular clock warden was appointed, Robert Orologarius, who received, in addition to money payment, a furred robe valued at 16s. Organ repairs are also of constant occurrence: Adam the organist in 1333 received a robe worth 13s. 4d., and a new pair of organs for the quire in 1510 cost £16.

Each of the obedientiaries, in addition to what was done by the almoner proper, made certain payments of an eleemosynary character. Thus, in 1301, the sacrist, besides contributing 40s. to the scholars from the priory at Oxford, gave 6s. to poor scholars. In the same year over £4 was given to the poor of the appropriated parishes. There was an invariable contribution to the lepers of St. Mary Magdalen Hospital, and frequently gifts of cloth and shoes to the poor of Norwich. Among other payments of usual occurrence may be mentioned strewing rushes three times a year in church, cloister, and dormitory; strewing herbs round the high altar; providing mats for church, cloister, and refectory; painting and gilding the paschal candle, and providing grave-stones for the deceased monks.

¹ These will be dealt with in the Topographical section.

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It may be mentioned that the sacrist had six regular assistants under him for the charge of the great church and keeping it clean, namely, the sub-sacrist, the master of the high altar, and four servants. The first two of these were always monks; the last four were probably originally lay brothers and so continued for some time, but later they were paid servants, receiving a wage of nearly £2 each, in addition to a certain amount of board.

Though somewhat fewer in number and a good deal shorter than those of the sacrist, the rolls of the precentor come next in general interest as affecting the story of the church. The earliest is for the year 1283, the next is for 1314. There are twenty-seven more of the fourteenth century, upwards of fifty of the next century, and seven of the sixteenth.

A most interesting item of the precentor's receipts, which begins to occur on the rolls towards the end of the fourteenth century, is that for sealing. In 1385 the using the common seal brought in 36s. 8d.; in 1395, 18s. 4d.; in 1407, 56s. 8d.; in 1427, 100s.; in 1437, 6s. 8d.; and in 1471 the seal 'ad causas' 20d., and the common seal 3s. 8d.

The charges for sealing were paid to the precentor by the parties in whose favour the seal was used. The roll of 1477 shows to what documents the common seal was appended for that year, the charge on each occasion being 6s. 8d., viz. the presentations to the three vicarages of Catton, Bamburgh, and Hindringham, the confirmation of the priors of Birsett and 'Kyrle,' and a document relative to King's College, Cambridge.

It was the precentor's duty to see that due care was taken of the actual seals; in 1386 mending the matrix of the common seal cost 2s.; in 1425 silk cases were made for the seals at a charge of 6d. Special wax was bought by the precentor for making the seals, such as 4 lb. in 1354 at 2s. Occasionally red lead was bought for mixing with the wax, at other times it was bought ready prepared as red wax. Again, green wax was sometimes bought, but oftener verdigris for mixing in the wax to produce the green. This green wax was used for spreading over the tabulae or tables suspended in the church or cloister whereon were inscribed the names of the different brethren on the rota of the masses, or other instructions as to the services. Thus in 1447 wax 'vertegrees' was bought 'pro tabula' at 4d., and the same in 1457 for the great tables at 8d. The precentor was similarly responsible for the supply of ink for the convent; at one time he bought galls, gum, and vitriol for its manufacture; at another prepared ink, as in 1315, when it cost 6s. 6d.

One of his chief duties, abundantly illustrated in these rolls, was the care of the quire and service books, as well as the books of the general library. The entries are almost continuous for

general binding and repair and the purchase of chains with staples and locks, and so forth. But the chief duty of the precentor was to regulate the singing and music of the quire. There are many entries of small sums for the recreation or refreshment of chanters or choristers at the three great feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. The boys of the Blessed Mary had breakfasts given them on various occasions, and at other times small gifts of money. Now and again a special singer was hired; thus, in 1481, 2s. was given to William Glover at Christmas for singing in the quire and at the Lady Mass. There are many references to both great organs and quire organs and their repair. The usual annual fee to a servant for organ-blowing was 12d. (once 9d. and latterly 16d.), but his services were only required at the three great festivals, at other times one of the monks or lay brothers must have officiated in that capacity. In 1381, at some special function, both great and small organs were placed in the Lady Chapel at an expense of 20s., and at the same time 3s. 4d. was paid to two organ-blowers for five days. Payment was also made to one of the brethren in 1530 for making the bellows of the organs with six calf-skins.

In 1383, when Richard II and his queen visited Norwich, a gratuity of shoes, costing 8s., was given to those who cleaned the quire against their coming. No doubt there was extra music, as the precentor took 2s. 6d. out of his own fund for his labour in the quire. There was a contribution of 40s. from the precentor's fund towards the entertaining of royalty.

The earliest infirmarer's roll is that of 1313; the next is for 1345, and then consecutively to 1350, and there is also one for 1394; there are twenty-one to 1530, and there is also one for 1394; there are twenty-one rolls of the fifteenth century and five of the sixteenth. The receipts for 1313 were £37 14s. 2d., and the expenses £27 14s. 4d. The receipts during that century kept up well, on two occasions reaching £43; and the expenses were always less than the receipts.

The infirmary had its own garden, the use of which seems to have been chiefly confined to the growing of herbs and medicinal plants, such as rhubarb, peonies (the roots, flowers, and seeds were all used in the mediaeval pharmacy), fennel, and squills. Seeds for the garden are often entered among the expenses, without specifying the kinds bought; but on one occasion they were the seeds of the white (opium) poppy. In 1400, 10½d. was paid for 'wedding' in the garden and for 'wedinyrnis.' In 1461, 20d. was paid for planting saffron (*crocii*). Fruit was also grown in the infirmary garden, probably apples and pears, which would as a rule be used by the inmates; but one year (1496) there must have been a surplus of fruit, for 5s. 8½d. is entered among the receipts for fruit growing in the

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garden. On another occasion there is a charge for trimming the vines.

The medicines used are seldom specified, but among the drugs and spices were liquorice, aniseed, turbit (a cathartic drug), dragon's blood, aggarik, mace, cloves, pepper, and nutmeg. Other purchases of the infirmarer were almonds, dates, figs and pomegranates, and white sugar, but these were for convent feasts. The number requiring medicine, and the names of particular cases, are sometimes entered. Thus, in 1346, twenty-four required medicine, of whom two are named, Thomas de Wisbech, whose drugs cost 8*d.*, and Adam de Erpingham, 2*s.* 2*d.* The same year medicines for the blooded cost 13*d.* In 1394 dinner and drink of the physicians (*medicorum*) cost 3*s.* 8*d.* The sum of 3*s.* 7*d.* is entered under the head of medicines and the wages of the physician. This year there also occurs an entry, subsequently often repeated, of 2*s.* 6*d.* to the clerk (attendant) of the blooded, in earlier rolls he is called the servant (*servitori minutorum*). Physicians and medicines cost 41*s.* 11*d.* in 1400. A few years later the wages of Master Marck, the physician, are entered as 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1429 Master Marck received 3*s.* 4*d.* *pro inspectione urine* (an entry afterwards often repeated), and 6*s.* 8*d.* for clysters given and other labour. A surgeon was called in during 1431. There are occasional entries of medicine given to the poor outside the infirmary.

In 1446 begins the definite entry at the two feasts of the Conception and Assumption of the Virgin of the number of monks in the house, on each of whom 12*d.* was spent in 'spices' or extra sweets. This went on down to the dissolution, and similar entries are made on some of the precentors' rolls. This enables us to form a fairly correct estimate of the fluctuating numbers of the priory monks for the last century of their existence. The numbers cannot be taken as precisely accurate, for on two of the three occasions where there are returns for the same year both on the precentor's and the infirmarer's rolls they do not exactly tally. The average number works out at about forty-five.¹ It would generally also happen that two or three of the Norwich monks would be absent for health's sake at their cells of either Lynn or Yarmouth.

One other comment must be offered on the infirmarer's rolls. As they are extant from 1346 to 1350, it is only natural to turn to them with unwonted interest to see what references there are to the Great Pestilence or Black Death, which raged with such peculiar fierceness in the city of Norwich. Was the infirmary crowded? What were the drugs used? and other like queries at once occur to the mind. At first sight, however, these particular rolls seem most disappointing; but after all their very silence is

eloquent, and the complete breakdown of the machinery that usually sufficed to meet the needs and the pains of sickness speaks clearly of the overwhelming character of this awful tragedy, before which human agency sank down aghast. The summer and autumn of 1348 were abnormally wet throughout England, and there was much sickness before ever the plague reached our shores. The roll for 1347-8 ends with entries of medicines for Robert de Walsingham and others of the brethren, and the very last entry is the sum of 2*s.* paid to Master Adam for his labour about our brethren at Yarmouth, whither some had doubtless gone for better air. The epidemic did not reach East Anglia until 1349 had begun. The roll from Michaelmas, 1348, to Michaelmas, 1349, is left unfinished. Ralph de Swantone, the infirmarer, began it, but he must have died when the plague was raging terrifically in the city (70,000 perished, whole parishes being blotted out); for John de Heders began to act as infirmarer on 10 July. Evidently the usual organization was paralyzed. True, each of the brothers had an electuary, but the whole expenditure dropped to £5 9*s.* 3*d.* Heders drew up a further roll from Michaelmas, 1349, to Christmas Eve; William de Len had another electuary, but there was merely £5 spent. At Christmas the roll ends, Heders died, and the last entry records that 52*s.* 1*d.* was stolen in the general disorganization from the infirmarer's office.

So little is known with certainty of mediaeval gardening, that the various gardeners' rolls of this priory, in addition to the herb garden references in the infirmarers' rolls are of particular value.² They are thirty in number, beginning in 1340 and ending in 1419.

It is obvious that the monastery gardens produced more than was required even for their great household. Among the receipts of the year 1400, are the sum of 4*s.* 7½*d.* for the sale of apples and pears; 24*s.* 4*d.* for onions; 6*s.* 1*d.* for leeks; 3*s.* 11½*d.* for garlick; and 6*s.* 10½*d.* for herbs and herb plants. The receipts for the year 1379 amounted to £4 7*s.*, and included 16*d.* for onions; 18*s.* 5*d.* for garlick; 18*s.* for mustard seed; osiers and faggots 4*s.* 1*d.* Among the details of other years in these gardener rolls occurs the mention of peas and beans and bean-straw, though these vegetables were usually cultivated only for cattle in mediaeval England. Mention is made of filberts in 1340, of beets and carrots in 1320, and of cherries in 1452. The sacrist also had a small garden which occasionally produced filberts.

² There are four garden rolls extant of Abingdon Abbey (see Kirk, *Accts. of the Obedientiary*, 1892). Some attention is given to the Norwich gardeners' rolls in Miss Amherst's *Hist. of Gardening in Engl.* (1896); the roll of 1340 is reproduced in extenso.

¹ Ranging from fifty-six in 1441 to thirty-one in 1512, rising again to thirty-nine in 1533.

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The gardener's receipts kept getting less and less, as time went on. Thus in 1521, they amounted to 49s., and in 1530 to 42s. 4d. This diminution can partly be accounted for by the gross carelessness of at least one who held the office, as described in the subsequent account of the cell of St. Leonard.

The most interesting of the hostilar or guest-master's rolls is that of 1534, which contains a full inventory of the furniture of his department, including the chapel of St. Edmund in the great chamber or lodgings that bore the saint's name, in which chamber were two enclosed beds (*lecti inclusi*) called 'cryboleys,' or cribs. There were chambers bearing the names of the priors of Yarmouth and Aldeby, which were doubtless used by the superiors of those cells when attending the mother house.

The cellarer's rolls are nearly perfect from 30 Edward III to the end of Henry VII's reign. The cellarer or bursar had his lodgings hard by the refectory and kitchens on the south side of the cloister. The Norwich cellarer had to find wine on Christmas Eve, Christmas Day and three days after the Circumcision, the Vigil of the Epiphany, Epiphany, Candlemas, Palm Sunday, Easter Eve, and Easter Day and three days after. He also paid the minstrels on Trinity Sunday, All Saints and Christmas Days.

There are but few early chamberlains' rolls; they are fairly perfect from Richard II. onwards.

The refectorian or comptroller of the refectory, had to see that everything was in order for the meals of the brethren; he had the charge of all the table linen, and the ordering of the lavatory.

The pittance, whose office it was to see to the observance and supply of the pittances, had to expend 13s. 4d. in wine for the convent on St. Margaret's Day, and to provide for the whole feast on the anniversaries of Prior Kirby and Thomas de St. Omer; and on all high festivals treated the convent with almonds and raisins.¹

The minor lay officers, or paid servants of the priory, who occur with more or less frequency in the accounts and rolls, were naturally numerous.²

The porters or janitors who kept the gates were several in number, but the head porter held a life office, and was nominated by the prior. In 1381, Prior Hoo granted this office for life to Nicholas de Clenchwerton, he was to receive daily a monk's loaf and a gallon of ale, and the like provision out of the kitchen as was served to monks in the infirmary; he also received a mark yearly, or a suit like those of the

cellarer's servants. He occupied a chamber over the main entrance gates.³

The granarymen, or keepers of the garners, received and delivered the store of corn of various kinds for use in the house.⁴

There were several grooms on the regular staff of the priory. The head groom was termed *stallarius*, or keeper of the stalls, and next him was the *provendarius*, who was responsible for the due supply of provender, especially oats and horse bread. They had in their charge four kinds of horses: *manni*, or saddle-geldings; *runcini*, gallaways or pad nags; *summarii*, sumpster-horses; and *averii*, cart-horses.

The gaoler (*carcerarius*) had the charge of the prison for incorrigible monks, and also of the 'sentuary' or sanctuary, the temporary refuge of debtors and criminals. The 'swanard' or swanherd, had charge of the swans in the priory waters, and was responsible for their due marking. A great variety of other servants had their daily bread out of the convent's stores, such as the prior's butler, the cellarer's butler, the infirmary clerk, miller, cooper, maltster, carpenter, woodward, gardener's men, kitchen servants, scullions, &c.

Much light is thrown on the inner life of this monastery from the moral point of view, by the several episcopal visitations of the priory during the last fifty years of its existence, which are to be found in the volume of visitations at the Bodleian.⁵

Bishop Goldwell visited Norwich Priory in person on Friday, 5 October, 1492, with full ceremonial. He was met at the west gates by the whole chapter in solemn state, and conducted, preceded by the banner of the Holy Cross, to the high altar, the bells ringing and the organs playing. After giving the pontifical blessing the bishop proceeded with the prior and chapter to the chapter-house, accompanied by Nicholas Goldwell archdeacon of Norwich, Dr. Shankwin his official, Dr. Falke his commissary general, and John Aphorsell notary public. After the sub-prior had read the Word of God, Friar William Spynke produced the citations and other documents pertaining to the visitation, the secret and individual examination of each member began, and was adjourned on the Saturday until the following Monday. The report upon the visitation stated that the third prior was indiscreet in his corrections; that women (the wives of the barber and tailor) passed the night within the precincts; that valuables had been sold, and the office of the sacrist deteriorated by 100 marks; that due silence was not observed in choir, cloister, and

¹ The abstract of these Norwich Rolls, as originally prepared, has had to be much abbreviated for lack of space. On the general subject of Benedictine Obedientiaries see Gasquet, *Engl. Monastic Life*, chaps. iv and v.

² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iii, 612-14. On the subject of the paid servants of a Benedictine house see Gasquet, *op. cit.* chap. x.

³ Priory Reg. i, fol. 13.

⁴ The garners were the low buildings, says Blomefield, in the lower close east of the deanery.

⁵ Tanner, MS. 100. Edited by Dr. Jessopp for the Camd. Soc. in 1808.

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dormitory; that the offices were not properly distributed, Father Denys holding the offices of commoner, almoner, infirmarer, and pittancer, and being at the same time master of St. Paul's Hospital; that the altar warden does not sleep in the church, to its jeopardy, and contrary to ancient custom; that the sacrist deals prodigally with his funds, and goes outside the monastery at night, sitting an unnecessary time with the tailor and his wife, and that the tailor and his wife both lived within the precincts; that certain jewels given to the high altar by the lady of Blakeney had been alienated by the sacrist; that the attendance in the infirmary was poor, that Denys was using one of the gardens, planted with saffron, for his own purposes; that the pensions of the chantries of Hardingham, Wakering and Tye had not been paid; that laymen sat at table with the monks; that monks sat and walked within the church and its enclosures, and talked too much with women of doubtful character; that there was not sufficient fire for the monks in winter; that the gates and doors of the monastery were not shut at night; and that there were no monks studying at Oxford.

The bishop's injunctions to the priory, based on this comprehensive report, were not dispatched until 27 April, 1493. They dealt at length with the various evils, and ordered that two monks and two novices should be sent to Gloucester College, Oxford. The visitation was then adjourned until November; as there is no entry of that date, the bishop must have been satisfied at that period as to the observance of injunction. There were forty-five members present at the visitation, in addition to the prior.¹

Bishop Nicke visited the priory in April, 1514. William Repps, D.D., the sacrist, preached a Latin sermon in the chapter-house from the text *Expurgate vetus fermentum*. The prior did not appear, and made no excuse for his absence. The examination of the various members of the chapter, as briefly recorded in the register, shows grave complaints. The prior had evidently grievously relaxed the discipline of the house. The sub-prior was denounced by some as a profligate, the buildings were dilapidated, there was no regular schoolmaster, the number of the monks had fallen to thirty-five, women went in and out at pleasure, the services were conducted in a slovenly manner, and sheep fed in the cloister garth. *Comperta* were drawn up by the bishop's officials based on the evidence, and injunctions were issued, the visitation being kept open to see their observance.²

By the time of the next visitation, in 1520, there had been a great improvement; the prior answered to his name and produced his accounts. The evil sub-prior and two others against whom

there had been grave charges no longer appear on the roll. The obedientiaries were unanimous in returning *omnia bene*, save that the chamberlain complained that sheep still grazed in the cloister garth. The bishop's consequent injunctions were of the briefest character, and were confined to a prohibition of the sheep grazing and a direction that the monks and novices should proceed in an orderly way, two and two, when going from dormitory to quire.³

The next visitation was in 1526, when Bishop Nicke's influence in the diocese was greatly on the wane. The visitation was conducted by the bishop's official, and the prior was absent. Dr. William Repps, the sub-prior, who subsequently became bishop of Norwich, was obviously a lax ruler. Full reports of the visitation, with its subsequent *comperta* and injunctions are set forth. As Dr. Jessopp remarks, there were evidently two parties in the monastery, and it is difficult to attempt to unravel the tangle of complaints and counter complaints, and sometimes of evident slander and gross exaggeration, which were not accepted by the visitor. Thomas Sall, the third prior, endeavoured to keep the novices in order, but the prior and sub-prior excused them their penances. Though the house was disorderly Dr. Jessopp's opinion that the serious charges broke down, and that the smaller matters were of little moment, is evidently correct.⁴

The last visitation was held in 1532, by which time Prior Catton had become abbot of St. Albans, Dr. Repps abbot of St. Benet's Holm, and William Castleton, late abbot of Wymondham, had been elected prior of Norwich. The visitation was of a very thorough character. The outcome is that the house was in a somewhat lax condition, there was much dissension, no learning, and but little seriousness; 'but of any gross vices we hear not one single word.'⁵

The poor opinion formed by Dr. Jessopp of the general character of this priory as indicated by these several visitations must be held to be correct by every student of monastic times; its condition during the last half-century of its life was distinctly below that of our other great Benedictine houses:—

The priory had nothing to boast of in its history. It was not set down in the wilderness. It had no half fabulous past to look back upon. No saint had come forth from it; no martyr or hero had ever shed the lustre of his name upon its annals; only one really eminent man with more than a local reputation had been educated within its walls.

From first to last it had been a singularly useless institution as compared with any other great English monastery with equal resources. As to the character of the inmates prior to the days of Bishop Goldwell, the extant episcopal registers at Norwich are silent.

¹ Jessopp, *Visitations of the Diocese of Norwich* (Camd. Soc.), 1-8.

² Ibid. 72-9.

³ Ibid. 192-4.

⁴ Ibid. 262-70.

⁵ Ibid. 196-206.



CATHEDRAL PRIORY OF THE HOLY TRINITY, NORWICH (*Obverse*)



CATHEDRAL PRIORY OF THE HOLY TRINITY, NORWICH (*Reverse*)



CATHEDRAL PRIORY OF THE HOLY TRINITY, NORWICH



WYMONDHAM ABBEY

NORFOLK MONASTIC SEALS, PLATE I

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

What Dr. Jessopp says of the 1492 visitation must at least have been true of its earlier history:—

That in a community of nearly fifty men of different ages, temperaments and parentage, all should be living devout and virtuous and blameless lives, it would be foolish to suppose; but there were no signs of anything like a general laxity of conduct among the Norwich monks.

There can be little doubt that the long sustained strife between the monks and the citizens had the evil effect of drawing the attention of successive superiors far too much to the secular side of their rule, and this tendency was further accentuated by the not infrequent occurrence of disputes between prior and bishop. In the appointment of East Anglian bishops, the earnest desires of the priory chapter were usually set aside by pope or king. Only three of the long roll of bishops of Norwich had been priors of the Holy Trinity (Turbe Skerning and Totington), two of whom were of the best.

PRIORS OF HOLY TRINITY, NORWICH

- Ingulf, occurs 1121
 William Turbe, occurs 1124, bishop of Norwich, 1146
 Helias, elected and died 1158
 Ranulph
 John, occurs c. 1170
 Elric
 Tancred
 Girard,¹ 1185–1201
 William de Walsham,² 1201–18
 Ralph de Warham,³ 1218; bishop of Chichester same year
 William FitzOdo,⁴ 1219–35
 Simon de Elenham,⁵ 1235, 1251
 Roger de Skerning,⁶ 1257, bishop of Norwich, 1265
 Nicholas de Brampton,⁷ 1265–8
 William de Burnham,⁸ 1268–72
 William de Kirkby,⁹ 1272–88
 Henry de Lakenham,¹⁰ 1289–1309
 Robert de Langley,¹¹ 1310–26
 William de Claxton,¹² 1326–44
 Simon Bozoun,¹³ 1344–52
 Lawrence de Leck,¹⁴ 1353–7
 Nicholas de Hoo,¹⁵ 1357–82
 Alexander de Totington,¹⁶ 1382; bishop of Norwich, 1406
 Robert de Burnham,¹⁷ 1407–27
 William Worsted,¹⁸ 1427–36
 John Heverlond,¹⁹ 1436–53

¹ Cotton, *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Ser.), 92.

² Ibid. 92, 109.

³ Ibid. 109, 111.

⁴ Ibid. 110, 118.

⁵ Ibid. 118, 137.

⁶ Ibid. 137, 156.

⁷ Ibid. 141, 143.

⁸ Ibid. 143, 150.

⁹ Ibid. 149, 170.

¹⁰ Ibid. 170.

¹¹ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 35.

¹² Ibid. ii, 9.

¹³ Ibid. iv, 45.

¹⁴ Ibid. iv, 138.

¹⁵ Ibid. v, 23.

¹⁶ Ibid. vi, 84.

¹⁷ Ibid. vii, 3.

¹⁸ Ibid. ix, 27.

¹⁹ Ibid. ix, 87.

John Molet,²⁰ 1454–71

Thomas Bozoun,²¹ 1471–80

John Bonewell,²² 1480–8

William Spynke, 1488–1502

William Baconthorp, 1502–4

Robert Bronde, 1504–29

William Castleton *alias* Catton, 1529; dean 1538

The first seal of the priory, eleventh century (circular, 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), shows our Lord in half length with nimbus, sceptre in right hand, and left raised in benediction upon the cathedral church, which is a building with side towers, each having a domed roof surmounted by a cross. Legend:—

SIGILL . . IS . NORWICENSIS . . LE . .²³

The elaborate second seal (circular, 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.) came into use in 1258.

Obverse.—The cathedral church shows arcading, stringcourse, and pediment, with three pinnacled towers. On each side of the central tower is an angel censing. Under the tower is the founder, right hand raised in benediction, left hand holding crozier; on the plinth below, *Herbertus Fundator*. In the arcade each side of the bishop are three monks' heads. At the sides, over the roof, are the sun and crescent moon. Legend:—

SIGILLUM . . ECCLESIE . . SANCTE
 TRINITATIS . . NORWICI

Reverse.—An elaborate architectural elevation, probably intended for the west (?) front of the cathedral. In the upper part is a double-quatrefoil shape compartment, in which is the half-length of our Lord with uplifted hands. In the doorway, of two pointed arches, with central pillar, over which is a trefoil compartment containing the emblem of the Trinity, is represented the Annunciation, with the words *Ave Maria* on the plinth below. On the roof are two birds. In the middle on either side of the central panel of the façade are two circular compartments containing heads. Legend:—

EST . MICHI . NUMEN . IDEM . TRIBUS . UNI
 LAUS . HONOR . IDEM . ET . BENEDICO . GREGI
 FAMULATUR . QUI . MICHI . REGI

On the rim of the seal:—

ANNO . DOMINI . MILLESIMO . DUCENTESIMO
 QUINQUAGESIMO . OCTAVO . FACTUM . EST
 HOC . SIGILLUM²⁴

In 1544 this beautiful and striking seal was shamefully mutilated to suit the changed tastes of the time. The Annunciation was clumsily removed to make way for a shield of arms, a cross within a bordure, but the tops of the heads of the Virgin and St. Gabriel are visible.²⁵

²⁰ Ibid. xi, 31.

²¹ Ibid. xi, 179.

²² Ibid. xii, 75.

²³ B.M. lviii, 1.

²⁴ B.M. lviii, 3, 4; Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, pl. xxi; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 62.

²⁵ Add. Ch. 2013.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

THE CELLS OF THE CATHEDRAL PRIORY OF NORWICH

The cells of the great cathedral priory of Norwich were five in number—Aldeby, Lynn, Norwich, St. Leonard's, Yarmouth, and Hoxne in Suffolk.

2. THE PRIORY OF ALDEBY¹

Agnes de Beaupré, who was afterwards the wife of Hubert de Rye, gave in the time of Henry I, the church and manor of Aldeby to the monks of Norwich. Whereupon Bishop Herbert placed here a prior and three Benedictine monks, establishing the house as a priory cell of Norwich. When the conventual church was founded, Bishop Herbert laid the first foundation-stone and Hubert and Agnes the second. Henry I confirmed to the priory, which was dedicated to the honour of St. Mary, the grant by Hubert de Rye of tithes in Swanton, Hockering, and Deepham, together with the church and manor of Aldeby, and other grants of Henry de Rye, the son of Hubert. The temporalities were valued at £71 5s. 6d. in the year 1428.

In 1275 the jury of Knavering hundred found the prior of Aldeby had assize of bread and beer, and held view of frank-pledge, but they knew not by what warrant.² In 1286 William Rosalyne purchased of the prior and convent of Norwich the lordship of this town, except certain messuages and lands and the advowson of the church, which were reserved to the convent and henceforth called the prior's manor.

On 27 May, 1355, John de Bedingfield, prior of Aldeby, was appointed by Laurence, prior of Norwich, acting as vicar-general for the bishop, to hear the confessions of the nuns of Bungay.

In 1376 Sir Thomas Savage was buried by the south porch of the priory church. In 1466 Lady Isabel Morley died patroness of the priory, being heir to the founders, Hubert and Agnes de Rye.³ In 1481 Edmund Salle, Roger Framlingham, and William Spink were the three monks of this cell.

The priors of the several cells of Norwich had to present annual accounts to the prior of Norwich. Various of these account rolls for Aldeby are extant in the treasury of Norwich Cathedral, namely from 1422 to 1426, from 1440 to 1442, for the year 1462, and twelve others at irregular intervals, the last being for 1523.

At the visitation of Norwich Priory in 1514, John Lakenham, the prior of Aldeby, could only give a poor account of himself and his cell. He had not handed in the accounts of the last

year, though he said he was prepared to do so; the house was in debt to the extent of £10; he had only paid £5 of his annual pension to the mother house, but the cellarer held a marsh pertaining to the cell by way of exoneration; the gates of the cell and the brewery were in a ruinous state. The bishop's injunctions consequent on this visit insist on all cells returning annual accounts to be deposited in the Norwich treasury each Michaelmas.⁴

Edmund Norwich was prior of Aldeby at the visitation of 1532; he was examined, but only as to the condition of Norwich Priory.⁵

PRIORS OF ALDEBY⁶

John de Bedingfield, occurs 1355

Richard de Rye, occurs 1422

Thomas Hethyll, occurs 1462

William Bexwell, occurs 1505

John Lakenham, occurs 1514

Edmund Norwich *alias* Drake, occurs 1532

3. THE PRIORY OF LYNN⁷

Bishop Herbert of Norwich, about the year 1100, founded the noble parish church of St. Margaret's, Lynn, and attached to it a priory of monks, dedicating the house in honour of St. Mary Magdalen, St. Margaret, and all virgin saints. He richly endowed it with churches, lands, rents, and men, and granted the priory a market on Saturdays, and a fair at the feast of St. Margaret; but he made the priory of Lynn and all its possessions subordinate to the great diocesan priory of the Holy Trinity, Norwich.

The prior of Lynn, though an important person in the local affairs of Lynn, was appointed solely by the prior and convent of Norwich and was removable at pleasure. He was responsible to Norwich for all rents and profits that he received, so that all donations and grants to the priory of Lynn were practically made to Norwich and need not be recapitulated in this brief outline sketch.

The taxation of 1291 gives the annual value of the temporalities as £8 os. 4d. In the Valor of 1535 this cell was valued under Norwich Priory; the spiritualities were returned at £11 8s. 11d. and the temporalities at £14 os. 6½d.

A roll of accounts from Michaelmas, 1438, to Michaelmas, 1439, delivered to the prior of Norwich, shows that the receipts in that year amounted to £190 7s. 1¼d., whilst the expenditure was £196 8s. But the receipts fell off materially towards the close of its existence.

⁴ Jessopp, *op. cit.* 72-3, 78-9.

⁵ *Ibid.* 263.

⁶ The first four priors are named by Blomefield, and the last two are cited in the visitations.

⁷ Blomefield, viii, 494-500; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 462-3; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 5; Beloe, *Our Borough, Our Churches* (1899), *passim*.

¹ Blomefield, viii, 2, 3; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 461-2; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*.

² *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 540.

³ *Inq. p.m.* 6 Edw. IV, No. 21.

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The account roll of Prior Edmund Norwich for 1535-6 shows that the receipts were then only £78 5s. 8d. The oblations in St. Margaret's Church, which had amounted to £44 a hundred years earlier, then only reached the sum of £14 5s. 4d. Not only did the pension due to the prior of Norwich remain unpaid, but the cell of Lynn was clearly a considerable burden to the mother priory, for its expenses for that year amounted to £115 11s. 3½d.

Legh and Ap Rice, Cromwell's visitors, were here towards the end of 1535; they reported that all of the house save two desired to be dispensed; two of the number are supposed to have confessed incontinency to the visitors.¹

This priory at the dissolution became part of the endowment of the dean and chapter of Norwich, and Prior Drake was made prebend of the fourth stall.

Among the account rolls in the treasury of Norwich Cathedral are annual returns from the priory cell of Lynn for 1331, 1371, 1373, 1381 to 1407, and a fair number from Henry VI to the dissolution. Invalid monks or those needing change were sent from time to time, both to this cell and to that of Yarmouth, for a summer outing. The roll for 1407 contains a charge of 51s. 10½d. for a conveyance of monks (*in cariagio monachorum*) with gifts given them.

George Elingham, prior of Lynn, attended the episcopal visitation of Norwich Priory in 1514. He was examined as to the state of the mother house, but naturally said he knew but little as he was so seldom present.²

PRIORS OF LYNN³

William, c. 1200
Adam de Schipdam, c. 1280
John de Bromholm, 1309
John de Stratton, 1325
William Ralflede Markham, 1378
Alexander, 1381
John de Carleton and Walter Ormesby, 1397
Richard de Folsham, 1398
John Elys, 1483
John de Dereham, 1483
Thomas Heveringham, 1487
John Fornsett, 1487
Nicholas Bardney, 1489
George Elingham, 1509
Edmund Norwich, 1535

4. THE PRIORY OF ST. LEONARD,⁴ NORWICH

The priory of St. Leonard was built by Bishop Herbert on a hill near the city of

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 364.

² Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* 73.

³ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.*

⁴ *Ibid.* iv, 426-8; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 466; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 8.

Norwich, in Thorpwood, for the accommodation of several Benedictine monks, whilst the cathedral church and priory were in course of erection. It was afterwards continued as a cell of the great monastery under the rule of a prior appointed by the prior of Norwich and confirmed by the bishop. The prior of St. Leonard's had to account annually to his superior for all the offerings in the priory church of St. Leonard, as well as for those of the adjacent chapel of St. Michael on the Mount, which was served by the monks.

At the visitation of Norwich Priory in 1514 by Bishop Nicke, it was stated that John Sybbys, prior of St. Leonard's, had not rendered his account as master of the hospital of St. Paul, also that two barns, through his neglect, had fallen to the ground. Another monk testified as to the vicious, opprobrious, and defamatory talk that often went on at the cell of St. Leonard; and two others stated that John Sybbys had brought the office of gardener which he held to almost utter ruin through his culpable carelessness, inasmuch as sheep and other animals had common access to the garden grounds. The visitor considered these charges proved, for in the *comperta* it is declared that quarrels and opprobrious language were rife in the cell of St. Leonard, and that Sybbys had failed to produce the accounts of St. Paul's, &c. The injunctions which followed ordered the prior of Norwich to dismiss Sybbys from the rule of St. Leonard and not to allow him to hold any other office.⁵ The number of monks accommodated at this cell was usually seven or eight.

Blomefield states that the church of this priory was noted for a famous image of King Henry VI, which attracted many pilgrims; 'so that the offerings to this good king and the images of the Holy Virgin, the Holy Cross, and St. Anthony brought in a good round annual sum.' It is rather a curious comment on this statement to note that, under the elaborate accounts of the cathedral priory in the Valor Ecclesiasticus (1535), the only offerings named in connexion with the church of this cell are those that were made at the image of St. Leonard; and they merely amounted to 6½d. in the year 1534.

At the dissolution the site and demesnes of this priory were granted to Thomas duke of Norfolk.

PRIORS OF ST. LEONARD,⁶ NORWICH

Richard de Blakeden, occurs 1394
Richard Walsham, occurs 1452
Nicholas Ayrich, occurs 1472
Robert Farmouth, occurs 1496
Robert Cotton, 1517

⁵ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* 75-9.

⁶ Blomefield, *op. cit.*

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5. THE PRIORY OF YARMOUTH¹

Bishop Herbert, the founder of the great church of St. Nicholas, Yarmouth, associated with it a small priory of Benedictine monks, which he made a cell of the cathedral priory at Norwich. The parish service was performed by three chaplains and a deacon, who were nominated by the prior.

This priory was so entirely dependent on Norwich, its accounts being included in those of that cathedral priory, that the references to it are scanty. The taxation of 1291 mentioned that the prior of Yarmouth held lands, rents, and a marsh at Thornton of the annual value of 9s. In the *Valor* of 1535 the spiritualities of the Norwich Priory at Yarmouth are returned at £31 10s. 4d.

In 1349 Simon de Halle, of Great Yarmouth, left by will 2s. to each monk of the Yarmouth Priory; in the same year Thomas de Drayton left a like sum to the prior and 1s. 6d. to each of the three parish chaplains.²

The dean and chapter of Norwich held the priory and its possessions at the dissolution, as the successors of the cathedral priory; in 1551 they leased the priory and parsonage of Yarmouth to Robert Sowel for the term of eighty years.

There are various points of interest in the account rolls of the Yarmouth cell preserved in the treasury of Norwich Cathedral. The first one, for 1355-6, gives the sum of the receipts as £212 2s. 11d. One of the largest items was £33 5s. 6d. as the offerings in the popular chapel of St. Mary on the west side of the churchyard. The offerings at the image of St. Nicholas and others in the great church amounted to 93s. 5d. The customary altar oblations brought in the large sum of £62 6s. 4d. The expenses of the year, however, considerably exceeded the receipts, being £235 5s.

The roll of 1442 shows £15 11s. as the oblations at the four principal feasts, together with Easter dues. Oblations and masses for the dead produced £11 0s. 10½d.; marriage offerings, 60s. 11d.; and purification offerings, 47s. 1d. In 1451 the sum of 8s. 11d. occurs among the expenses as the charges incurred for the castigation and reforming in the church of Yarmouth of those who fought against the citation of the lord bishop.

At the visitation of Norwich Priory in 1514, Henry Langrake, prior of Yarmouth, was examined by the bishop as to the state of his cell; he said it was in good repair and not in debt, and that he annually produced his account before the prior and auditors.³

John de Hoo occurs as prior about 1400.⁴

¹ Blomefield, *op. cit.* xi, 365; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 465; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 10, 11.

² Swinden, *Hist. of Yarmouth*, 818.

³ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* 72.

⁴ Exch. Eccl. Docs. 3, 27.

6. THE ABBEY OF ST. BENET OF HOLM

In a solitary spot among the marshes, at the junction of the Rivers Bure and Thurne, a little company of Saxon monks or recluses, under the government of one Suneman, as early as the year 800, erected a church or chapel, dedicated in honour of their patron St. Benedict; but in the general devastation of this district by the Danes in 870, the fraternity were scattered and their buildings destroyed.

In the following century a holy man named Wolfric, with seven companions, reoccupied the site, and rebuilt the church with houses for their accommodation.⁵ They had lived here for some sixty years, when the attention of Cnut was drawn to them by alleged miraculous intervention. The king took the recluses under his patronage, and in the year 1019⁶ founded here an abbey of black monks of the rule of St. Benedict, bestowing on them the manors of Horning, Ludham and Neatishead.⁷ In the first of these three manors, about thirteen miles from Norwich, was the site of the abbey. The king's example of munificence was followed by many Saxon nobles and men of wealth, amongst whom we find Ralf, 'the Staller' and Edric, the king's steersman, whose names are familiar from the pages of Domesday, and the still more famous Edith 'Swanneshals.' The privileges and possessions of the abbey were considerably extended by Edward the Confessor in 1046. Among the possessions enumerated in the Confessor's charter were the twenty-eight churches of Horning, Tunstead, Neatishead, Belaugh, Hoveton, Wittistede, Horning, Thurgarton, Thwaite, Calthorpe, Erpingham, Antingham, North Walsham, Swanton, Scottow, Lamas, Ludham, Beeston, Stalham, Somerton, Winterton, Waxham, Thurne, Ashby, Caister, Bastwick, Ranworth, and St. Martin, Shotesham.

From the enumeration of the extensive abbey property, which lay entirely in Norfolk, as given in the Domesday Survey, it appears that the money value of the different estates had materially increased between the time of the Confessor and the date of the survey, though, owing to the prominent part taken by its abbot in resisting the

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 282 3, 'from Brompton MS. in Bibl. Cotton, fol. 7 d.'

⁶ Certain chroniclers have dated Cnut's foundation after his return from Rome in 1031, but this is impossible from the known dates of the witnesses. The year 1019 is the date given in the *Chronica Johannis de Oxenides* (Rolls Ser. 19), himself a monk of Holm, and this date exactly tallies with the witnesses.

⁷ Cott. MS. Galba E, ii, fol. 1. A full analysis of the contents of this fine chartulary is given in Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 66-79. Where no other references are given the statements in this sketch are taken from this chartulary.

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Norman invasion, its lands had not been added to by the Conqueror or his followers.

William Rufus, Henry I, Stephen, Maud, Henry II, Richard I, Henry III, and Edward I all granted charters confirming the monks of St. Benet in their liberties. Stephen granted them the two hundreds of Foley and Happinge, with their rents and customs, and also a small portion of land in Yarmouth. Henry III, in 1247, granted the abbey two fairs to be held at Grabbarde Ferry—instead of in the immediate neighbourhood of the abbey, where they had been found to disturb religious tranquillity—one on the vigil and day of the translation of St. Benedict, and the other on the vigil and day of St. James;¹ he also granted them, in 1253, free warren over all their Norfolk lordships.

The chartulary contains transcripts of various papal bulls of a confirmatory nature, or extending certain special privileges to the abbey. The earliest of these is one of Eugenius III, 1145. The most important is one granted by Lucius III in 1183, whereby divine service might be celebrated in the abbey (with doors closed, and without ringing of bells) during an interdict; it also contains a proviso strictly prohibiting the exaction of any fee by bishop, archdeacon, or any official, when the abbot sought benediction at the hands of his diocesan.²

The taxation roll of 1291 showed that the abbey had property in seventy-six Norfolk parishes, and that its annual income was £326 4s. 3½d., which sum was much augmented by further grants and the rise in value of the abbey's estates, so that the Valor of 1535 shows a clear annual income of £583 17s. 0¾d., though it is notable that its spiritualities had much decreased, only eleven churches being in the monks' hands at this date.

Elsin is called the first abbot by Oxenedes, and was abbot in 1020, when there were twenty-six monks in the convent, of whom twelve, under the control of their good Prior Uvius, were sent by King Cnut with half the books and other furniture of the house to form the nucleus of that monastery which afterwards attained to such fame as the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. Under Elsin the church, which had previously been of mud (*ecclesia lutea*), was reconstructed in stone, and he was still abbot in 1046, at the time of the Confessor's charter.³

¹ Chart. R. 31 Hen. III, m. 13.

There are numerous charters and rolls relative to this abbey at the Bodleian; *Cal. of Bodl. Chart.* 239-49. Among them are confirmatory bulls of Gregory I, Innocent IV, and Alexander IV.

² Oxenedes, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 291-2. There is a full account of the early abbots down to Richard de Bukenham, in the chronicle of John of Oxnead, 291-300, a monk of this house. This chronicle (Cott. MS. Nero D, ii) was printed and edited by Sir Henry Ellis in the 'Chronicles and Memorials' series, in 1859.

Thurstan de Ludham, the second abbot, was assiduous in the construction of the monastic buildings. He died on 7 October, 1064, and was buried before the altar of St. Michael; Oxenedes gives the epitaph which was on his tomb in the thirteenth century. His successor, Ethelwold, is described as prudent and honourable in everything he undertook. He completed the various buildings undertaken by his predecessors, including an eastern campanile for the church; but left a western tower half finished. Harold entrusted Abbot Ethelwold with the defence of the sea-coast, on which account he had many differences with the Conqueror; but he retained the abbacy until his death, which took place on 14 November, 1089,⁴ when Ralf, the first abbot of Norman origin, succeeded, who died on 6 October, 1101.

Richard, or Richer, the fifth abbot, completed the western bell-tower of the church which Abbot Ethelwold had begun, and placed therein two great bells. He is said, however, to have alienated monastic lands to relatives. He died on 19 January, 1126. His successor was Conrad, sacrist of the church of the Holy Trinity, Canterbury, a man of holy and wise life, and confessor of Henry I. He brought with him to Holm two chasubles and a benedictionary of St. Dunstan, as well as a chalice made by the saint's own hands, and these were still preserved with honour when Oxenedes wrote his chronicle. He died on 16 February, 1128, and was succeeded by William Basset, who was to some small extent a despoiler of the substance of the monastery. He was originally a monk of Utica, Normandy; he died in 1134, after a rule of seven years. Anselm, said by Dugdale to have been prior of Dover, was the next abbot; he began to rule in 1133, and died on 9 December, 1140.⁵ Daniel, whose profession was that of a glassmaker, and who before his entry into religion had a wife and child, succeeded Anselm as abbot, but was soon followed by Hugh, a nephew of King Stephen, who defended the rights of the monastery with much vigour. He, however, became involved in a painful scandal through the machinations of his enemies, and although innocent according to Oxenedes's *Chronicle*, was so overwhelmed with shame that he resigned his abbacy and left the neighbourhood, but was subsequently appointed abbot

⁴ This is Oxenedes's statement; it is more reliable than that of William of Worcester, who asserts that he fled into Denmark at the time of the Conquest and never returned.

⁵ This abbot does not occur in Oxenedes's chronicle or list; the reference to his name in the extended Dugdale is 'Obit Cant.'; the date of his death is given as 1140 in *Chron. Minor Sci. Benedicti de Hulmo* (printed at the end of Oxenedes, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 432).

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of Chertsey by his royal relative.¹ On Hugh's cession, about 1151, Daniel was reinstated as abbot.² He began to build a new chapter-house and dorter for the monastery, and built the hospital of St. James, Horning. Abbot Daniel ordained that on the 'month's mind' of a deceased monk sixty poor folk should be fed with bread, vegetables, and two dishes from the cellarer; also that the chanter on the seven principal yearly feasts should receive from the abbot a cake (*placentum*) and a pottle of wine, with one dish from the kitchen. He died on 8 November, 1153.

William II, who succeeded Daniel, completed the chapter-house and dorter begun by his predecessor; he died on 8 February, 1168, when the abbacy was apparently left vacant for seven years, to its great injury.³ Thomas, prior of Tofts, whom William of Worcester particularizes as 'the good abbot,' was the next ruler of St. Benet's; he reconstructed the frater and parts of the cloister, and did other necessary work for the house, dying on 11 September, 1186, when Ralph, the prior of the house, was elected abbot. He is described as a man who was provident and discreet in matters spiritual as well as temporal. He conferred many benefits on the monastery, rebuilding from the foundations the rest of the cloister, and the farmery with its chapel and cloister, and covering with lead the church, frater, dorter, chapter-house, farmery, and other offices. He also assigned to specific monastic purposes the revenues from the churches of Hoveton, whose appropriation he had secured.⁴ He died on 4 February, 1210, during the interdict, and was buried outside the cemetery. The body was, however, re-interred with much honour in the abbey church by his successor, Abbot Reynold. His anniversary was specially solemnized in albs. After Ralph's death John, a monk of St. Edmund's, styled John le Chamiel by William of Worcester, was elected abbot. He only ruled for about half a year, dying suddenly before he had even received episcopal benediction, in the year 1214. It is manifest from this that King John must have kept the abbey vacant during the interdict, after the death of Abbot Ralph. Reynold, who succeeded on

the death of John, built the great hall of the guest-house, and covered it with lead.

On the death of Reynold in 1229, Sampson, the prior of St. Benet's, was elected abbot, and received the royal assent to his election in June of that year.⁵ Oxenedes describes him as a man of holy conversation, leading a regular and simple life, and during his spare time giving himself up altogether to painting, in which art he had much skill. He died on 27 May, 1237. Robert de Thorkeseye, prior of Ramsey, was the next choice of the convent; the king's assent to his election was given on 15 June, 1237.⁶ Abbot Robert sold much of the wood of Swanton, but he bestowed on the church three copes, one of which was embroidered with Indian gold and silver; two great silver basins, and a silver-gilt thurible of great price. He also built a stone chamber with a chapel at the eastern part of the church, and rebuilt the bakehouse from the foundations. He died on 12 August, 1251; but his successor, William de Ringfield, chanter of St. Benet's, did not receive the royal assent to his election until 15 October.⁷ Oxenedes describes him as a somewhat pompous man and greedy of praise. He endeavoured to secure the exemption of the abbey from seizure by the royal escheator during vacancies, but died when in the midst of these negotiations, on 21 April, 1256. On 8 May Adam de Neatishead received the royal assent to his election as William's successor.⁸ Oxenedes gives him a high character, and says that he was much more worthy of praise than some of his predecessors. In the second year of his rule he laid with his own hands the first stone of the foundations of the new presbytery, and added much to the ornaments of the church. He procured the appropriation of the churches of Felmingham, Neatishead, and Bastwick, assigning their incomes for the sustaining of hospitality; and he reassigned the fruits of the church of Horning for the relief of the poor. Although he ruled during a time of strifes and war, nevertheless Abbot Adam safely secured all the possessions of the abbey.

Abbot Adam died on 19 August, 1263, and Richard de Bukenham received the royal assent to his election as Adam's successor on 2 October.⁹ Richard is described as severe in the correction of offences, but solicitous for the saving of souls, of good life, and of honest conversation. He brought to an honourable conclusion the work that his predecessor had begun in the new presbytery. On 4 December, the day of the interment of St. Benedict, 1274, Abbot Richard celebrated solemn mass in honour of

¹ Oxenedes, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 295. It is clear from this passage that the Hugh, 'nepos' of King Stephen, and abbot of Chertsey, was not identical with the Abbot Hugh who rebuilt the church in 1110, as he was alleged to be, in the account of that abbey in *V.C.H. Surrey*, ii, 57.

² Oxenedes, loc. cit. says nothing about his first period of office, which is, however, definitely referred to in a passage quoted from the chartulary by Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 63.

³ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 69, *N. g.*; from William of Worcester.

⁴ The two churches of Hoveton were those of St. Peter and St. John; *Cal. Bodl. Chart.* 248.

⁵ Pat. 13 Hen. III, m. 7.

⁶ Prynn, *Papal Usurpations*, iii, 69-70.

⁷ Pat. 35 Hen. III, m. 1.

⁸ Ibid. 40 Hen. III, m. 10-11.

⁹ Ibid. 52 Hen. III, m. 2.

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their patron at the high altar of the new presbytery; and on 8 June, 1275, he died at a good old age. It would seem that during his illness the abbot either passed into a state which was mistaken for death, or else appeared certain to die within a few hours, but subsequently rallied, as on 15 May, 1275, custody of their abbey during voidance through the death or cession of Abbot Richard was granted to the prior and convent of Holm for a fine of 120 marks. This grant, however, was vacated, and the letters patent securing it were surrendered as not made use of.¹ The abbot, however, died next month, and on 13 June news of his death reached the king at Westminster, and leave to elect was granted. The convent were very prompt in their new election, for two days later the king signified to the bishop of Norwich his assent to the election of Nicholas de Walsham, the prior, and the temporalities were restored on 4 July.²

Archbishop Peckham held a visitation of the monastery on 6 and 8 December, 1280,³ but no record of the proceedings has been preserved.

In the winter of 1287-8 there was a terrible irruption of the sea. The abbey of St. Benedict suffered severely. The sea invaded all the outbuildings to such a depth that they could only be approached by boats, and it was found necessary in a time of such danger to give shelter to the horses in the (nave of the) church.⁴

Abbot Nicholas, after a rule of twenty-seven years, died on 15 November, 1302. On 15 December royal assent was given to the election of Henry de Broke;⁵ the temporalities were restored on 8 January, 1303, but at the same time the king's escheator distrained the abbot for a palfrey and cup alleged to be due to the crown from each newly appointed abbot. At an inquest held on 27 February the jury found that no such service had ever been made or claimed from the abbots of Holm.⁶ Nevertheless, on some plea not now apparently discoverable, the abbey evidently reverted to the king's hands, as in November, 1303, and in July, 1304, the crown presented to the respective livings of Antingham and Stalham, which were in the abbey's gift.⁷ On 29 May, 1305, however, Edward I granted to the abbot and convent of St. Benet that the prior and convent in time of voidance might have the temporalities, saving knights' fees and advowsons, when they fall in; and that no escheator, sheriff, or other official was to intermeddle with the custody of the abbey, its manors, cells, or goods, save that the escheator or his minister might at the

beginning of every voidance take simple service within the gates of the abbey, and immediately retire without carrying away anything, or staying beyond a day, or leaving any substitute in his place.⁸ The result of this concession was to much simplify the process and much reduce the expense consequent on a new election; but royal assent and formal seizing and restitution of the temporalities continued.

The ancient connexion of the abbeys of St. Benet and St. Edmund naturally tended to promote good feeling between them, and the relations of the two houses appear to have been particularly friendly during the first half of the fourteenth century, the abbots alternately inviting one another to various functions.⁹ Consequently, when the townsfolk of St. Edmund's attacked the abbey in 1326-7 and drove its inmates to seek shelter, it was to Holm that William Stowe, the sacrist, fled for safety, and there he was joined by many of his brethren who had been absent from the monastery at the time of the riots.¹⁰ The abbot of St. Benet's was further consulted on this occasion by the abbot of St. Edmund's, and was afterwards appointed by the pope to enforce restitution of the property stolen at Bury, by virtue of which authority he excommunicated the offenders in spite of a humble petition for leniency from the burgesses.¹¹

The abbey's sympathy with their sister house may have been partly due to their having themselves suffered occasionally from the lawlessness of the age, as the abbot of Holm in 1316 complained that when he sent his fellow-monk, Roger de Neatishead, to the hundred of North Erpingham on business, Roger de Antyngham, with his brother Nicholas and others, assaulted the monk at Southfield on his return, took him from place to place through the town-fields, cut off the tail of his horse, and surrounded the manor of the abbot at Antingham so that the men therein could not go forth to carry victuals to the abbey for the sustenance of the abbot and convent or to do any other work; seized and imprisoned a groom riding the abbot's palfrey through the town; impounded the palfrey with its saddle and kept it without food; seized another horse of his on the king's highway at North Walsham; harassed him at Antingham by taking his plough-cattle, and in other ways, so that he has been unable to cultivate and sow his lands, and have so threatened his men and servants of the town of Antingham that they have fled away.¹²

Besides losses incurred through the animosity of their neighbours the monks were occasionally put to further expense in supporting pensioners

¹ Pat. 2 Edw. I, m. 18.

² Ibid. 3 Edw. I, m. 20, 19, 16.

³ Oxenedes, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 257.

⁴ Ibid. (Rolls Ser.), 270-1.

⁵ Pat. 31 Edw. I, m. 45.

⁶ Prynn, *op. cit.* iii, 996.

⁷ Pat. 32 Edw. I, m. 29, 11.

⁸ Ibid. 33 Edw. I, m. 23.

⁹ *Mem. of St. Edmund's Abbey* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 36-8.

¹⁰ Ibid. 38-9.

¹¹ Ibid. 40-8.

¹² Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 20 d.

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quartered upon them by royal authority. Thus William Dautre, an old servant of the king and his father, who had obtained life lodgement at Pentney in 1318, was transferred to Holm in 1321, there to receive the necessities of life in the place of Roger Ussher, deceased.¹ The result of all these onerous burdens and losses through acts of oppression is seen in 1344 when the abbot and convent successfully petitioned Clement VI for the appropriation of the church of North Walsham, value 62 marks, signifying that they had by lay power lost their appropriated church of Scottow, and that their possessions were greatly reduced by floods, oppressions, and the duties of hospitality.² It was probably on similar grounds that Boniface IX, in 1401, sanctioned the appropriation of the church of Ashby, in this diocese, to the *mensa* of the monks of Holm.³

The most notable instance of violence, however, from which the abbey suffered was in 1381 when the revolted peasantry attacked it in the hope of capturing the bishop of Norwich, whom they believed to be within its walls.⁴ Although unsuccessful in this object they were able to compel the abbot to surrender his court rolls, which they burnt in company with those of the priories of Norwich and Carrow. When the rising had been suppressed the abbot set about making a fresh series of rolls, and it is much to his credit that he did not take advantage of his defeated tenants to increase their services, but allowed them to remain exactly as they were before the insurrection.⁵ In the autumn of the following year, 1382, a fresh rising was planned in Norfolk, of which the chief feature was the design of seizing the abbey of St. Benet and occupying it as a fortress, for which its strength made it very suitable; the plot, however, leaked out, and the scheme was nipped in the bud.⁶

Among the Norwich city muniments are many fifteenth-century documents relative to the prolonged disputes between the abbot of Holm and the mayor as to the alleged damage done to the abbot by new mills on the River Wensum. An award of the Earl of Suffolk was given against the citizens in 1442, ordering them to sign a bond of £100 to the abbot in default of obedience. The city refused and rose in rebellion, the mayor was arrested and imprisoned in the Fleet, and the abbot's party destroyed the mills. The city liberties were forfeited for four years, and during that time a bond of £100 was signed. The mills were rebuilt in the reign of Edward IV, *c.* 1482, and the abbot sued the

city for damages, but the decision was against the abbey, on the grounds of the illegality of the bond, which had been signed when the mayor was in prison.⁷

Licence was granted by Henry VI on 25 October, 1470, during his brief resumption of royal power, for the prior and convent to elect to the vacancy caused by the resignation of Abbot John Keling. On 16 November the king signified to the bishop his assent to the election of Thomas Pakefield, cellarer of Holm and professor of theology, and the temporalities in Norfolk and Suffolk were restored to him on the 26th.⁸ In December, 1471, Edward IV confirmed this election and pardoned the trespasses alleged by accepting the licence and assent of Henry VI.⁹

Bishop Goldwell visited the abbey on 15 July, 1494, when Robert Cubitt, the abbot, John Bay, the prior, and twenty-two monks were severally and privately examined. The report shows that there was considerable laxity of discipline; the door of the dormer was left open and seculars entered by day and night, and often there was no light there; silence was not well observed in choir; the monks were overburdened with recitals of the psalms, hymns, and canticles, and no time was left for study, according to the rule of St. Benedict and the local statutes; there was no clock in the monastery; the younger brethren were impudent to their elders and the servants insolent; there was no schoolmaster for the novices; many of the abbey jewels were in pawn; the late abbot had given the vicarage of St. Peter's, Hoveton, to a relative of his own; the present abbot had too many servants; the steward had the abbey evidences in his own house; and the court rolls were not entered on parchment.¹⁰

Bishop Nicke visited Holm in July, 1514, when twenty-three monks were examined. Eleven of the number reported 'omnia bene'; but John Rising testified that there was a conspiracy among many of the monks to report nothing. John Tacolston, prior, said that the abbot returned no accounts. Robert Cowper, sub-prior, said that during the vacancy of the monastery he had lost two pieces of silver plate and two masers. The prior was accused by several of not rising for mattins, and he was suspected of incontinency. The abbot retained such offices as cellarer, sacrist, and almoner in his own hands. There were no lights in the dormer and no seats in the cloister. The bishop enjoined that the abbot should for the future present his accounts to the convent on St. Clement's Day, and that

¹ Close, 14 Edw. II, m. 4 d.

² *Cal. Papal Pet.* i, 36; *Cal. Papal Reg.* iii, 116, 176.

³ *Cal. Papal Reg.* v, 415.

⁴ Powell, *The Rising in East Anglia*, 33.

⁵ *Antiquary*, xxix, 215.

⁶ *Chron. Anglia* (Rolls Ser.), 354.

⁷ The whole case is set forth in great length in the *Liber Albus*, 66-91, and printed in Hudson and Tingey, *Rec. of City of Norw.* i, 348.

⁸ Pat. 49 Hen. VI, m. 20, 19, 18.

⁹ Ibid. 11 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 21.

¹⁰ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 60-3.

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three of the most trustworthy monks should be elected by the chapter to assist with the accounts. An order was also made for preparing a tripartite inventory of the goods of the house. Sub-prior Cowper was ordered to pay £4, at the rate of 20s. a year, to make good his losses.¹

The superior of the large monastery of Holm, being a mitred abbot, was often summoned away on national and other business, which probably accounts for the absence of Abbot John Redyng at the visitation of 1514.

Abbot Redyng died toward the close of the year 1516, and his successor came from the priory of Colchester. John Salcot (or Capon), who was elected abbot in February, 1517, was a man of much academic distinction at Cambridge. Although he gained an evil repute in his later days, for avarice, when bishop of Salisbury, he seems to have revived the discipline of the abbey of Holm. At the visitation of 20 July, 1520, held by the bishop of Chalcedon and other episcopal commissaries, Abbot Salcot and twenty-one monks were examined. Unless there was a singularly successful conspiracy to deceive, the condition of things at Holm had most materially improved; for all, save one, of the monks contented themselves with the statement 'omnia bene.' The one complainant, Nicholas Norwich, objected to Prior Tacolneston keeping in his own hand the offices of chamberlain and sacrist. The abbot said that the house had not incurred any debt in his time, but that it had been so burdened in the days of his predecessors. The visitors ordered him to produce his accounts and inventories at the Michaelmas synod at Norwich.²

Dr. Jessopp thinks that there is good reason to believe that this abbot in the following years was more often at Cambridge than at Holm, being anxious to take his part in the controversies of the times. At the next recorded visitation, held in June, 1526, Abbot Salcot handed in the accounts of the abbot's and cellarer's offices, and also a very considerable schedule of the indebtedness of the monastery. Some twenty monks were examined, half of whom considered that all was going on well. The complaints of the others were not serious. There was an excess of dogs within the precincts; the altar cloths were not clean, and there was a lack of due service for the sick. The abbot, supported by several of the monks, complained that William Bynham set a bad example by continually absenting himself from mattins, under the pretence of illness, although they all knew that he enjoyed good health, and by day ate and drank like the rest. William Hornyng said that many buildings and barns on their manors had been blown over that year in a violent gale. Hornyng is styled an 'oute-rider,' a term that was evidently applied to a monk whose duty it was to visit the

outlying granges. The injunctions consequent on this visitation provided that two of the senior and most suitable monks should be deputed once a year to supervise the manors and their repairs; that an unnecessary number of dogs should not be fed in the monastery, for they devoured the fragments from the tables which ought to be distributed to the poor; that Bynham should be severely punished; that better and more diligent attention should be paid to the sick; and that the altar cloths should be kept in better condition. The bishop also ordered that Bynham should be confined in the episcopal prison at Norwich, but afterwards remitted this punishment, at the urgent request of the abbot. The sub-prior, however, was advised that if Bynham was disobedient in the future, he should be at once sent to Norwich for imprisonment.³

The last visitation was opened on 14 June, 1532. Abbot Salcot had been preferred to the great abbey of Hythe, under strong pressure from the king, and he had been succeeded by William Repps, D.D., the late sub-prior of Norwich, in 1530. At this visitation the abbot declared that all things were as they should be, save the considerable debt. The complaints of the fifteen monks who gave evidence were much varied and showed considerable irregularity and laxity of discipline. Several of the monks were charged with using linen shirts and boots instead of sandals (*scris*) outside the monastery. It was again said that there were too many dogs, and Richard Norwich, the new 'outrider,' was charged with negligence in the repair of the granges. The prior excused to the bishop his use of boots, owing to the disease in his shins, and for this he had the abbot's leave. Roger Rawworth, sacrist, complained much of the prior's negligence, particularly in not rising for mattins, and neglecting other offices; he also mentioned five of the junior monks, who knew nothing of grammar. The third prior was charged with being wholly given over to hunting, both in winter and summer, after mattins, about three or four o'clock. It was considered that the sacrist was much at fault as to the condition of the vestments and ornaments of the church. The conduit into the cloister was choked up, and the rear dorter was in a shameful condition; both of these neglects were the fault of the sacrist. There was also much irregularity in paying the monks their pittances or pocket-money. The injunctions consequent on this visitation have not been preserved; but there is an entry of the debts of the abbey, which had then reached the great total of £600 12s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.,⁴ although the clear annual value of the monastery, according to the Valor of 1535, was only £583 17s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

When Ap Rice and Legh visited St. Benet's at the close of 1535, they professed to have

¹ *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 126-8. ² *Ibid.* 174-5.

³ *Ibid.* 213-5.

⁴ *Ibid.* 278-84.

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obtained confessions of incontinency from four of the monks, and added to their report that they had strong suspicions of confederacy to reveal nothing, and reflected strongly on the abbot's conduct.¹

Early, however, in 1536, Henry VIII made choice of Abbot William Rugge or Repps to fill the vacant see of Norwich, and he was consecrated bishop on 11 June. An Act of Parliament² had, in the meanwhile, been passed, whereby the ancient possessions of the bishop of Norwich were given to the king, and the abbey of St. Benet, with its possession, granted and annexed to the bishopric. With his subsequent extravagant life and squandering of the abbey's revenues we have no concern.

It may be remarked that though the abbey buildings of this ancient foundation have long ago practically disappeared, the monastery of St. Benet, Holm, was the only religious house in England not actually suppressed by Henry VIII, and its revenues still serve the religious purpose of providing an income for the bishop of Norwich.

The Norfolk Rolls at the Bodleian include several obedientiary rolls of the abbey of Holm; namely, those of the cellarer, for 1373, 1511 and 1517; of the chamberlain for 1464, and 1499; of the pittance for 1412; of the precentor, for 1529; and of the sacrist, for 1379, 1517 and 1535.³ They throw a good deal of light on the working of this retired but important Benedictine house through its different officials, but they cannot be dealt with in the space here available.

ABBOTS OF ST. BENET OF HOLM⁴

Elsinus, 1020
Thurstan de Ludham
Ethelwold, 1064
Ralph, 1089
Richard, 1101
Conrad, 1126
William Basset, 1128
Anselm, 1133
Daniel, 1140
Hugh, c. 1150
Daniel (reinstated), 1151
William, 1153
Thomas, 1168
Ralph, 1186
John, 1210
Reginald, 1214
Sampson,⁵ 1229
Robert de Thorkeseye,⁶ 1237

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 143.

² 27 Hen. VIII, c. 45. ³ *Norf. R.* 71 to 810.

⁴ The dates throughout are those of election; the abbots from 1023 to 1214 are taken from *Oxenedes, Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 291-300.

⁵ Pat. 13 Hen. III, m. 7.

⁶ Pat. 21 Hen. III.

William de Ringfeld,⁷ 1251
Adam de Neatishead,⁸ 1256
Richard de Bukenham,⁹ 1268
Nicholas de Walsham,¹⁰ 1275
Henry de Broke,¹¹ 1302
John de Aylsham,¹² 1326
Robert de Aylsham,¹³ 1347
William de Hadesco,¹⁴ 1349
William de Methelwold,¹⁵ 1365
Robert de Sancta Fide,¹⁶ 1395
Simon de Brigham,¹⁷ 1395
Richard de South Walsham,¹⁸ 1411
John Marte,¹⁹ 1439
John Kelyng,²⁰ 1439
Thomas Pakefeld,²¹ 1470
Robert Cubitt,²² 1492
William Forest,²³ 1505
John Redinge,²⁴ 1510
John Salcot, *alias* Capon,²⁵ 1517
William Repps,²⁶ 1530

A fragmentary example of the twelfth-century seal²⁷ shows that it was round (2 inches), and represented a seated figure with nimbus, the two hands outstretched, in the left a book (?).

Legend:—SIGILLV BENDIC

28 7. THE ABBEY OF WYMONDHAM

The Benedictine priory of Wymondham, dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, was founded early in the reign of Henry I, by William de Albin, chief butler to the king. By the foundation charter, Wymondham was made a cell of the great abbey of St. Albans, under certain specified conditions. These provided that the monks of Wymondham, on a vacancy, were to elect a new prior out of their own convent, and present him to the founder or subsequent patron. When the abbot of St. Albans came to the priory he was to be honourably entertained, and the prior, as a token of dependence, was to pay a mark of silver yearly to the abbot on the festival of St. Alban. The

⁷ Pat. 35 Hen. III, m. 7.

⁸ Pat. 40 Hen. III, m. 10, 11.

⁹ Pat. 52 Hen. III, m. 2.

¹⁰ Pat. 3 Edw. I, m. 19.

¹¹ Pat. 31 Edw. I, m. 45.

¹² Pat. 19 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 11, 10, 5.

¹³ Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 27.

¹⁴ *Norw. Epis. Reg.* iv, 108.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* v, 64.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* vi, 209

¹⁷ *Ibid.* vi, 217.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* vii, 42.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* x, 26.

²⁰ *Ibid.* xi, 113.

²¹ Pat. 49 Hen. VI, m. 19.

²² *Norw. Epis. Reg.* xii, 161.

²³ Tanner, *Norw. MSS.* ii, 813.

²⁴ *Norw. Epis. Reg.* xv, 38.

²⁵ Tanner, *Norw. MSS.* ii, 811. ²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Ackn. of Supr. (P.R.O.), No. 65*.

²⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 323.

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charter further provided that if the founder, or the king, or any of their successors should hereafter secure the conversion of the priory into an abbey, that then all tokens of subjection to St. Albans should cease. A near relative of the founder, Richard de Albini, was at that time abbot of St. Albans (1097-1119), and gave his formal assent to this arrangement.

William de Albini, the founder, and Maud his wife, who was the daughter of Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, richly endowed the priory with lands, churches, tithes, and rents, chiefly at Wymondham, Buckenham, Happisburgh, and Snettisham. Soon after the completion of the church, the founder showed his practical interest in the worship there conducted, by augmenting his original grant so that the monks should hold the meadows and lands before their church doors, and thus escape molestation during the time of divine service by the noise of passengers. For this purpose he obtained the royal licence to divert the highway which ran close by the church, and turned it by his own house.

William de Albini, the grandson of the founder, confirmed all the original foundation, together with the considerable additions made by his father, which included the advowson of the church of Besthorpe, and liberty of fishing one day and night in all his moats and new fisheries, namely the day and night before the anniversary or obit of the founder.¹

The taxation of 1291 assigned to the priory an annual income of £153 1s. 2½d.; at that time it held property in no fewer than forty-three Norfolk parishes.

Boniface IX in 1399 sanctioned the appropriation to the prior and convent of Wymondham (whose endowments were formerly sufficient for twenty monks, but were then greatly reduced) of the perpetual vicarage of St. Mary's, Wymondham. The value of the vicarage did not exceed thirty marks, and that of the priory 600 marks. Upon the resignation or death of the vicar, they might have the church served by one of their monks, or by a secular priest, removable at will by the prior.²

The Valor of 1535 gives the clear annual value of the abbey at £211 16s. 6½d.

Nigel, the first prior, is named in the charter by which the founder gave to the monastery his manor and church of Happisburgh. This was granted at the time of the interment of his wife, and he confirmed his donation by offering upon the high altar a silver cross in which were

many precious relics, including a fragment of the true cross.

Ralph de Miers, a monk of St. Albans, was chosen prior in 1160, through the influence of Robert, the eighteenth abbot of St. Albans, and imposed upon the priory. With this direct violation of the charter of the founder of Wymondham began the unhappy strife that kept breaking out for the next three centuries between the great abbey and its strenuous vassal. Ralph is described by the chronicler of St. Albans as a religious but passionate man. Soon after his appointment the tenants of Happisburgh refused their dues and services to the prior, upon which Ralph, with the convent servants, and aided by the servants of William de Albini, earl of Arundel, the founder's son, broke open the doors of the tenants, and seized the goods of some and the persons of others. Whereupon the tenants, with their broken locks, set off for St. Albans to represent their case to the abbot as their superior lord. The abbot proceeded to Wymondham with a considerable retinue and forcibly entered the priory, and was in his turn resisted by the earl of Arundel. Very full details of the dispute and of the consequent actions are given by Walsingham; but the result was that the abbot mostly gained his way, set at defiance the enactments of the founder of Wymondham, and boldly claimed the right of the abbots to visit Wymondham just as often and as long as they pleased, and to appoint the priors, whom they henceforth nominated or recalled almost at pleasure, without reference to the convent of Wymondham or their patron.³

In the time of Stephen, the prior obtained the grant of a three days' fair at Wymondham on the eve, day and morrow of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and also a confirmation of the weekly market.

In 1217 Alexander de Langley was appointed prior by William, twenty-second abbot of St. Albans, at the instance of the Earl of Arundel, but was soon recalled on the plea of unfitness for the post. In the place of Alexander the abbot appointed Ralph de Stanham, who was often called Ralph of Whitby, as he had formerly been a monk and then prior of that house.⁴

Soon after Ralph de Whitby's appointment, Abbot William visited Wymondham, with the result that Prior Ralph was speedily recalled on the plea of wasting the revenues of the cell, and courting the favour of the Earl of Arundel, the patron. Ralph retired to a hermitage assigned to him by his old priory of Whitby, and there ended his days after some years of holy living.⁵ In the place of Prior Whitby, the abbot appointed William de Feschamp, but he was successfully objected to by the Earl of Arundel, as patron of the

¹ There is a good chartulary or register of this priory at the B.M. (Cott. MSS. Titus C. viii), of which an analysis is given in the *Monasticon*. Blomefield and Dugdale have made good use of it, and reproduced the more valuable parts; but it has been carefully searched for the purpose of this sketch, more especially for the list of the priors.

² *Pap. Reg.* v, 192.

³ *Gesta Abbatum Mon. S. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i, 166-75.

⁴ *Ibid.* i, 260.

⁵ *Ibid.* 272, 274.

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house. Thereupon Thomas Mead (usually called Thomas Medicus or Thomas the Physician) was appointed prior about 1224. He had accompanied the earl's father in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and brought back his body from the East, giving it reverent interment in the priory church of Wymondham.¹

In 1228 an agreement was entered into between the bishop of Norwich and the abbot of St. Albans, as to the jurisdiction of the diocesan in the cells of Wymondham and Binham, whereby it was arranged that the priors of both houses should be presented for institution to the bishop and should attend his synod and sit with the other priors.²

William of St. Albans, who had been appointed prior in 1257, took part in the election of Roger de Norton as twenty-fourth abbot of St. Albans in 1260, and accompanied the abbot when he presented himself before the king,³ he died on St. Gregory's day, 1262, and was buried in the quire of the church. On his death Isabel de Albini, countess of Arundel, claimed the sole power of confirming the prior of Wymondham, in accordance with the foundation charter. The abbot of St. Albans resisted, and a long suit began in the Roman courts. Eventually, on 14 September, 1264, the countess entered into a compromise with Abbot Roger, whereby William de Horton (her own nominee), was to be appointed prior, and on all future vacancies the countess and her heirs were to name three monks of St. Albans, one of whom was to be presented by the abbot to the bishop.⁴ A joint letter, dated 8 November, was sent by both parties to their proctors at Rome, ordering them to stay further proceedings.

In April, 1300, a commission was appointed on the complaint of Abbot John III, of St. Albans, touching the persons who prevented him from visiting Wymondham priory, a cell to his abbey, as his predecessors had always been wont to do.⁵ This was in consequence of the active resistance of Sir Robert Tateshall, the then patron. Hearing of the intended visitation, Sir Robert entered the priory and closed its gates as well as the doors of the church, and not only prevented the entry of Abbot John III, but refused permission to the prior or any representative to leave the priory to speak with the abbot.⁶ Abbot John IV succeeded as twenty-fourth abbot of St. Albans in 1302, and in September of that year was present at the inaugural feast of the abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, where he met Sir Robert Tateshall. The abbot thought it prudent to put an end to all disputes, and by way of paci-

fication restored to Sir Robert as patron of Wymondham, the livery of bread and ale from that priory, of which he had been deprived. The result was that the patron treated the abbot with great courtesy and there was peace for a time, although the abbot did not really recognize Tateshall's right to the patronage of the priory, which he had claimed on the death of the Countess Isabel.⁷

Prior Pulleyn died on 25 December, 1303. The St. Albans annalist complains that during his rule he had complied more with the wishes of the patron than the abbot. On his death the escheator of the crown, acting in the name of the son and heir of Sir Robert Tateshall, who was under age and the king's ward, took possession of the priory, with a large following, seizing the keys and placing wardens at the gates and in all the offices. The convent pleaded that they held in free alms, but William Curzon, the escheator, persisted in taking possession. He also seized the grange at Happisburgh and inflicted various hardships on the tenants. At last on 5 March, 1304, at the prayer of the abbot of St. Albans, a temporary arrangement was made till the matter could be brought before the courts, and the abbot presented John de Stevenache, one of his monks, to the priory. Finally the abbot obtained from the justices of the King's Bench at York a formal declaration as to the exemption henceforth of the priory of Wymondham from the authority of the escheator, and the temporalities were restored to John de Stevenache.⁸

An order was entered on the Close Rolls in March, 1309, to deliver to Thomas de Cailli, kinsman and co-heir of Robert Tateshall, a tenant in chief of the late king, in whose wardship he died under age, the knights' fees and advowsons of the inheritance. The advowson of the priory of Wymondham was one of the possessions thus transferred, and with it was included the bread and ale that the lord was wont to receive each time he visited Wymondham.⁹

In the beginning of the reign of Edward II the priory was in money difficulties, and the prior obtained a loan of 100 marks from Walter de Langton, bishop of Lichfield, the king's treasurer. When Langton was in disgrace with the king, the crown took into its own hands debts due to the bishop, and as there was a sum of 140 marks due from the crown to one William Inge of Norfolk, for arrears of wages and compensation for the loss of horses in the Scotch war, the king transferred to Inge, in part payment of the 140 marks, this debt of 100 marks from the prior of Wymondham.¹⁰

John de Hurlee was appointed prior in 1317, by Abbot Hugh (1308-26). This abbot was

¹ *Gesta Abbatum*, i, 275.

² *Ibid.* i, 278-9.

³ *Ibid.* i, 399.

⁴ *Ibid.* i, 407-9.

⁵ *Cal. of Pat.* 1292-1301, p. 549.

⁶ *Gesta Abbatum*, ii, 23.

⁷ *Ibid.* ii, 63-6.

⁸ *Ibid.* ii, 83-9.

⁹ Close, 2 Edw. II, m. 9.

¹⁰ *Cal. of Pat.* 1307-13, p. 269.

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grossly extravagant and ostentatious, and left the abbey burdened with all kinds of pensions and corrodies. As an example of his free-handed 'generosity' with the community's possessions, it is recorded that on one occasion when visiting the priory of Wymondham the abbot was pleased with the courtesy and hospitality of Sir Simon de Hethersete, a magnate of the district. Noticing Edmund, his infant heir, in the cradle, he conferred on the child the pension of 40s. due yearly from the priory to the abbey. Edmund de Hethersete lived to enjoy the pension for fifty years.¹ When Richard de Wallingford was chosen abbot in 1326, prior John de Hurlee was one of the electors. It was customary on the election of a new abbot for the priors of the various cells to make handsome offerings; but owing to the extravagance of the last abbot all the cells were embarrassed. The handsomest gift received from the cells by Abbot Richard was ten marks from the prior of Wymondham.²

In 1334 Richard de Hethersete, almoner of St. Albans, was appointed prior, and soon after his appointment was made collector of fleeces and corn for the king. Partly through his own negligence, but more through the fault of his colleague, Prior Hethersete by undertaking this work involved his house in considerable loss. The prior, who had done long and faithful service as almoner of the abbey, was so overcome with grief that it hastened his end. One good result was that the prior and other obedientiaries of the abbey were henceforth forbidden to act as proctors or executors, or to be collectors even in obedience to royal mandates.³ In 1380 there was a grant made by the clergy of the province of Canterbury, of a subsidy to Richard II, and the bishop of Norwich was enjoined to find collectors for his diocese. The bishop ordered the prior of Wymondham to collect, whereupon Abbot Thomas removed the prior from his office and declared that he was exempt from the bishop's jurisdiction. Thereupon there was a brisk interchange of legal hostilities between the bishop and the abbot, involving several appearances of both litigants before the king's council. Eventually victory rested with the abbot, and on 1 August privilege was granted that neither the abbot nor the priors of his cells should be collectors or assessors of any grant or subsidy.⁴

Michael, twenty-ninth abbot of St. Albans, died of the pestilence in 1349, which at the same time carried off both prior and sub-prior. The choice of the convent at first fell on Henry de Stukeley, the prior of Wymondham, but on his definitely refusing to take upon himself the office of abbot, they elected Thomas, prior of Tynemouth. The new abbot set out for the

papal court, and chose Prior Stukeley and William de Dersingham, as the most religious and learned of the monks, as his companions. At Canterbury Dersingham was suddenly seized with plague, died, and was there buried.⁵

On the withdrawal of Nicholas Radcliffe from the priory in 1380, the abbot sent in his place to be prior William Killingworth, archdeacon of St. Albans. Nicholas, in his turn, became archdeacon; he lived to a great age, took an active part in the election of John, the thirty-first abbot, was an active controversialist (*expugnator fortissimus*) in the Wycliffe strife, was buried at St. Albans, under a costly marble tomb, and obtained an honourable place in their book of benefactors.⁶ Killingworth was at St. Albans at the time of the Peasants' Rising in 1381, and when it had collapsed and the terrified townsmen were endeavouring to appease the abbot and purchase his favour he was sent as the abbot's deputy to receive an ancient chartulary back from them which had been stolen during the rising.⁷ Whilst Killingworth was prior of Wymondham, seven of the monks of St. Albans and its cells joined the crusade in Flanders in 1383, under Henry le Spencer, bishop of Norwich. Among them was William York of Wymondham Priory. The prior of Hatfield Peverel, in Essex, who was one of the number, died in Flanders; the rest returned, but none of them regained their former health, having suffered much from the heat and from foul water.⁸

Thomas Walsingham, the historian, was appointed prior in 1394. He was one of the electors who chose John de la Moote as abbot in 1396, and that abbot recalled him to the abbey very shortly after his installation.

About this time a return was made of the annual contributions of the different cells to the mother abbey. From Wymondham there were three yearly payments, namely, 10s. for scholars at Oxford, 20s. as the subjection fee, and 26s. 8d. towards the expenses of the provincial chapter.⁹ The cellarer's accounts for 1382 show that at this time there were sixteen monks in the priory¹⁰ and the same number appears in 1423.¹¹ This had fallen to fourteen besides the prior in 1447,¹² and to eleven in 1500.¹³ The income of the monastery during this period seems to have averaged about £350, and the expenditure was usually slightly in excess of that amount.

⁵ Ibid. ii, 381-3.

⁶ Ibid. iii, *passim*; Amundesham, *Annales* (Rolls Ser.), i, 436.

⁷ Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 28.

⁸ Ibid. *Gesta Abbatum* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 416.

⁹ Cott. MS. Claud. E, iv, 346.

¹⁰ Mins. Accts. 945, No. 15. ¹¹ Ibid. No. 17.

¹² *Registrum, Whethamstede* (Rolls Ser.), i, 147.

¹³ Mins. Accts. Hen. VII, 420.

¹ *Gesta Abbatum*, ii, 172.

² Ibid. ii, 187. ³ Ibid. ii, 313.

⁴ Ibid. iii, 122-34, 281-5.

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In 1446 a remarkable and ambitious man, Stephen London, D.D., was appointed prior of Wymondham by Abbot John VII. Stephen had been acting for some time as archdeacon of St. Albans, and had incurred the active dislike of Abbot John Stoke in consequence, it is said, of his plainness of speech in pointing out his superior's faults. In order to procure his removal from St. Albans the abbot caused Prior Waleys to resign Wymondham on the ground of old age and put Stephen in his place. The new prior speedily won the affections of his house, and more especially of Sir Andrew Ogard, the patron. Within a year of his appointment the abbot visited Wymondham, and apparently through jealousy ordered Stephen to resign the priory. This was not only distasteful to the prior but still more so to Sir Andrew Ogard, and in 1447 they jointly petitioned the king to sanction their application to the apostolic see to convert Wymondham into an abbey. Their case was an exceedingly strong one, for the action of the abbots of St. Albans, for more than two centuries, in the nomination and removal of priors was in absolute contradiction to the foundation charter; and it will be remembered that that charter expressly reserved to the crown or to the founder's successors power to transform the house into an abbey. The king gave his consent, and in 1448 Pope Nicholas V granted a bull in compliance with the letters supplicatory.¹

On 26 November, 1449, Prior Stephen was formally elevated to the dignity of an abbot. Robert, bishop of Grado, suffragan of Norwich, with the various diocesan officials, and a great concourse of folk of all classes, both of the district and from a distance, assembled at Wymondham. Pontifical mass was sung with all solemnity at ten o'clock. After the reading of the gospel, Thomas Mikkelfelde, sub-prior, and William Westegate, clad in copes, conducted the prior to the steps of the high altar, whereupon Master Symon, the registrar, read in a loud voice the Latin charter of the king, followed by the papal bull. He was followed by Master John Wigenhall, as vicar-general, who briefly and clearly explained all the circumstances in the vulgar tongue. Then the bishop gave the prior his blessing, and by virtue of the bull declared him abbot. At the conclusion of the mass the bishop conducted the abbot to the quire and there installed him. The convent at once re-assembled in the chapter-house, where a record of the proceedings, duly witnessed, was inscribed by Master Godfrey Joye, notary public, and all the members of the chapter promised due

obedience to their abbot. The company thereupon adjourned to the frater.²

Henceforth till the dissolution, Wymondham was an independent abbey; the abbots were elected out of the monks of the convent unless all consented to a contrary course; they were admitted by the bishop and presented to the patron, who could refuse none unless for notorious offences. It is anything but creditable to their first abbot, Stephen London, that, in the moment of his triumph, he addressed to the abbot of St. Albans a monstrous letter, which for bitter insults could not well be surpassed. Scriptural allusions to the stories of Doeg, Dathan, and Abiram, Susanna, and Pilate, are all pressed into his service to give point to his boundless abuse; the epistle thus ends:—'Vale et mores in meliores stude convertere.'³

At the time that he granted the bull of transference of the priory into an abbey, Pope Nicholas V took the very unusual step of issuing another bull to four monks of St. Albans authorizing them to leave that abbey without the assent of their abbot and to move to Wymondham. When William Albon, abbot of St. Albans, was visiting his Norfolk cell of Binham on 28 February, 1467, the prior showed him a copy of this bull whereby Richard Langley, Edmund Shenley, William Godered, and William Wysebeche, were permitted to leave St. Albans for Wymondham. The register of Abbot Albon states that Langley and Shenley dragged out their conventual life in the new abbey in the greatest misery, and that Langley died in a state of destitution. Godered declined to act on the apostolic letter and remained at St. Albans, while Wysebeche speedily repented and desired to return to St. Albans, and earnestly sought the abbot's leave. This was granted on 1 March, 1467, when Abbot Albon wrote to Abbot Bokenham giving the necessary sanction.⁴

Bishop Goldwell visited the abbey on Saturday, 13 October, 1492. The report thus enumerates the numerous sad irregularities discovered—that the divine offices are celebrated grudgingly (*morose*); that the monks buy and sell like merchants, contrary to religion; that the precinct walls are not well repaired; that the monks lawlessly hunt with dogs and nets; that after prime, the brothers mix with the seculars in the south part of the church; that the brothers are not in cloister at the customary hours; that they do not receive clothes but money from the chamberlain; that the frater is not properly guarded; that the buildings of the dorter and farmery are not repaired; that certain brothers leave the cloister for recreation without the abbot's leave; that they do not exercise

¹ *Registrum, Whethamstede* (Rolls Ser.), 148–52. Prior London had fourteen claustral monks in his charge who united with him in desire for complete separation from St. Albans. *Ibid.* 147. Weever, *Movements*, 809–10.

² *Registrum, Whethamstede* (Rolls Ser.), 152–3.

³ Harl. MS. 602, fol. 61, printed in Amundesham, *Ann.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 366–9.

⁴ *Registrum Albon* (Rolls Ser.), 61–5.

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themselves in the study of letters but are too fond of ease, and that the abbot has not presented a balance sheet to the monks for many years.

On the morrow of the exposure, the bishop compelled Abbot John to give up the administration of affairs and committed them to the charge of William Batell, one of the monks.¹ It was arranged that the abbot should leave and reside at the manor of Downham Hall, according to the form and conditions upon which John Nele lately held the manor, namely by paying £4 a year to the monastery. The £4 was to be deducted from the pension of the abbot. He was to receive each week for himself and three servants eighteen loaves of the best bread and eighteen loaves of 'Trencherd breede,' and eighteen flagons of customary ale, and every day a dish for dinner and another for supper of the better sort such as would serve for four monks in hall, and another dish not so good for his attendants. He was also to be supplied with candles and fuel, both for his chamber and kitchen, and other necessities at the charge of the cellarer. If the abbot chose to live elsewhere than at Downham Hall, in any other honest quarters, he was to receive 7s. 4d. a week in lieu of provisions. Each of the three servants was to receive 20s. a year. The abbot was also to have, at the charge of the monastery, four shod horses, with saddles and bridles, and to have his expenses when he rode on business of the monastery or for its defence in the spiritual or temporal courts. Possibly the bishop consented to this liberal treatment of the exiled abbot as some kind of punishment to the convent at large, for so large a pension must have proved a heavy burden. It is noteworthy to observe that this businesslike agreement was drawn up on the Sunday. When it had been accepted by the abbot and convent, the bishop adjourned the visitation to the following day, and then again to the Thursday. Returning on the Thursday the bishop enjoined on the monks that none of them should dare to defame another, under pain of excommunication, and then further adjourned the visitation until the last day of the following May.² By thus keeping the visitation open, the diocesan was entitled to return and use more extreme measures with the monks, if the case demanded it, without any dilatory preliminaries.

When Bishop Nicke visited this house in June, 1514, the condition of things was, if possible, more disgraceful than in 1492. The abbot, Thomas Chamberlain, stated that the monks had broken the cloister bolts, and that the prior and other monks had broken open the evidence chest. William Bury, the prior, made

a great variety of charges, divided into twenty heads, against those under his rule, serious and trivial, such as against Richard Cambridge for inveighing against the doctrine of the resurrection, or John Cambridge for furtively hiding a cookery book in his cubicle. On the other hand there was much recrimination against the prior, who seems to have acted occasionally like a madman, and was indeed charged with fits of lunacy. He was accused of drawing a sword on one monk, striking two others with a stone in the cloister, maliciously breaking John Hengham's claricord, and not attending mattins oftener than once a month. Other evidence proved general disorder and discomfort, such as bad language, two cases of drunkenness, the occasional presence of women, general neglect of mass and mattins, the revealing of confession, ruinous state of some of the buildings, and disgraceful condition of the church vessels and ornaments. The immediate action of the bishop was the dismissal of the prior and an injunction to the convent to elect a successor within a month.³

Before the record of the next visitation Wymondham had the good fortune to be ruled by an abbot of much learning and of high character. To Thomas Chamberlain in 1517 succeeded John Bransforth, D.D., and in 1520 John Holt, titular bishop of Lydda, and a suffragan-bishop of the diocese of London, was elected. He was the tutor and friend of Sir Thomas More and the author of the first Latin grammar that was printed in England, about 1497.⁴ He was an old man at the time of his election, but his influence for good over a notoriously unruly house must have soon made itself felt.

When the suffragan-bishop of Chalcedon and his brother commissioners visited Wymondham on 29 June, 1520, the abbot's only complaint was a neglect on the part of the monks to sing the Lady Mass for six or eight days. The prior, James Blome, stated that some of the windows of the church were broken, and that pigeons entered and defiled the books. William Bury, their prior, was then precentor, and charged one monk (Richard Cambridge) with absence from mattins, and another with drunkenness. Richard Cambridge said that they had not a washerwoman, a barber, or a clock. As compared, however, with the last two visitations, the condition of things was satisfactory. The injunctions made by the visitors ordered the glazing of the church windows, the rendering of an annual account by the abbot to the senior monks, the providing of two secular servants to see to the lighting and bell ringing, &c.⁵

When the abbey was visited in July, 1526, the improvement begun under Abbot John was

¹ His accounts, as chamberlain, for 1491, are extant (*Mins. Accts. Hen. VII*, No. 420) and show him to have been a good manager, as the receipts and expenditure exactly balance.

² Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 20-23.

³ Ibid. 95-101.

⁴ Wood, *Athena* (Bliss), i, 14.

⁵ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.).

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more than maintained under his successor, William Castleton, a monk from Norwich, who had been elected that year. Even William Bury, once so riotous, and now restored in his old age to the office of prior, had now no other complaint than that the monks did not proceed in a body to the dorter after compline. Richard Cambridge was still there, but instead of breathing forth complaints about his brethren, he merely asked a question of the visitors as to a pension due to them from the abbot and convent of Langley. The injunctions provided that the monks were to retire to their dorter in a body after compline, and to depart in the same way to prime; that the quire books should be repaired; and that a tutor be provided for the instruction of the novices.¹

Abbot Castleton resigned in 1532, and became prior of Norwich, and subsequently the first dean of the new establishment. His successor, Eligius or Loys Ferrers, D.D., elected in 1532, was the last abbot. On 31 August, 1534, the abbot and ten of the monks subscribed in their chapter-house to the king's supremacy.²

According to the scandalous *comperta* of Legh and Ap Rice presented early, in 1536, four of the Wymondham monks confessed their uncleanness.³

On 22 August, 1537, Abbot Loys wrote to Cromwell acknowledging the receipt of his letter desiring them to grant a lease of the manor and parsonage of Happisburgh to William Clifton. The abbot stated that there was nothing he could ask that they would not willingly perform unless it was against the benefit of their monastery, as this would greatly be. The lordship had never been let, and they got many beneficial things from it, such as wreck and fish, and they had no other pasture for their sheep whereby they maintain hospitality according to the king's injunctions. The letter was signed by the abbot, Thomas Thaxted, cellarer, Thomas Lynne, sub-prior, John Harlyston, third prior, Edward Saame, chanter, Richard Cambridge, sub-chanter, Robert Colchester, sacrist, and three others. On 13 September the abbot sent another letter in reply to an answer from Cromwell, wherein doubt had been thrown upon his previous statements. The abbot was sure that hospitality was better maintained for both rich and poor under the present arrangement. If they had to leave Happisburgh they would be compelled to sell their sheep and buy mutton in the market. He boldly asked Cromwell to prefer the maintenance and profit of a multitude 'to the particular commodity and preferment of this one person, William Clifton.'⁴

On 30 January, 1538, Abbot Loys again wrote to the lord privy seal, saying that after

his return from London he had told his brethren of Cromwell's great goodness, notwithstanding the sinister and untrue reports of William Clifton. The convent agreed to grant him an annuity of 53s. 4d., and the patent of this he sent by the bearer, together with a 'portegewe of gold.'⁵

PRIORS OF WYMONDHAM

- Nigel,⁶ occurs c. 1115
- Alexius,⁷ occurs 1136
- Galienus⁸
- Ralf de Miers,⁹ occurs 1160
- Nicholas¹⁰
- Raymund,¹¹ occurs 1187
- Donatus,¹² occurs 1190
- Alexander de Langley,¹³ occurs 1217
- Ralph de Stanham *alias* Whitby,¹⁴ occurs c. 1218
- William de Feschamp,¹⁵ occurs c. 1218
- Thomas Medicus,¹⁶ occurs 1224
- William de St. Albans,¹⁷ died 1262
- William de Hortone,¹⁸ 1264
- Roger de Hare¹⁹
- Adam Pulleyn, occurs 1285,²⁰ died²¹ 1303
- John de Stevenache,²² occurs 1304
- William de Somerton,²³ elected 7 February, 1317
- John de Hurlee,²⁴ elected 3 February, 1317
- Nicholas de Flamstede,²⁵ elected 1323
- Richard de Hedersele,²⁶ elected 1334
- Henry de Stukeley,²⁷ elected 1337
- Henry de Stukeley,²⁸ reappointed 1347
- Nicholas de Radclyf,²⁹ elected 1360
- William Killingworth,³⁰ elected 1380
- Thomas Walsingham,³¹ elected 1394
- William Wyndruch,³² elected 1396
- John Savage,³³ elected 1400
- William Boyden,³⁴ elected 1405
- John Isham,³⁵ elected 1416
- William Alnwyk,³⁶ elected 1420

⁶ Ibid. xiii (1), 57.

⁶ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* x, 518.

⁷ Ibid. ⁸ Ibid. ⁹ Ibid. ¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Cott. MS. C. viii, 61.

¹² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* x, 518.

¹³ *Gesta Abbatum*, i, 260. ¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid. i, 274.

¹⁶ Matt. Paris, *Vit. Abb. St. Albani*, 1053.

¹⁷ *Gesta Abbatum*, i, 407-8.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid. ²⁰ Assize R. 580, m. 19 d.

²¹ Blomefield, loc. cit.

²² *Gesta Abbatum*, ii, 86.

²³ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 72. ²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid. i, 102. ²⁶ Ibid. ii, 67.

²⁷ Ibid. iii, 7. ²⁸ Ibid. iv. 64.

²⁹ Ibid. v, 84.

³⁰ Amundesham, *Ann.* i, 436.

³¹ Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 195.

³² *Gesta Abbatum*, iii, 436.

³³ Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 282.

³⁴ Ibid. vi, 330.

³⁵ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* x, 519. ³⁶ Ibid.

¹ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.).

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 142.

³ Ibid. x, 143.

⁴ Ibid. xii (2), 212, 247.

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William Boyden,¹ reappointed 1420
John Hatfield, LL.D.,² elected 1425
Peter Waleys,³ elected 1437

ABBOTS

Stephen London,⁴ elected 1446
William Dyxwell *alias* Bukenham,⁵ elected 1465
John Kertelyngge,⁶ elected 1471
John Shilgate,⁷ elected 1508
Thomas Chandler,⁸ elected 1511
Thomas Chamberlain,⁹ elected 1514
John Bransforth, D.D.,¹⁰ elected 1517
John Holt, bishop of Lydda,¹¹ elected 1520
William Castleton,¹² elected 1526
Eligius Ferrers, D.D.,¹³ elected 1532

A fragment of the first twelfth-century seal (about 3 in. by 2 in.) shows the seated Virgin with Holy Child on left knee. Only the letters WIM remain of the legend.¹⁴

The fine circular (2½ in.) fourteenth-century seal bears the seated Virgin and Holy Child, with cruciform nimbus, under an elaborate canopy. On each side is an angel on one knee censing; below there is the head and hand of an angel on each side upholding the platform of the throne. In the base is the half-length kneeling figure of the prior.

Legend—

SIG CLESIE . ET : CONVENTUS
SC WYMUDEHAM¹⁵

8. THE PRIORY OF BINHAM

Before the end of the eleventh century Peter de Valoines and Albreda his wife began the foundation of a priory or cell of Benedictine monks at Binham which was to be subordinate to the great abbey of St. Albans. Matthew Paris mentions the existence of this cell as an accomplished fact in the year 1093;¹⁶ but the foundation charter, with which the extant chartulary opens, is of the reign of Henry I, and probably of the year 1104.¹⁷

¹ Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, 61.

² Abp. Chicheley's Reg. ii, 225.

³ Norw. Epis. Reg. ix, 92.

⁴ Reg. Whethamstede, 148-52.

⁵ Norw. Epis. Reg. xi, 149.

⁶ Ibid. xi, 183.

⁷ Ibid. viii, 98.

⁸ Ibid. xiv, 60.

⁹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* x, 519.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ *Topog. Chron.* 5.

¹⁵ B.M. lxix, 60; Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 329; Ack. Supr. (P.R.O.), 126.

¹⁶ Matt. Paris, *Vita Abb. S. Albani*, 1002.

¹⁷ Cott. MS. Claud D. XIII, is a substantial folio written in the first half of the fourteenth century. The more important charters have been transcribed in Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 345-51, where there is also a

The manner in which the priory of Binham, dedicated to the Honour of the Blessed Virgin, was to be subject to the abbey of St. Albans, whilst retaining a certain degree of independence, was exactly stipulated at the time of its founding. It was to pay yearly, on St. Alban's Day, a silver mark to the parent house; the abbot was allowed to stay at the priory once a year for eight days, but no longer save at the request of the prior; the visitor on such occasions was not to have more than thirteen horses in his train. There were to be not fewer than eight monks from St. Albans maintained at Binham, and the heirs or successors of the founders were to be the patrons of the cell. The original endowments of the priory, which had a completely independent monetary existence save for the small pension, comprised the manor of Binham, two-thirds of the tithes of Dersingham and Ingoldisthorpe, and the tithes of the manors of Ryburgh, Snarling Tofts, Testerton, Little Ryburgh, Wood Dalling, Saxlingham, Walsingham, Barney, Babingley, Appleton, and Pattesley. These gifts were confirmed by the son, grandson, and great grandson, of the founder, as well as by papal, episcopal, and regal charters.

Henry I granted the monks a Wednesday market at Binham, together with a fair of four days beginning on the Vigil of the Annunciation, and free warren on all their lands.

In May, 1251, the priory obtained papal confirmation of the gift of the church of Westley, in the diocese of Ely, to their own uses, notwithstanding the collation thereof by previous papal mandate to Henrigeitus, clerk of Genoa.¹⁸

The taxation of 1291 shows that Binham Priory held property, mainly spiritualities, in twenty-one Norfolk parishes, which was declared of the annual value of £103 7s. 5½d., which value was maintained with little increase down to the date of the dissolution of the priory. In 1527, when John Albon was prior, a full return was made to Cardinal Wolsey of the condition of the priory from midsummer 1526 to midsummer, 1527. The arrears from the last account were £31 4s. 2d.; the receipts in money £119 12s. 4d.; pensions and portions of tithes £13 6s. 8d.; sales of wool, &c., £8 9s. 2d.; court fees and church offerings, £6 8s. 10d. Among the outgoings were £4, as stipend for the prior, and 40s. each for four monks; these payments were probably intended in the main for clothing, of which there is no entry.¹⁹ The clear annual value of Binham

synopsis of its contents. The rents and services of the tenants on the manors and lands of the priory are of much interest. The facts given above as to the endowments of the priory are all taken from this chartulary.

¹⁸ *Cal. Papal Reg.* i, 272; see also Matt. Paris.

¹⁹ Set forth in full in Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 351-2, from Aug. Off. Books, 18 Hen. VIII.

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Priory, according to the Valor of 1535, was £140 5s. 4d.

Thomas was prior in 1199 and 1200.¹ The removal of this prior from his office by the abbot of St. Albans provoked considerable dispute, which is recited at length by Matthew Paris. Robert Fitzwalter, a powerful baron, was a friend of Prior Thomas. Resenting his dismissal, the baron asserted his claim to be patron of the cell, and alleged that he possessed a deed from the parent abbey by which it was stipulated that no prior could be removed without the patron's assent. He therefore impleaded the abbot in the king's court,² charging him with coming to the priory of Binham to lodge there with more men and horses than he ought to have, and also with increasing the number of monks there resident, and extorting much money from the men of the priory, from which he ought only to receive one mark yearly. Finally he alleged that the abbot had infringed his rights by removing the prior during his absence with the king in Ireland (in 1210). The defence was apparently a denial of Fitzwalter's claim to the patronage, and seems to have been successful. Having therefore obtained no satisfaction from the law he assembled his retainers, and so closely beset the priory that the monks then in residence could not get anything to drink save rain water, or anything to eat save bread made of bran. When King John heard of this outrage he sent an armed force to relieve Binham, and Fitzwalter fled the kingdom. He died some years later, in the reign of Henry III, but to the last persisted in retaining the deed by which he claimed a right over the appointment of the prior. On his death, his friend and fellow-soldier, Adam Fitzwilliam, having learnt where the forged deed had been concealed, delivered it up to the abbot of St. Albans, and presented a silver-gilt pix for the high altar in expiation of his share in the crime, having been privy to the transaction.³

It is difficult now to gather the nature and origin of the serious dispute that arose almost immediately after the nomination, by Abbot Hugh, of William de Somerton to the priory in 1318, but it was sufficiently grave to cause the king to write to the pope on the subject in April of that year. The prior appealed to the sheriff of Norfolk to supply him with a lay force sufficient to resist the intrusion of the abbot of St. Albans into the priory, and the application was granted; but on 28 May the king ordered the sheriff, on the appeal of the abbot of St. Albans, immediately to withdraw the force, as the abbot could lawfully exercise jurisdiction there as ordinary by apostolic authority.⁴ The dispute

continued, and the abbot removed Prior William from his office; but the prior, supported by all his monks, refused to leave the house. Thereupon, on 28 October, 1320, the king ordered the sheriff to proceed to the priory of Binham to arrest Brother William de Somerton, who called himself prior, and thirteen other monks, and to deliver them to the abbot of St. Albans, to whom they are subject, by him to be corrected according to the rule of St. Benedict. In the letter to the sheriff it was recited that Simon, abbot of Ramsey, recently presiding over the general chapter of the Benedictines of Canterbury Province held at Northampton, had informed the king that the chapter had found that the monks of Binham were living in disobedience and insolence, had taken up arms and made assemblies of aiders to foment their boldness, and paid no heed to the canonical censures of the abbot of St. Albans, and that consequently the chapter prayed the aid of the secular arm to repress the malice of the offenders.⁵

Meanwhile the priory of Binham appealed to Rome, and on 16 July, 1321, Pope John XXII addressed a letter to the English primate on the subject. It was therein recited that Nicholas de Wimundham, sub-prior, and the convent of Binham had complained to the pope that William de Somerton, their prior, who had appealed to the pope on a matter at issue between them, the priory, and the abbey of St. Albans, had his cause committed to Arnold, the king's chaplain and papal auditor, who sent his letters of commission to the abbot. Whereupon the abbot caused the messenger and a notary who accompanied him to be so grievously beaten that their blood was sprinkled on the walls of the church, and the letters were taken from them. The prior was also ejected, and some monks who appealed to the pope were imprisoned and kept without food for six days. The pope ordered the archbishop of Canterbury to inquire into the matter, and if the allegations were true, to cite the abbot to appear before the pope.⁶ Among the Ormsby-Gore MSS. at Brogyntyn is a letter from Edward II to the pope saying that bad men on the side of the prior of Binham had tried to get the abbot of St. Albans summoned before the pope on a charge of treating the papal nuncios with violence. The king espoused the cause of the abbey, and lauded the abbot, alleging that William Somerton, whom the abbot had made prior, had tried to subtract the cell from its obedience, and for that cause visited the papal court. Edward asked for the pope's support of the abbot.⁷

It does not now seem possible to trace the eventual issue of this disturbance, but in about 1322 the king placed William de Leycester,

¹ Cott. MS. Claud. D. XIII, fol. 125b, 126b, 131.

² Cur. Reg. R. 68, m. 1 d.

³ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), vi. 390.

⁴ Close, 12 Edw. II, m. 6 d.

⁵ Close, 14 Edw. II, m. 17.

⁶ *Cal. Papal Reg.* ii, 213-14.

⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, 384.

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clerk, and Nicholas de Flamstede, monk of St. Albans, in custody of the priory of Binham, by reason of divers destructions therein; but in August, 1323, the custodians were ordered to meddle no further with its affairs, because the king understood that the priory and its estates were improving.¹ In the latter year Nicholas de Flamstede was definitely appointed prior by the abbot. It was the custom of the cells of the great abbey to make considerable presents to a newly elected abbot; but on the election of Richard de Wallingford as abbot, in 1326, it is recorded that the priory of Binham was in considerable straits, and found a difficulty in sustaining its own monks, so that it was only able to offer 40s. to the new abbot.²

About 1400, when Robert Stoke was prior, an ordinance was drawn up by the abbey of various payments due from the different cells. The annual contribution of Binham to the provincial chapter was 13s. 8d., and as a pension for the schools 53s. 4d., in addition to 20s. as an acknowledgement of their obedience.³

In 1454 there was an unusual occurrence in the annals of St. Albans. A number of monks who had left the abbey in the time of Abbot Whethamstede's predecessor returned. Among them was one Henry Halstede, who had formerly been prior of Wymondham, and of quarrelsome repute. He entreated with much persistency to be reinstated as a monk of the abbey, and to be made prior of Binham; promising that, in that event, he would entirely rebuild the dorter of Binham Priory, which had at that time fallen into ruins. The monks of St. Albans, however, objected to this proposal, as the character of Halstede was odious to many of them; but the abbot recommended that he should be appointed if he would give sureties in writing not only to rebuild the dormitory, but also to clear off all the debts of the priory of Binham. To these proposals Halstede readily assented, but the brethren still objected to his readmission, and sent the kitchener of the convent to the sacrist as a deputation to express their views. The abbot, considering them to be self-willed, remonstrated with them at considerable length, taking a high religious line of forgiveness. His arguments prevailed, the convent assented to Halstede's readmission, who was forthwith sent as prior to Binham.⁴ Another brother, John Middleton, who had for several years deserted his monastery, was also sent to Binham shortly after Halstede's appointment.⁵

The scandalous *comperta* of Legh and Ap Price, drawn up early in 1536, alleged three confessions

of incontinency from the monks of Binham. When the county commissioners for suppression reported later in the same year, they gave no details of this house, merely stating that: 'The Priory of Bynhame namyd to be a cell to the monastery of Seynte Albounes hath a Prive Seale to appere before yore incontynent upon the syght thereof.'

As a cell it escaped the suppression of the smaller monasteries. In March, 1538, Sir Richard Rich, one of the visitors, wrote to Cromwell, saying that he was intending to suppress Binham before his return, for though it claimed to be a cell of St. Albans, it made leases under its own seal without any mention of the abbot.⁶ The actual suppression did not, however, take place until May, 1539, when Thomas Williams, the last prior, received a pension of £4.⁷

Thomas Paxton, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber, obtained a grant in September, 1539, of almost all the priory's property, including the manor and advowson of Binham. The clear annual value was estimated at £101 8s. 4½d. He had to pay a rent of £10 3s.⁸

PRIORS OF BINHAM

Osgod, 1106
 Enisandus,⁹ c. 1125
 Ralph,¹⁰ occurs 1174
 Peter,¹¹ occurs 1189, 1193, 1197
 Ralph Gubion,¹² occurs 1198-9
 Thomas,¹³ occurs 1129-1200
 Richard,¹⁴ occurs 1214
 Miles¹⁵
 William de Gedding,¹⁶ died 1227
 Richard (II) de Parco,¹⁷ elected 1227, resigned 1244
 Richard (III) de Selford,¹⁸ occurs 1244
 William,¹⁹ occurs 1262
 Adam de Motu,²⁰ occurs 1264, 1267
 Milo²¹
 Peter²²
 Robert de Waltham,²³ occurs 1279, 1289

⁶ Harl. MS. 604, fol. 67.

⁷ Aug. Off. Books, ccxxxii, fol. 43b.

⁸ Pat. 31 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 32.

⁹ Cott. MS. Claud. D. xiii, fol. 24.

¹⁰ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 210.

¹¹ Cott. MS. Claud. D. xiii, fols. 24, 126, 164.

¹² Ibid. fols. 126, 132. ¹³ Ibid. fols. 125, 126, 131.

¹⁴ He is probably the Richard 'de Kancia' named in 1250 as a former prior (Assize R. 560, m. 52).

¹⁵ Miles is also mentioned in 1250 as a former prior (ibid.).

¹⁶ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), vi, 292.

¹⁷ Ibid. v, 177; also called Richard Rufus (ibid. note), or le Rus (Assize R. 560, m. 5, 4 d. 52).

¹⁸ Cott. MS. Nero. D. i, 154.

¹⁹ Ibid. Claud. D. xiii, 179.

²⁰ Ibid. 152, 171.

²¹ Ibid. 55, 94.

²² Ibid. 128, 133.

²³ Ibid. 150, 152.

¹ Close, 19 Edw. II, m. 39.

² *Gesta Abb. S. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), 187.

³ Cott. MS. Claud. E. IV, fol. 346.

⁴ *Reg. Whethamstede* (Rolls Ser.), i, 139-43.

⁵ Ibid. i, 144-7.

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Walter,¹ occurs 1296
 William de Somerton,² occurs 1318
 Nicholas de Flamstede,³ 1323
 John de Caldewell,⁴ elected 1337
 Adam,⁵ occurs 1354
 Robert Stoke,⁶ occurs 1396
 Michael Cheyne,⁷ elected 1424
 William Bryt,⁸ elected 1430
 William Spygon,⁹ elected 1436
 Nicholas Wellys,¹⁰ elected 1438
 Henry Halstead,¹¹ elected 1454
 William Dixwell,¹² occurs 1461
 John Peyton,¹³ LL.D., elected 1464
 Richard Whitingdon,¹⁴ elected 1480
 Thomas Sudbury, 1481
 William Fresell,¹⁵ elected 1585
 John Albon,¹⁶ elected 1509
 Thomas Williams, last prior, 1539

There is a twelfth-century cast of the pointed oval seal of this priory at the British Museum bearing the Annunciation legend :

+ SIGILLUM . ECCLE . SCE . MARIE . DE . BINE-
 HAM ¹⁷

9. THE PRIORY OF ST. FAITH, HORSHAM

The priory of Horsham, dedicated to the honour of St. Faith, and usually known by the name of that Virgin Martyr, was founded by Robert Fitz-Walter and Sybil his wife, daughter and heiress of Ralph de Cheney, in the year 1105. An old English MS., quoted by Dugdale, gives an interesting story as to the origin of this foundation. Robert and Sybil, returning through France from a joint pilgrimage to Rome, were set upon by brigands and imprisoned in their stronghold. Offering devout prayers to God and St. Faith, the saint appeared to them in a vision, loosed their chains, and brought them out of prison bearing their fetters with them. Thereupon they made their way to the abbey of Conches, in the diocese of Evreux, where St. Faith was enshrined, and there offered up their fetters, 'which remain within this place at this day (1598).'¹⁸ The abbot and his brethren of this renowned Benedictine house, which had

been founded in 1050, received them joyfully with great cheer for twelve days. During their rest at the abbey, Robert and Sybil 'reade the life of Saint Faith and the miracles that God shewed for her ther daily and hourelly' with the result that they vowed, on their return to their manor of Horsford, to build there a monastery in the worship of God and St. Faith, which should be a cell to the abbey of Conches. They took with them, on their departure, two of the monks, Barnard and Girard. When they had come home building was begun upon a certain ground at Horsford, 'called at this day Kirkescroft,' but the work that was done in the day fell down in the night, so that it was removed to a site at Horsham where the enterprise prospered.

By the foundation charter, this priory or cell was endowed with the advowsons of Horsford, Reydone, and Moi, and certain tithes from sixteen other churches. In 1163 the foundation charter was confirmed by Pope Alexander III. The revenues were afterwards considerably increased, chiefly by successive lords of Horsford and Horsham.

At the time of the 1291 taxation, this priory had possessions, mostly of a small amount, in no fewer than seventy-seven of the Norfolk parishes, yielding an annual income of £78 6s. 10½d.

In 1325 an extent of the land and possessions of this alien priory was drawn up. The site of the priory was valued at 5s.; arable lands, meadows, pastures, dovecote, wind and water mills, rents and court perquisites of Horsham and Horsford were valued at a yearly income of £24 7s.; the church of Horsham, £11; the church of Horsford, £7 10s.; tenements in Helgheton, 62s.; tenements, rents, and services in Ryburgh, 26s. 8d.; rents in Styberdde, 10s.; the church of Helgheton, £10; the manor of West Rudham, 104s. 8d.; the church of Hoxton, £7 10s.; the church of Heveringland, £14; the church of Corpusty, 100s.; the church of Freethorpe, £7 10s.; the church of Runham, £12; the church of Tibenham, £15; a portion (of the church) of Wellingham, 6s. 8d.; of the church of Faverham, 3s.; of the church of Branston, 13s. 4d.; of the church of East Tud-denham, 6s. 8d.; of the church of Saxlingham, 20s.; of the church of Newton Flotman, 20s.; of the church of Ling, 10s.; rents in Norwich, 50s.; and a tenement at Intwood, 40s.¹⁹

The clear annual income of the priory, as certified for taxation in 1535, was £162 16s. 11½d. An unusually large share of this income came from spiritualities; there were appropriations or pensions from twenty-three churches in Norfolk, from fourteen in Suffolk, and from one in London.

St. Faith's being thus dependent upon the foreign abbey of Conches, its priors were not

¹ Harl. MS. 970, fol. 113.

² Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), iii, 364.

³ *Gesta Abb. S. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), 187.

⁴ Norw. Epis. Reg. iii, 8.

⁵ Cott. MS. Claud. D., xiii, 53.

⁶ Newcome, *Hist. of St. Albans*, 277.

⁷ Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, 87.

⁸ Ibid. ix, 87.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid. x, 18.

¹¹ Ibid. xi, 77.

¹² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 211.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid. xii, 81.

¹⁵ Ibid. xiv, 36.

¹⁶ Ibid. 90.

¹⁷ B.M. lxix, 8; given in Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 345.

¹⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.*; taken from a MS. 'Penes sampsonem Leonard facialem.'

¹⁹ Add. MS. 6164, fol. 130.

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infrequently obliged to be absent from England for periods of varying length; thus William, prior of St. Faith's, nominated two attorneys to act for him for two years, in April, 1303, and obtained simple protection for a like period during his absence.¹ In 1307 the same prior again obtained protection for two years,² and protection was granted, in 1344, to Prior Pontius de Cerveria, going beyond the seas for causes concerning him, and for his men, horses and harness, with reasonable expenses in gold; provided he make no payment of tribute, nor carry with him gold or silver plate, or jewels.³

On 1 December, 1307, a commission was appointed in connexion with an outrage on the priory of St. Faith. It was alleged that Robert de Barwe, Hubert le Warner, with twenty-five others, in the time of the late king, forcibly entered the priory, consumed the victuals and other goods, and guarded the gates of the priory for four months, so that the prior could not enter nor the monks within get out; that they carried off his palfrey worth 10 marks; killed in his wood seven swine worth 40s.; threw a monk from off a horse on the king's high road, carried him off to Horsford, spoiled him of his habit and shoes, and imprisoned him; further, that they entered the prior's market at the town of Horsham, collected the toll, pickage, and other dues there, took away from his servants their goods and wares, seized twelve cart-horses worth 30 marks, which were to carry his corn in the autumn, and impounded them for four weeks, whereby most of the corn being left in the fields was trampled under foot by cattle, and the monks had to carry on their backs the small residue that escaped; threw from off a horse his servant appointed for the gathering in of the corn, and carried off the horse; felled his trees, broke his ditches and closes, drove off his cattle, and entered and hunted in his warren, and carried away his hares.⁴

Edward III granted the custody of the alien priory of St. Faith, when it was taken into the hands of the crown, to the prior on condition of his paying £100 a year; but in 1337 he remitted for that year half the amount.⁵ In 1338 the prior, on the petition of the cardinals of St. Praxed and St. Mary's in Aquiro, was pardoned the payment of £80 out of the £100 yearly so long as the priory remained in the king's hands.⁶

In 1345 the king appointed Sir John Dufford, knt., patron of Horsham Priory, to collect all farms, rents, tithes, pensions, etc., due to the priory, now committed to the custody of the

prior, at farm, as the king was informed that many of these were in arrear, and unless they are got in, the prior would be unable to answer for his rent.⁷

In 1372 Pope Gregory wrote to the bishop of Norwich commending to him four monks, the bearers of the letter, of the monastery of Conches, whom Abbot Draymond was sending to live in the priory of Horsham.⁸

Thomas de Berthelet, appointed in 1389, was the first prior elected by the monks of Horsham, and in December, 1390, a crown grant was made, at the request of the king's uncle, the Duke of Lancaster, and of the king's brother, the Earl of Huntingdon, of denization to the Benedictine priory of Horsham, wholly discharging them from all fines and impositions as aliens. No prior was to be placed over them but a true Englishman, and on all points they were to be as free as the prior and monks of Thetford, on condition that they paid the king 2 marks a year, as they formerly did to the abbey of Conches, and that they prayed for the king and queen and for the good estate of the realm. In their petition begging to be thus naturalized, the monks stated that their priory was almost ruined, divine service nearly abandoned, and where there used to be a prior and twelve monks to celebrate three masses daily, and to give every poor beggar a loaf and two herrings (in addition to other charities), they had at present but a prior and eight monks who could hardly subsist, because they had to pay £50 yearly to the exchequer as long as the war with France lasted.⁹ Horsham was henceforward recognized as an English priory.

In 1462, a grant was made by Edward IV in free alms to the provost and college of Eton of the pension or apport of 2 marks, which the priory of St. Faith used to render to the abbot of Conches.¹⁰

John Sarisbury was prior on 17 August, 1534, when he signed the acknowledgement of the king's supremacy, in conjunction with six of his monks.¹¹

In November, 1535, Dr. Legh and John ap Rice paid several visits to St. Faith's at Cromwell's request. The former wrote to Cromwell on 19 November, saying that the house was a commodious one and spent about 300 marks a year; there were but five monks with the prior, and two wished to be dismissed. Two days later Prior Sarisbury wrote to Cromwell complaining that his visitor had sequestered the possessions and movables of the house without any just cause, which had been brought about by the sinister reports of his enemies. 'Being

¹ Pat. 31 Edw. I, m. 28.

² Ibid. 1 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 6.

³ Ibid. 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 30.

⁴ Ibid. 1 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 7 d.

⁵ Close, 2 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 15; pt. ii, m. 37.

⁶ Pat. 12 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 38.

⁷ Ibid. 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 16.

⁸ *Cal. of Pap. Reg.* iv, 114.

⁹ Pat. 14 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 39.

¹⁰ Ibid. 1 Edw. IV, pt. iii, m. 24.

¹¹ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. 2, No. 94.

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of your advancement,' he adds, 'I should be sorry to use myself unbecomingly.'¹

The county commissioners for suppression reported of Horsham, in 1536, that it was 'a hede howse of thordre of seynt Benett'; that the clear annual value was £163 13s.; that there were only four religious, all priests, 'whereof the priour hath a dyspensacion and ys a suffrican and bysshoppe of Thetford and the residue requyre dispensaciones'; that the neighbours' report of them was all to their credit; that there were eighteen dependent on the house besides the monks, one of whom was a priest, six waiting servants, and eleven hinds who had wages, clothes, and 'levynges of the howse'; that the buildings, with lead and bells, were worth £250, and the church and cloister were in good repair; that the movable goods and cattle and corn were worth £69 15s. 11d.; that £15 6s. 8d. was owing to the house, and £35 4s. owed by the house; and that there were 100 acres of wood worth £200.²

On 18 August, 1536, Richard Southwell wrote to Cromwell as to 'the house of Saint Feythe now viewed and at a point to be dissolved.' He specially wrote in favour of the prior there, who being a suffragan bishop had neither house nor living, and prayed that he might receive an adequate pension and some other preferment.³

On 23 September Cromwell wrote to the prior that the king intended to reform the houses of religion in Norwich diocese; for the abuse of religion and excess of living certain were to be deposed, of which St. Faith's had been billed and named to be one. However, through the labour of the prior's friends and his (Cromwell's) own diligence, his house had been taken out of the king's books, and was now free from danger till the return of his chaplain, the bearer of the letter, whom he was to receive and treat well.⁴

According to a certificate of the four Norfolk commissioners, dated 27 January, 1537, all the goods and chattels of the house were sold for £27 7s. 1d., and the plate, valued at £37 2s. 2d., reserved in the custody of Richard Southwell. The debts of the house amounted to £35 4s. 8d.⁵

Immediately after its suppression the priory, with its demesne lands, the manors of Horsham and West Rudham, and the rectories of Horsham and Tibenham were granted on lease, to Richard Southwell, one of the suppression commissioners.⁶

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 271, 284, 291, 849, 865.

² Chant. Cert. Norf. No. 90.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 134.

⁴ *Ibid.* 197. There seems some doubt as to the genuineness of this letter; it is neither in Cromwell's hand nor in that of his clerk.

⁵ Suppression Papers (P.R.O.), 88a.

⁶ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. ccix, fol. 106b; ccx, fol. 75.

Prior Sarisbury, or Salisbury, was made dean of Norwich, and in 1570 bishop of Man.

PRIORS OF ST. FAITH, HORSHAM

Austorgius,⁷ occurs c. 1125
Savernius,⁸ occurs in 1130
Bertrand,⁹ occurs c. 1145
Bernard,¹⁰ occurs 1163
Deodate,¹¹ occurs 1210
Eustace,¹² occurs 1227
Berengar,¹³ occurs 1246
Carbunel,¹⁴ occurs 1268
Reymund,¹⁵ occurs 1281
William,¹⁶ occurs 1303
Hugh Targe,¹⁷ elected 1313
Pontius de Severa,¹⁸ elected 1338
Hugh de Pardinos,¹⁹ elected 1349
Gerard Sencoll,²⁰ elected 1349
Berengar Nathas,²¹ elected 1356
Thomas de Berthelet,²² elected 1389
Geoffrey Langele,²³ elected 1401
Nicholas,²⁴ occurs 1452
Ralf Norwich,²⁵ 1462
John Risley,²⁶ 1469, 1492
William Castleton,²⁷ occurs 1524
John Stokes,²⁸ occurs 1525
Lancelot Wharton,²⁹ occurs 1532
John Sarisbury,³⁰ occurs 1534

An impression in red wax of the interesting early thirteenth-century seal of this priory is attached to the deed of acknowledgement of supremacy.³¹ It is oval ($2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ in.), and is divided into two parts; the upper shows under a simple canopy, a figure³² seated, with a sword, or sceptre, in right hand, and an open book in the left, on either side is a monk kneeling under a pinnacled canopy, above which are two angels censing the central figure; at the top is shown a cruciform church with central tower. The

⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* (Lothian MSS.), 10.

⁸ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* x, 440.

⁹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* (Lothian MSS.), 12.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*; called 'Belengar Carbunel' in that year; Assize R. 560, m. 47.

¹⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* (Lothian MSS.), 7.

¹⁵ Blomefield, loc. cit.

¹⁶ Pat. 31 Edw. I, m. 28.

¹⁷ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 54.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* iii, 12.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* iv, 115.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.* v, 17.

²² *Ibid.* vi, 139.

²³ *Ibid.* 267.

²⁴ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* x, 440.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* (Lothian MSS.), 20.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. No. 94.

³¹ Ackn. of Supr. (P.R.O.), No. 94.

³² The figure is apparently female but is much like that of Christ as shown on the early seals of the bishops of Chichester; there seems, however, to be no nimbus.

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lower division shows an embattled fortress flanked on either side by a tower in which is a figure, that on the right is shooting a crossbar (that on the left is injured); in the centre of the building an arched compartment in which is a crowned female figure stooping to raise up a woman sitting on the ground. Legend:—

SIGILLVM : COMUNE : CAPITU . . . AM :

10. THE PRIORY OF MODENEY

In the parish of Hilgay, about a mile south-west of the church, near the River Ouse, stood the small Benedictine priory of Modeney, which was a cell of the Huntingdonshire abbey of Ramsey.

Nothing is known of its foundation; both Blomefield and Dugdale are practically silent as to its history.

The taxation roll of 1291 enters the annual value of the temporalities of the 'prior of Medmeneye,' in the parish of Hilgay, at £3 18s., and the prior of 'Modmenei' is noted in 1304 as paying 9s. 10d. for yearly tithes to the abbey of Ramsey.¹ The Valor of 1535, under the abbey of Ramsey, names the 'Sella de Modney in Com. Norff.' as worth 43s. 4d. per annum.

The suppression commissioners simply reported, in 1536, that 'the Priory of Modney namyed to be a cell to Ramsey hathe a Privy Seale to appere.'²

11. THE PRIORY OF MOLYCOURT³

The small Benedictine priory of St. Mary of Molycourt, also called the chapel of St. Mary de Bello Loco, stood in the parish of Outwell, on the right hand of the road from Downham to Outwell. According to Blomefield it was founded in pre-Norman days, but very little is known of its history. In the time of Henry III, Adam, son and heir of Sir John de Brancastre, granted the patronage of this priory to Robert de Hale, rector of Aylington, for the sum of ten marks.

In September, 1273, the sheriff of Norfolk was directed to restore to the monks of Molycourt the lands and chattels of the priory, which had been taken into the king's hands by reason of the larceny and other trespasses of Oliver, keeper of the priory, a clerk, whereof he was indicted before the justices, and he had purged his innocence before the bishop of Norwich according to the ecclesiastical manner. A like document was sent to the sheriff of Cambridge.⁴

The taxation of 1291 gives its annual value at £9 2s. 8d.; it then held possessions in three Norfolk townships.

¹ *Cartul. de Rameseia* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 256.

² Chant. Cert. Norf. No. 90.

³ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 4767; Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 588-9; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 6.

⁴ Close, 1 Edw. I, m. 3.

In 1313, Henry de Hale, clerk, granted the patronage of the priory to John FitzGilbert de Beaupré, of Outwell. Nicholas, the great-grandson of John FitzGilbert, by his will, dated 1380, left his body to be buried in the conventual chapel of Molycourt, and the residue of his movable goods to his wife Margaret, and to Thomas de Walton, prior of Molycourt, to be disposed of for the honour of God and for his soul's health. Nicholas died in 1402, and was succeeded by a son of the same name, whose will, dated 24 September, 1428, leaves 20s. to the monks of Molycourt. Thomas de Beaupré, son and heir of the younger Nicholas, married Margaret, daughter of John Meers. Margaret, by her will of the year 1439, left her body to be buried in the chapel of the priory of St. Mary, before the image of St. John Baptist.

The great storm and inundations of the fourteenth century were most disastrous to the low lying lands of this poorly endowed priory. On 23 February, 1385, the bishop of Ely granted forty days' indulgence to all benefactors of the priory on account of its poverty. Though the priory site was in Norfolk, most of the parishes of Outwell and Upwell, including the greater part of the priory lands, were in Cambridgeshire, in the Isle of Ely, and hence under that bishop's jurisdiction.

On the death of Prior Walton, in 1427, there was only one monk left in the house, namely Stephen de Wyse, and the bishop out of pure favour (*gratiose*) collated him as prior.⁵

Eventually the lands became so impoverished by the continued incursions of water, both salt and fresh, that there was barely maintenance enough for a single monk. Licence was, therefore, obtained, in 1446, from Henry VI to permit the appropriation of this priory by the prior and convent of Ely. Its chief endowment at that time consisted of a messuage and 24 acres of land in Wiggenhall, and eight messuages in Outwell, Upwell and Downham in the counties of Cambridge and Norfolk.⁶

There was some delay in carrying out the formal appropriation, but the bishop of Norwich's consent was obtained on 4 December, 1449, the church of Ely paying to the church of Norwich a yearly pension of 3s. 4d.

Henceforth Molycourt was a cell of Ely. It would not have obtained that title unless divine worship had been carried on in the old priory; probably, therefore, one or two Ely monks lived in the old house, the senior of whom would be termed the prior.

A Valor of Ely monastery, taken soon after the dissolution, names under Outwell, the houses and site, with lands and tenement of the late cell of Molycourt, and declares its clear annual value at £6 14s. 11d.

⁵ Norw. Epis. Reg. ix, 25.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 490.

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PRIORS OF MOLYCOURT

Simon,¹ occurs 1248
Edward,² occurs 1276
Robert,³ occurs 1297
Andrew,⁴ occurs 1306

William de Merstone,⁷ elected 1316
John de Malteley,⁸ elected 1320
David de West Dereham,⁹ elected 1333
John de Dereham,¹⁰ elected 1369
Thomas de Walton,¹¹ elected 1390
Stephen Wyse,¹² elected 1427

HOUSES OF BENEDICTINE NUNS

12. THE PRIORY OF BLACKBOROUGH

Roger de Scales and his wife Muriel, about the year 1150, founded a small priory for monks (*fratribus*) at Blackborough in Middleton Parish, dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin and St. Katharine. It was endowed with lands and woods, etc., in the immediate neighbourhood of the house. The confirmation and extension grant of Robert de Scales, son of the founder, shows that the establishment was at that time for the support of religious of both sexes (*sororibus et fratribus*), but the house was finally assigned about 1200 to the sole use of Benedictine nuns. Robert de Scales, great-grandson of the founder, confirmed to the nuns the churches of Middleton and Santon, with a moiety of the Church of Wetherden, Suffolk.⁵

The taxation of 1291 showed that the priory had property in twenty-five Norfolk parishes, to the annual value of £26 4s. 3½d. In spiritualities they had the appropriated churches of Middleton and St. Martin's, Rainham, valued respectively at £5 6s. 8d. and £10, and a portion of the church of Wetherden, worth £5. The total clear value for taxation purposes came to £36 19s. 1d., because there were deducted from the full total £4 13s. 5½d. for habits for the nuns, 25s. for the fabric of their church, and 57s. 7d. in payment to various lords. At that date, in addition to those entertained from time to time at the guest-house, the number of the nuns and their servants living in the priory was forty-four.⁶

The prioress and nuns of Blackborough obtained in 1329 a licence, by a fine of ten marks, for the alienation in mortmain by William de Salleford, chaplain of the advowson of the church of Paddlesworth, Kent, to find a chaplain to celebrate daily in Blackborough church for the

good estate of Isabella de Scales and the said William in life and for their souls after death.¹³

In 1350 Robert de Scales confirmed to the prioress and convent the advowson of the church of Islington.

In 1377 the church of Paddlesworth was appropriated to the priory.¹⁴

A return made to the crown in 1416 of the appropriated churches of the diocese, names the following as belonging to the nuns of Blackborough, with the dates of their appropriation:—Illington (1388), Middleton (1360), South Keynham (1370), and a mediety of Wetherden (1349).¹⁵

The Valor of 1535 gave the clear annual value of the priory at £42 6s. 7½d.

Edward III, in 1347, pardoned the prioress and nuns their share for two years and the tenths granted him by the clergy, because they were, through no fault of their order, in so miserable and depressed a condition.¹⁶

Margaret de Bristede, a nun of this house, obtained an indult in 1352 to choose a confessor to give, if penitent, plenary remission at the hour of death.¹⁷

On 7 July, 1514, the nuns were visited by Bishop Nicke. The prioress and five of the sisters were severally examined. Margaret Gygges stated that the day and night offices were duly said and silence observed and that her sole complaint was that the prioress, to save the expense of an auditor, did not present an annual statement of accounts. Margaret Hollins, sacrist, bore witness to the good repair of the manors, but said that the cloister and church were somewhat defective. Agnes Guy said that they had had no sub-prioress for four years, that they were ignorant of their foundation numbers, that the prioress rendered no account, and that the house was said to be in debt. Margaret Cobbes said that the church porch was in ruins, that the prioress rendered no balance sheet, but gave the sisters a verbal account of the house,

¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 47. He is also mentioned in 1250 as predecessor of the then prior; Assize R. 560, m. 35 d.

² Blomefield, loc. cit.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ The more important documents from a fourteenth-century chartulary of Blackborough, then in the possession of Mr. Hudson Gurney, of Keswick Hall, Norfolk, are given in full in Dugdale (*Mon.* iv, 206–9), see *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, pt. ix, 122.

⁶ These particulars are given in the chartulary.

⁷ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 66.

⁸ Ibid. i, 83.

⁹ Ibid. ii, 62.

¹⁰ Ibid. v, 5.

¹¹ Ibid. vi, 152.

¹² Ibid. ix, 25.

¹³ *Cal. of Pat.* 1327–30, p. 400.

¹⁴ *Cat. of Camb. Univ. MSS.* v, 482.

¹⁵ Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, 127.

¹⁶ Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 3.

¹⁷ *Cal. Papal Reg.* iii, 451.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

that religion was less duly observed on account of there being no sub-prioress or proper officials, that the nuns did not have their customary recreation, and that the prioress had had one chaplain for three years. The prioress and Elizabeth Bullwar contented themselves with *omnia bene*.¹

At the visitation of 1520 all things were found satisfactory at Blackborough nunnery, and an inventory of goods was duly exhibited.²

The last visitation of this house before the dissolution took place on 1 August, 1532, when Master Miles Spencer, the bishop's principal official was the visitor. The prioress, Elizabeth Dawney, stated that all was well³ so far as the condition of the house would allow. Margaret Giggs, sub-prioress, said that the house was in great decay. Agnes Guy, Margaret Colman, Margaret Haslley, Elizabeth Bulwere, Katherine Sooge, Dorothy Sturges, Elizabeth Caws, Joan Pyndre, and Joan Bate, all reported favourably and had no complaints to make.⁴

According to the secret report of Legh and Leyton, drawn up early in 1536, Prioress Dawney and two of her nuns (Bulwere and Sturges) were suspected of incontinency⁵; very different was the report of the county gentlemen who drew up a detailed statement of the house later in the same year, which was presented in January, 1537; they stated that the priory contained nine religious persons 'of good name and fame.' There were also living in the house a priest, eleven men servants and eight women servants. The clear yearly value was estimated at £44 0s. 1½d. The house was somewhat in decay; the lead and bells worth £60; the movable goods, stocks and stores, £59 4s., and 10 acres of wood, £13 6s. 8d. The debts due by the house amounted to £79 4s. 8d.⁶

The depositions entered by the commissioners at the time of their visit show that the prioress and her eight nuns all asked for dispensation.⁷

In this year Anne, Lady Oxford, half-sister to the Duke of Norfolk, wrote to Cromwell, understanding that religious houses under £200 a year were 'at the king's gracious pleasure to oppress,' requesting to have the farm of a place of nuns in Blackborough, net worth £100 a year as she supposed.⁸ On 27 March of the same year Richard Southwell wrote to Cromwell, stating that Blackborough nuns, like those of Crabhouse and Shouldham, were making away with all they could, making such pennyworths that all their goods will be dispersed, and there

would be nothing left to pay any part of their debts.⁹

The site and possessions of the priory were leased to James Joskyns for twenty-one years¹⁰; in 1550 they were granted, with the manor and fair of Blackborough, to the bishop of Norwich and his successors at an annual payment of £1 3s. 9d.¹¹

PRIORESSES OF BLACKBOROUGH

Avelina,¹² occurs c. 1200
Margaret,¹³ occurs 1222, 1228
Katherine de Scales,¹⁴ occurs 1238
Alice,¹⁵ occurs c. 1250
Mary de London,¹⁶ occurs 1259, 1261
Katherine de Fitton,¹⁷ occurs c. 1277
Ida de Middleton,¹⁸ elected 1304
Lettice,¹⁹ occurs 1332, resigned 1342
Winnesia de Hoyton,²⁰ elected 1342
Isabel de Stanton,²¹ elected 1344
Isabel de Hynton,²² elected 1352
Matilda de Dunton,²³ 1384
Mary de Bersingham,²⁴ 1389
Elizabeth Beaupre,²⁵ occurs 1428
Alice Erle,²⁶ 1434
Margaret Geyton,²⁷ 1480
Matilda de Lupe,²⁸ occurs 1482
Margaret Fyncham,²⁹ occurs 1514
Elizabeth Dawney,³⁰ occurs 1532

13. THE PRIORY OF CARROW³¹

The Benedictine priory of Carrow was originally founded for a prioress and nine nuns, the number being afterwards increased to twelve.

There is some confusion as to its first foundation. King Stephen granted his lands in the fields of Norwich to God and the church of St. Mary and St. John of Norwich, and the nuns serving there, directing that the nuns should found their church on the land named in this

⁹ Ibid. 220.

¹⁰ Aug. Off. Bks. ccix. fol. 54.

¹¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 33.

¹² Chartul. cited *Mon.* iv, 207.

¹³ Ibid. ¹⁴ Ibid. ¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid. ¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 16.

¹⁹ Ibid. iii, 63. ²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid. iv, 108. ²² Chartul.

²³ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 656.

²⁴ Chartul. ²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 656.

²⁷ Chartul. ²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* 107. ³⁰ Ibid. 168.

³¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 525-30; Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 68-73; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 11, 12; Account by Walter Rye and E. A. Tillett, *Norf. Antiq. Misc.* ii, 466-508; F. R. Beecheno, *Notes on Carrow Priory* (1886), privately printed. The account in this sketch is chiefly taken from Messrs. Rye and Tillett's paper, save where other references are given. The chartulary cited by Dugdale and Tanner has been long missing.

¹ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 107.

² Ibid. 168.

³ The list in Dugdale gives by mistake Margaret Holme as prioress at this date.

⁴ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 311.

⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 243.

⁶ Chant. Cert. Norf. No. 90.

⁷ Suppression Papers, 895.

⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 155.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

charter. Thereupon two nuns who were sisters, by name Seyna and Lescelina, began building the priory in 1146, and it was dedicated to the honour of St. Mary of Carhowe. From this it would appear that the priory of Carrow was an offshoot of an older Benedictine nunnery in Norwich, conjointly dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin and St. John.

King John in 1199 granted the nuns a four days' fair, to be held on the vigil, the day and the two following days of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin; it was re-granted in an amended form in 1205.¹

Agnes de Monte Ganisio was prioress in 1221, and as late as 1237, and during her rule, Henry III granted a confirmation charter. It was also in her time that the priory obtained from Margaret de Cheyney the valuable estate of the manor of Wroxham together with the advowson of the churches of Wroxham.²

The hundred rolls of the beginning of Edward I's reign have various references to this priory.³ The most interesting statement is that of the jury of the hundred of Clakelose, who stated that William de Warenne gave a messuage and 40 acres of land at Stow Bardolph to the priory of Carrow at the time that his sister Muriel became a nun of that house. Reginald de Warenne and Alice his wife had previously given to the nuns the advowson of the church of Stow, a gift which was confirmed by William.

Numerous small benefactions continued to be made to the priory by some of the more important county families, who doubtless, like William de Warenne had relatives who were nuns there, or girls who received their education within the walls.⁴ The taxation roll of 1291 gives its annual value at £69 2s. 1d., gathered from possessions in no fewer than seventy-five Norfolk parishes, and from two in Suffolk.

A return made to the crown in 1416, of the appropriated churches of the diocese, names the following which pertained to the priory of Carrow, with the dates of their appropriation:—East Winch (1261), Stow Bardolph (1262), Wroxham (1280), Surlingham (1339), Sulham (1349), and Swardeston (1361).⁵

The Valor of 1535 gave the clear annual value of the priory as £64 16s. 6½d.

Of the early history of this priory there is little to record.

¹ Chart. R. 7 John, m. 7 d.

² The churches are named by the jury of the hundred of Taverham in 1275; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 528.

³ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 450, 469, 501, 519, 525, 528.

⁴ Blomefield says that Pope Gregory X in 1273, inhibited their receiving more nuns than their income would maintain, upon the priory's representation of the strong pressure of the English nobility for admission of members of their families.

⁵ *Norw. Epis. Reg.* viii, 126.

On 19 February, 1245, Walter Suffield was consecrated bishop of Norwich, and William de Burgh, bishop of Llandaff in the conventual church of Carrow.⁶

There is a notice of some trouble in 1250 with a neighbour, one Robert de Stamford, who held 8 acres near the priory and presumed to plough up and sow a strip of land between his field and the church which was used by the nuns for processions on festivals,⁷ and in 1280 Archbishop Peckham ordered the deans of Norwich diocese to assist the nuns of Carrow to recover various rents detained by certain persons, and if necessary to excommunicate the offenders.⁸ The most exciting event recorded, however, was the attack upon the priory on 18 June, 1381, when the rebellious peasantry, under Adam Smith and Henry Stanford of Wroxham, forced the prioress to surrender her court rolls to be burnt.⁹

The convent and parish of Carrow, and parts belonging to it in Trowse Millgate and Bracondale, were an exempt jurisdiction; in 1327 Nicholas de Knapton, chaplain to the prioress, and the official of her jurisdiction proved wills and exercised the usual spiritual authority.

An indulgence of four years and four quaternes was granted by Boniface IX in 1391, to penitents who, on the feasts of the Blessed Virgin, visit and give alms for the consecration of the conventual church of Carrow.¹⁰

Edith Wilton, who was prioress from 1395 to 1430, was attached in 1416 on a charge of harbouring in sanctuary the murderers of one William Koc, of Trowse, at the appeal of Margaret his widow, who charged the prioress and one of her nuns named Agnes Gerbald with the crime. The prioress was arrested and imprisoned and called to answer at Westminster in Michaelmas term by Henry V. After many adjournments of the court, she was eventually acquitted.¹¹

Prioress Mary Pygot (1444-72) attended the sumptuous funeral of John Paston, at Bromholm, in 1466. The prioress received 6s. 8d. and the maid that came with her 20d.¹² There was also given to the anchoress of Carrow 40d.

This anchoress was a woman of great celebrity, whose religious 'revelations' have been several times published. Though never canonized, she was usually known as Saint Juliana of Norwich. She was termed indifferently the anchoress of Carrow and the anchoress of St. Julian, because her anchorhold was in the churchyard of St. Julian, Norwich, a church appropriated to the priory.

⁶ *Annals of Waverley*, 336; Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Anglic.* 59.

⁷ Assize R. 560, m. 7.

⁸ *Registrum Epistolarum J. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i, 152.

⁹ Powell, *The Rising in East Anglia*, 32.

¹⁰ *Cal. Papal Reg.* iv, 373.

¹¹ *Norwich City Muniments*, Book of Pleas, fols. 39b-41.

¹² *Paston Letters*, ii, 266-7.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Very possibly she had been a nun of Carrow in her youth. It must not be supposed that the anchoress attended the Paston funeral, for it was the very essence of the life of these recluses to live and end their days in a single chamber. Moreover Juliana must have been nearly a hundred years old at the date of this funeral. Donations to Juliana, the anchoress of Carrow, occur several times in wills of this period, coupled with a request for her prayers for the soul of the donor. Money received by anchorites was usually spent in alms to the poor.¹ Other anchoresses, termed 'of Carrow,' seem to have used her cell after her death.

Bishop Goldwell personally visited Carrow on 10 October, 1492. He was met by the prioress and nuns in solemn procession, and with the banner of the holy cross borne before him, amid the ringing of the bells, proceeded to the altar and gave the episcopal benediction. Thence the bishop went at once to the chapter-house, accompanied by Nicholas Goldwell, archdeacon of Norwich, Thomas Wotton, bachelor of laws, and John Aphowell, the notary, when the prioress and twelve nuns were severally and separately examined. Katharine Segryme was prioress, and Cecilia Ryall sub-prioress. The respective statements are not given, but the report shows that there was nothing serious amiss. The prioress was too partial, and there was not a sufficiency of bread.²

Bishop Nicke personally visited the priory on 25 August, 1514. Isabel Wigan, the prioress, who had been elected that year, and seven of the nuns contented themselves with *omnia bene*. Anne Martin sub-prioress said that Margaret Kidman, one of the nuns, was not gentle in her behaviour, and Joan Grene thought that the food was sometimes insufficient.³

On 14 June, 1526, the bishop held another visitation. Prioress Isabel reported favourably and denied that the house was in debt. The aged sub-prioress Anne Martin, who had been sixty years in religion, knew of nothing worthy of reformation, but not unnaturally thought that the sisters read and sang in the offices quicker than was seemly and without due pause; she also complained of the weakness of the beer. Margaret Steward, who had been a nun for thirty-eight years, also complained that there was not sufficient pause in the offices, and that breach of silence was not punished. Katharine Jerves, chantress, who had also been professed for thirty-eight years, reported favourably of everything save the weakness of the beer. Agnes Warner also complained of rapidity and lack of pause in the offices. Agnes Swanton, sacrist, professed for twenty-one years, stated that they had no clock.

Anne London and Cecilia Suffield had no complaints. Joan Botulph said that the festivals of the Name of Jesus and of St. Edward were not observed; that the obedientiaries were held liable for breakages of the pots and pans; and that at Christmas there was a game of the assumption of the functions of an abbess by one of the younger nuns, the expenses of which were defrayed by friends. The result was that the bishop enjoined on the prioress to provide a clock by Michaelmas; to celebrate the divine service with greater reverence and due pauses; to replace broken vessels at the general expense; to abandon the girl-abbess play; to impose penalties for breach of silence; and to observe the feasts of the Name of Jesus and of St. Edward as in other parts of the diocese.⁴

Six years later, namely on 10 June, 1532, another visitation of Carrow Nunnery, destined to be the last, took place, and all the aged ladies were still in their peaceful cloisters. The prioress simply made a good report, in which she was joined by Agnes Swanton the sacrist. Anne Martin was evidently too old to continue to act as sub-prioress, and was then in charge of the farmery. Margaret Steward, as sub-prioress, complained that some of her younger sisters persisted in wearing silk waistbands, and were addicted to gossip. Katharine Jerves and Anne Langdon referred to the absence of gates between the quire and nave. Joan Botulph complained that the festival of relics was not duly observed; that the nuns did not have their faces veiled when they left the convent; that they had no annual pension; that laity could enter the quire through the absence of gates or doors; that the priest saying vespers could scarcely be heard by the sisters in quire, through lack of a desk for his book. Cecilia Suthefield's one complaint was as to there being no regular pension. Matilda Gravell said that the rule of one of the nuns waiting on the others at table in the fraternity was not observed, and that they did not keep the octave of St. Benedict.

Thereupon the visitor enjoined that the younger nuns, who were not office-holders, should sit together in the afternoon in a room assigned them by the prioress according to past custom; that the sub-prioress should not permit the absence, or call from quire any of the nuns during compline save once a week; that after the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, no laity should enter through the west door of the quire; that the feast of relics should be duly observed as elsewhere as a double, on the Sunday after the Translation of St. Thomas; and that the prioress, according to ancient custom, should see that one of the nuns served her sisters in the fraternity.⁵

In the *Little Boke of Phyllyp Sparow*, by John Skelton, rector of Diss and poet laureate to Henry VIII, reference is made to Jane Scrope, who was probably one of the young ladies brought

¹ *N. and Q.* (ser. 3, x), iii. 137; Rye and Tillett, *Norfolk Antiq. Misc.* ii, 469-70.

² Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 15.

³ *Ibid.* 145.

⁴ *Ibid.* 209-10.

⁵ *Ibid.* 273-5.

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up in Carrow Priory. In the poem Jane laments the untimely fate of her pet sparrow, killed by Gilbert or Gib, the priory cat. Jane in her wrath thus excommunicates pussy :—

That vengeance I aske and cry
By way of exclamation,
On al the whole nacion
Of cattes wilde and tame
God send them sorrow and shame ;
That Cat specially
That slew so cruelly
My litle prety Sparow
That I brought up at Carow.¹

The county Suppression Commissioners reported that they found eight religious persons in the priory 'of very good name by report of the country, four of whom desired dispensations and four preferred to continue in religion.' There were seventeen other persons who had their living at the house, two being priests, seven hinds for the husbandry, and eight women servants. The house was in very good repair; the bells and lead worth £145, and the movable goods £40 16s. 11d.

The site and revenues were granted in 1538 to Sir John Shelton.²

Prioress Suffield obtained a pension of £8, which she was still enjoying in 1553.

PRIORESSES OF CARROW

Maud le Strange,³ occurs 1196
Agnes de Monte Gavisio,⁴ occurs 1224
Magdalen,⁵ occurs 1264
Petronel,⁶ died 1289
Amabel de Ufford,⁷ died 1290
Katherine de Wendling,⁸ elected 1290
Beatrice de Hulm,⁹ elected 1310
Agnes de Carleton,¹⁰ elected 1324
Agnes de Lenn,¹¹ elected 1328
Cicely de Plumstede,¹² elected 1341
Alice de Hederse, ¹³ elected 1349
Margery Cat,¹⁴ elected 1365
Margery Engys,¹⁵ elected 1369
Edith Wilton,¹⁶ elected 1395
Alice Waryn,¹⁷ elected 1430
Mary Pygot,¹⁸ elected 1444
Joan Spalding,¹⁹ elected 1472
Margaret Palmer,²⁰ occurs 1485
Katherine Segryme,²¹ elected 1491
Isabel Wygan,²² elected 1503
Cecily Stafford *alias* Suffield,²³ last prioress, 1535

¹ Skelton, *Works* (1736), 223.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii (2), 407.

³ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv. 525. ⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* ⁶ *Ibid.* ⁷ *Ibid.* ⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Norw. Epis. Reg.* i, 39. ¹⁰ *Ibid.* i, 111.

¹¹ *Ibid.* ii, 22. ¹² *Ibid.* iii, 44. ¹³ *Ibid.* iv, 91.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* v, 67. ¹⁵ *Ibid.* 143.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* vi, 205. ¹⁷ *Ibid.* ix, 40. ¹⁸ *Ibid.* xi, 55.

¹⁹ *Norw. Epis. Reg.* xii, 27.

²⁰ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* cxv (Lothian MSS.).

²¹ *Norw. Epis. Reg.* xii, 101.

²² *Ibid.* xiii, 29. ²³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.).

The first twelfth-century seal (3½ by 1½ in.) represents the crowned Virgin in profile seated with Holy Child on left knee, and *fleur-de-lis* in right hand. Legend :—

S' SANCTE MARIE IUXTA NORWICU²⁴

The second seal, thirteenth-century (2½ by 1½ in.) also bears the seated Virgin with Holy Child; but on the left is the prioress kneeling in adoration, holding a scroll bearing the words *Mater D'Mem.* Over the scroll is a crescent and a star. Over the Virgin's head a hand of blessing. Legend :—

✠ SIGILLUM SANCTE MARIE DE KAROWE²⁵

14. THE NUNNERY OF ST. GEORGE, THETFORD

There was an old religious house on the Suffolk side of Thetford founded by Uvius, the first abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, in the days of Cnut. It was said to have been founded in memory of the English and Danes who fell in a great battle near by between King Edmund and the Danish leaders Ulba and Ingwar. It was served by canons who officiated in the church of St. George as a cell of St. Edmunds. About the year 1160, in the days of Abbot Hugh, Toleard and Andrew, the two surviving religious of this cell, depressed with poverty, visited the abbot and expressed their strong desire to withdraw. At their suggestion, the abbot and convent of St. Edmunds resolved to admit to the Thetford house certain Benedictine nuns who were then living at Ling, Norfolk. The bishop of Norwich, the archdeacon of Canterbury, and the sheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk gave these ladies and their prioress Cecilia an excellent character, and the change was solemnly effected.

The abbot assigned to these nuns, at the time of the transfer, the Thetford parish churches of St. Benedict and All Saints, his rights in Favertin Fields, and whatever else belonged to the abbey of Bury within the limits of Thetford. As an acknowledgement of this, the nuns were to pay yearly 4s. to the abbey infirmary. The prioress undertook to be in all respects faithful and obedient to the abbot.²⁶

Maud, countess of Norfolk and Warenne, gave to these nuns in her widowhood a rent of three marks out of her mill at Cesterford, Essex, towards their clothing.²⁷

Pope Nicholas' taxation gave the annual value of the temporalities of this house as £72 9s. 4d.²⁸

²⁴ B.M. lxxxiii, 38; *Brit. Arch. Ann. Journ.* xxxviii, 176.

²⁵ B.M. xxxv, 248; Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, pl. xxi.

²⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 477-8, where the original account of the foundation is set forth at length, from Harl. MS. 743, fol. 219.

²⁷ Maddox, *Hist. of Essex*, 33.

²⁸ *Taxatio* (Rec. Com.), 109.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

The 1535 Valor gave the spiritualities in Norfolk as £4 15s. 1d., and those in Suffolk at £13 16s. 8d., the temporalities in the two counties as £31 14s. 11½d.; but from this sum there were various deductions, the largest of which was £5 6s. 8d. to their chaplain, so that the clear annual value only amounted to £40 11s. 2½d.,¹ which was a great drop from the earlier valuation. The reason for this depreciation becomes clear from the statement made by Martin with regard to the taxing of the religious houses in the reign of Henry VI. At that time the nuns of Thetford were excused; their petition for relief stated that their revenues both in Norfolk and Suffolk were much decreased by recent mortality and had so continued since 1349, and that their possessions in Cranwich deanery had suffered much from inundations.²

In 1214 the abbey of Bury granted the nuns seven loaves and 2d. in money, to be given them every Sunday by their almoner for the corrody of Margaret Nonne.³

From the first establishment of the nuns at Thetford, the cumbersome plan had been adopted of sending weekly supplies from Bury St. Edmunds (a distance of about 12 miles) not only of bread and beer but even of cooked meat (*fercula*). The thirteenth century customary of the abbey states that thirty-five loaves and ninety-six gallons of beer were sent weekly to Thetford.⁴ Owing to the not infrequent robberies and assaults on the servants and wagons of the convent conveying this weekly dole on a long journey, and to the occasional unsatisfactory state of the provisions on arrival, it was agreed in 1369 that henceforth, instead of forwarding bread, beer, and dressed provisions, the abbey should grant annually ten quarters of corn, twenty quarters of barley, and 62s. in money.⁵

One of the few early notices preserved of this priory tells how in 1305 William de Fornham, clerk, Walter de Trofton and John Cat, chaplains, one night after dark climbed over the priory wall and went into a house in the courtyard to talk with one Joan de Fuldon, a servant, and how, when the light shining under the door had attracted the notice of some of the nuns, the gay clerks rose up and fled back over the wall the way they came.⁶

There was a long lawsuit in 1438 between Alice Wesenham, prioress, and Robert Popy, rector of Ling. When the nuns first removed from Ling, they held a messuage where they dwelt, close to the chapel of St. Edmund in Ling, together with 60 acres of land and 30 of meadow adjoining, and rents of 5s. 9d. and two hens. From that date for a long period they

had received the profits; and out of them had paid a chaplain at Ling, who was sometimes called the prior of St. Edmund's chapel. But for some years past the prioress had let all to the rector of Ling, who undertook to serve the chapel, and the dispute arose as to the amount of rent and the rights of the prioress. Eventually it was decided that the king should license the prioress to convey the chapel and all the premises to the rector and his successors for ever, they paying to the prioress a clear annual pension of four marks.⁷

The nunnery was visited in November, 1492, by Archdeacon Goldwell, as commissary of his brother the bishop. Joan Eyton the prioress, six professed nuns, and four novices were severally and privately examined. The visitor found nothing needing reformation.⁸

The only suggestion made by the visitor in 1514 after examining the prioress and eight nuns was that the books required repairing. Two of the nuns expressed a fear that the prioress was about to receive as nuns certain unlearned and even deformed persons, particularly one Dorothy Sturghs, who was both deaf and deformed.⁹

The visitation of 1520, undertaken by the bishop in person, simply resulted in an entry that the nunnery was very poor; there was clearly nothing amiss.¹⁰ Nor was there anything to correct at the visitation of 1526, when there were six professed nuns and four novices, in addition to the prioress, in attendance.¹¹

The last visitation, held in July, 1532, was attended by the prioress and nine nuns. The state of the house and the observance of religion required no reformation. There was, however, an irregularity pertaining to a corrody, for one Thomas Forster, gentleman, was receiving support for himself, his wife, three children and a maid. The infant daughter of John Jerves was in the priory, and he was paying nothing for its support. Silence was scarcely observed as well as it ought to be in the refectory.¹²

The house was dissolved in February, 1537.¹³ Elizabeth Hothe, the prioress, obtained a pension of £5; ¹⁴ this pension the prioress was still enjoying at the age of 100 in the year 1553, when she was living 'as a good and catholic woman,' in the parish of St. James, Norwich.¹⁵

PRIORESSES OF ST. GEORGE, THETFORD

Cecilia,¹⁶ c. 1160

Agnes,¹⁷ occurs 1253

Ellen de Berdesette,¹⁸ elected 1310

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* 33.

⁹ Ibid. 90-1.

¹⁰ Ibid. 155.

¹¹ Ibid. 243.

¹² Ibid. 303-4.

¹³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xii (i), 239.

¹⁴ Ibid. xiii (1), 576.

¹⁵ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 92.

¹⁶ Harl. MS. 743, fol. 219.

¹⁷ Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 106.

¹⁸ *Norw. Epis. Reg.* i, 39.

¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 314.

² Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 106.

³ Ibid. 101.

⁴ Harl. MS. 3977, fol. 25.

⁵ Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 102-3.

⁶ Assize R. 1234, m. 26.

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Margaret Bretom,¹ elected 1329
 Beatrix de Lystone,² elected 1330
 Danetta de Wakethorp,³ elected 1339
 Margaret Campleon,⁴ elected 1396
 Margaret Chykering,⁵ elected 1418
 Alice Wesenham,⁶ elected 1420

Margaret Copynger,⁸ elected 1466
 Joan Eyton,⁹ elected 1477
 Elizabeth Mounteneye,¹⁰ elected 1498
 Sarah Frost,¹¹ elected 1519
 Elizabeth Hothe,¹² or Both,¹³ occurs 1535, last prioress.¹²

HOUSES OF CLUNIAN MONKS

15. THE PRIORY OF CASTLE ACRE

The Earl of Warrene, the founder of the great Cluniac house of Lewes, founded a priory of the same order at Castle Acre between 1087 and 1089, making it subject to Lewes, as Lewes was subject to Cluni. The founder endowed this priory of St. Mary with the Norfolk churches of Castle Acre, Methwold, Wickmere, and Trunch, and the church of Leaden Roding, Essex, together with two parts of the tithes of his demesnes in Grimston.⁷ William, the second earl, confirmed his father's grants, together with a considerable amount of additional gifts. The first church had been within the castle area; but the monks, finding it inconveniently small, had begun to build a monastery on the present site before the second earl drew up his charter. Therein he granted them the two orchards and all the cultivated ground between the orchards and castle, where they had founded their new church with his help and encouragement, and further gave them his serf Ulmar the stonemason to work on the new church. The church and cloister were not finished until after the death of the second earl. They were consecrated by William Turbus, bishop of Norwich from 1146 to 1174, in the lifetime of the third earl, who died in 1148.

The Norfolk churches and portions of tithes or ecclesiastical pensions that came into the hands of the monks of Acre at an early date were very numerous. Bishop Ebrard of Norwich confirmed to them no fewer than twenty-six churches or portions about the year 1140. Henry I. confirmed to the priory the churches of South Creake and Newton, and Henry II. the church of Fleet.

The taxation of 1291 gives the annual value of the priory's temporalities in seventy-eight Norfolk parishes at £130 17s. 8½d., in two Suffolk parishes at 4s. 4d., and in Lincoln diocese at £3 10s. The Norfolk diocese spiritualities

were of the annual value of £72 7s.; those of London diocese, 13s. 4d.; those of Lincoln, £7; and those of Ely, £1 2s. This yields a total annual value of £215 14s. 4½d.

Order was issued in January, 1325, to the treasurer and barons of the exchequer to cause the priory of Castle Acre to be restored to the prior, the prior having given the king to understand that the keepers of alien priories in Norfolk and Suffolk had taken the house into the king's hands by virtue of a general order affecting the lands of aliens in the power of the king of France; whereas the late king, in 1306, had made exception in favour of Castle Acre, having learnt from John de Warrene, earl of Surrey, and others, that the prior and convent were Englishmen and not aliens, and that they did not pay any tax or pension to any of the power of France, and were not bound by obedience or affinity to any one of that power, save that the abbot of Cluni used to visit the priory when he came to England, and that the prior and convent in such visitations received their profession from the abbot.¹⁴ In the following April this order was repeated; everything was to be restored to the priory, saving to the king the corn and other goods taken for his use for the expedition to the duchy of Aquitaine.¹⁵

Protection for a year was granted to the prior of Castle Acre on 14 August, 1337, because he was not by birth of the power of the king of France, paid no cess or pension to any religious alien house, and was bound in obedience to none save to the abbot of Cluni when visiting this kingdom.¹⁶ Nevertheless the king claimed to present to the advowsons of the priory on account of the war with France; thus on 8 December, 1338, he presented, on that ground, to the church of St. Andrew, Tattersett.¹⁷

A formal charter of denizenship or naturalization was granted by the crown to Castle Acre Priory in the year 1351.¹⁸

¹ Norw. Epis. Reg. ii, 33.

² Ibid. 36.

³ Ibid. iii, 39.

⁴ Ibid. vi, 223.

⁵ Ibid. viii, 36.

⁶ Ibid. 57.

⁷ Harl. MSS. 2110, fol. 1. This is an admirably arranged fourteenth-century chartulary of Castle Acre; a full synopsis of its contents is given in Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 46-8. The original has been consulted for the information given in these pages.

⁸ Norw. Epis. Reg. xi, 158.

⁹ Ibid. xii, 55.

¹⁰ Ibid. 203.

¹¹ Ibid. xiv, 153.

¹² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii (1), 576.

¹³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.) iii, 313.

¹⁴ Close, 18 Edw. II, m. 19.

¹⁵ Ibid. m. 9.

¹⁶ Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 10; Close, 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 42.

¹⁷ Pat. 12 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 4.

¹⁸ Duckett, *Chart. and Rec. of Cluni*, i, 31.

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On the Saturday before the third Sunday in Lent, 1276, the priory was visited by the prior of Wenlock and the equerry of the abbot of Cluni. The community then numbered thirty-two, and the visitors reported that their mode of life was conducted with propriety and regularity. The same general injunctions that were issued throughout the visitation were served on the prior relative to the use of the saddle-crupper, riding leggings, the eating of meat, reading in the farmery, and remaining in the convent after compline. The debts of the house amounted to the serious sum of £504. In 1279 there was a visitation by the priors of Mont Didier (France) and Lenton. They arrived at Castle Acre on 8 September. They reported that the brethren numbered thirty-five, and that they conducted themselves well, and carried on the divine offices and all ecclesiastical rites in a proper manner. The liabilities of the house were 1,700 marks, though the debt was only 600 marks when the prior was first appointed. The house had also become responsible for the debt of 200 marks of Miles, the present abbot of Vézelay (France), at the time when he was prior of Lewes.¹ The prior was too extravagant (*nimis sumptuosus*), but would willingly resign if another superior could be found.²

In January, 1344, Clement VI received a petition from John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, stating that the dispensation on account of illegitimacy, granted by John XXII and renewed by Gaucelin, bishop of Albano, under order of Benedict XII, to his brother William, prior first of Hoxton and then of Castle Acre, formerly monk of Lewes, was of no avail, because it was given for a non-conventual priory—Hoxton being non-conventual but Castle Acre conventual—praying that, notwithstanding William's illegitimacy, he may retain the priory of Castle Acre. In the event Prior William was rehabilitated and dispensed, and the fruits received were remitted.³ It would seem that William not long afterwards resigned or was degraded from the office of prior, as an order was issued in 1349 for the arrest of William de Waren and Robert de Neketon, monks of Castle Acre, who had spurned the habit of their order and were vagabond, and their delivery to William Picot their prior.⁴

An undated visitation among the Cluni muniments, but probably of the year 1390, gives the number of the monks as twenty-six, and states that there were seven daily celebrations written down on the table, three of which were with music and four plain. Twenty-six is named as

the full complement of monks, though it is stated that formerly the number was not limited and was sometimes upwards of thirty.⁵

A table of all the affiliated foundations of the abbey of Cluni throughout Christendom, drawn up about the year 1500, gives the number of the monks then at Castle Acre as twenty-six.⁶

The indulgence of the *Portiuncula* was granted in August, 1401, by Boniface IX to penitents, who on the next Passion Sunday and on the feast of St. James should visit the Cluniac church of Castle Acre and give alms for the repair of the church, wherein are divers relics of saints, and to the which a great number of people resort. The prior, sub-prior, and ten other priests chosen by them, were authorized to hear confessions on those two feasts, and on the two days immediately preceding them.⁷

A singular question of conscience arose in 1404 as to the observance of an oath taken by Simon Sutton, prior of Castle Acre. On his obtaining the priory, the Earl of Arundel, asserting himself to be patron, exacted from him an oath not to alienate its woods or possessions, nor to manumit his serfs without licence of the earl or his successors. Subsequently he regretted taking this oath lest it should prejudice the priory rights, and appealed to the pope as to its lawfulness. Innocent VII, after passing a salutary penance on Simon for his incautious oath, decided that the oath was void, as laymen had no such power over persons and things ecclesiastical.⁸

The Valor of 1535 gives the clear annual value at £306 11s. 4³/₄d. The offerings at the arm of St. Philip, their most important relic, averaged at that time 10s. a year.

Thomas Malling, who had been admitted to office in June, 1519, was prior. On 27 January, 1536, when he wrote a note to Cromwell, of a character only too frequent during that unhappy period, the prior stated that he was sending four marks by the bearer to Cromwell 'for a poor token,' and a patent of four marks a year to him for life out of the monastic revenues. He also said that the bearer was bringing the evidences of his poor house to Cromwell according to his injunctions, but begged him to dispense with or qualify some of his orders.⁹

In February the priory was visited by the inquisitors, Legh and Ap Rice, who claimed that seven of the monks had confessed to foul sins. But so little credence was in truth given to these tales that in the following month (March, 1536) Thomas Malling, the superior of a singularly polluted house, if the royal visitors were to be believed, was chosen by the bishop of Norwich to be presented to the archbishop, together with

¹ Milo de Columbiens was prior of Lewes from 1263 to 1274; at the latter date he resigned on being appointed abbot of Vézelay—Robert de Hakebeche was at this time prior of Castle Acre.

² Duckett, *Chart. and Rec. of Cluni*, ii, 127, 142.

³ *Cal. Papal Pet.* i, 30.

⁴ Pat. 22 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 22.

⁵ Ibid. ii, 210.

⁶ Pignot, *Ordre de Cluni*, ii, 566.

⁷ *Cal. Pap. Reg.* v, 415.

⁸ Ibid. vi, 78.

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 66.

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the prior of Horsham, as the diocesan nominations for the suffragan bishopric of Thetford.¹ The archbishop's choice fell upon the latter. In October of the same year the prior of Castle Acre was one of the Norfolk gentlemen appointed by the king (at the time of the Lincoln and northern rebellions) to abide in their counties to keep good order in the absence of the rest of the noblemen.² Only two religious were selected for this honour, namely, the priors of Castle Acre and West Acre.

On 22 November, 1537,³ Thomas Malling and ten of the monks signed the surrender of the priory and all its possessions.⁴ The whole property was at once assigned by the crown to Thomas, duke of Norfolk, at an annual rent of £44 19s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.⁵

To Castle Acre Priory pertained four subordinate cells: Bromholm, of considerable importance, Normansburgh, Slevesholm in Norfolk, and Mendham in Suffolk.

PRIORS OF CASTLE ACRE⁶

Angevine, c. 1130
 Jordan, c. 1160
 Richard, c. 1170
 Odo, c. 1180
 Hugh, c. 1190
 Maynus, c. 1200
 Lambert de Kempston, 1203
 Jordan, c. 1203
 Philip de Mortimer, 1203 and 1211
 Robert de Bozun *alias* de Alenson, 1219 and 1227
 Henry
 Ralph de Wesenham, 1239
 William de Kent
 Adam, 1250
 John de Granges, 1252 and 1255
 Walter de Stanmere, 1258 and 1267
 Robert de Hakebeach, 1270
 William de Schorham
 Benedict, 1286
 Robert Porter, 1308
 John Hamelyn
 John de Acre
 Walter le Fraunceys, 1311
 Peter de Jocelis, 1317 and 1329

¹ Pat. 27 Hen. VIII, pt. ii, m. 30.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 234.

³ Not 1533, as stated in Blomefield and Dugdale.

⁴ Add. Charter, 14595.

⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, (2), 471.

⁶ At the end of the Castle Acre chartulary is a list of the priors without any dates or periods of rule. It begins with Hugh, *circa* 1190, and ends with Prior Malling (Harl. MS. 2110, fol. 136b). Blomefield's list (*Hist. of Norf.* viii, 374-5) gives four earlier names with the dates, and certain variations of some of the others. From these sources, as well as from the actual deeds of the chartulary, and from documents already cited in this sketch, the list here given is compiled.

Guy Charyns, 1329 and 1337
 William de Warren, 1344
 Walter Pigot or Picot, occurs 1349⁷
 Thomas Wigenhall
 John Okinston, 1404
 Simon Sutton
 Thomas Bayley
 Thomas Tunbridge
 John Sharshulle, 1428
 Thomas Gatys
 Nicholas Benet, 1445
 John Plumsted
 John Amflets, 1484
 John Winchelsey, 1510
 Thomas Chambers
 Thomas Malling, 27 June, 1519, last prior.

There is an impression of the first seal of this priory (2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.) attached to an undated charter at the B.M. c. 1200. The seated Virgin bears the Holy Child on her lap, in his left hand a scroll. Legend:—

+ SIGILLUM SANCTE MARIE . . . RENSIS .
 ECCLESIE.⁸

An imperfect impression of the second seal is attached to a charter of 1446 (2 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. \times 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.). The half-length Virgin is shown in radiance upheld by four angels within a tabernacled niche. In the base is a portcullis half covered showing in the open space the monogram of Maria. All that is left of the legend is—

. . . . MONASTERII . BEAT⁹

16. THE PRIORY OF NORMANSBURGH

The little Cluniac priory of Normansburgh, dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Evangelist, in the parish of South Raynham, was originally founded about 1160 by William de Liseurs for Austin Canons, for the health of his soul, and the souls of Maud his wife and Godfrey his son. But soon after its foundation c. 1200, Godfrey de Liseurs, the founder's son, transferred it to the priory of Castle Acre, of which it became a cell, on the condition that the monastery kept there at least three monks. To his father's original endowment of 70 acres of land at Normansburgh, and other land at 'Middel' and 'Francheshoe,' and the hermitage of Wigenhall, Godfrey added the church of South Raynham and 9 acres of land at Gerdel. By two subsequent charters Godfrey slightly increased the endowments of this cell. The grants of Godfrey were confirmed by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and John, bishop of Norwich.¹⁰

This cell had possessions in five Norfolk parishes at the time of the taxation of Pope

⁷ Pat. 22 Edw. III, pt. 3, 22 d.

⁸ B.M. Top. Ch. 15; Blomefield, *Norf.* viii, 373.

⁹ B.M. Top. Ch. 11; Blomefield, *Norf.* viii, 373.

¹⁰ Harl. MS. 2110, fols. 54, 55, 76b, 114, 119b.

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Nicholas, when they were declared of the annual value of £6 os. 10d. At the Valor of Henry VIII, Normansburgh was included under the priory of Castle Acre. Simon (1166) and Roger (c. 1190) were priors before the house was handed over to the Cluniac monks.¹

Hugh occurs as prior in 1204, and Simon II in 1227.

A visitation of the English Cluniac foundation, made in 1390, states that the community of Normansburgh comprised a prior and two monks, and was a cell directly subject to the priory of Castle Acre.²

This priory and its possessions passed with those of Castle Acre to the Duke of Norfolk at the dissolution.

17. THE CELL OF SLEVESHOLM

The small priory of Slevesholm, dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin and St. Giles, in the parish of Methwold, was founded by William de Warenne, third earl of Surrey, in the reign of Stephen. The founder gave to Paul and his brother monks the island of Slevesholm in the fen of Methwold, providing that after Paul's death a prior should be elected from the monks of Castle Acre, who was to be presented to and admitted by the Earl of Warenne and his heirs. In 1309, John, earl of Warenne, confirmed the gifts of his ancestor.³

In 1291 the annual value of this small cell was merely £1 10s. 7½d.; in the Valor of 1535 it was included with Castle Acre.

A visitation of the English Cluniac foundations, undertaken in 1390, mentions Slevesholm or Slevsham as a cell of Castle Acre, consisting of a prior and one monk. There was a daily celebration.

Blomefield mentions four priors of this cell—Paul; Thomas; Thomas II, 1415; and Stephen, 1419.⁴

18. THE PRIORY OF BROMHOLM

The priory of Bromholm, dedicated to the honour of St. Andrew, was founded in 1113 by William de Glanvill, and was made subordinate to the Cluniac house of Castle Acre. Bartholomew de Glanvill, son of the founder, confirmed and increased his father's endowments. The charter enumerates the lands of Stanard, the priest of Keswick together with the church, the churches of Bromholm, Dilham, and Paston, with the tithes of many neighbouring estates. He also bequeathed to the priory, after his death, Gristcombe and all he possessed in the fields there, with his villeins.⁵

Henry III granted the priory, in 1229, a fair on Holy Cross Day and two days after, and a Monday market.⁶ The same king in 1234 granted them rights of tumbrel and pillory, and relieved them of various tolls and duties.⁷ An indult was granted to the prior and convent of Bromholm in 1239 to hold to their uses the church of Haninges, value under 20 marks, the patronage of which they already possessed. This grant was to take effect on the next voidance of the rectory, and a vicar's portion was to be reserved.⁸

The taxation of 1291 shows that this priory was then valued at £109 15s. 11d., and owned property in fifty-six Norfolk and sixteen Suffolk parishes. Pope Celestine in 1295 confirmed to the priory the appropriated churches of Bacton, Keswick, Paston, Witton, and Dilham.⁹

The Valor of 1535 estimated the clear annual value at £100 5s. 3½d. The endowment at that time comprised the impropriation of seven Norfolk and two Suffolk churches, and the manors, pensions, lands or interests in fifty-eight parishes. The offerings at the cross of Bromholm amounted that year to £5 12s. 9d.

As early as 1195 Bromholm was relieved by Pope Celestine of most of its subjection to Castle Acre.¹⁰ In 1225 a dispute arose between the priories of Bromholm and Castle Acre as to the right of the latter to impose a prior on the former, and next year Pope Honorius III issued his mandate to commissioners with power to summon both parties and to adjudicate in the dispute between the two priories. Castle Acre asserted that Bromholm was subject to them, and that they had in the past obtained papal letters with regard to the election of a prior of Bromholm, when it was decided that the prior of Acre should nominate three monks of Acre, one of whom was to be chosen prior. The convent of Bromholm had, however, petitioned the pope to allow them on the death of their present prior to have a free election notwithstanding the previous composition.¹¹ The dispute now became further complicated by the interference of the prior of Lewes, of which house Castle Acre was in its turn a cell. In 1229 Gregory IX referred the matter to the judgement of the abbot of Olveston and the deans of Stamford and Rutland, with the result that the prior of Castle Acre was for the future, on a vacancy arising, to nominate six monks, three of Acre and three of Bromholm,

⁶ Chart. 13 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 12.

⁷ Ibid. fols. 1, 1b.

⁸ *Cal. Papal Reg.* i, 183.

⁹ Chartul. fol. 9.

¹⁰ Ibid. fol. 59b. There is a small chartulary of Bromholm in the University Library, Cambridge Dugdale, *Mon.* ii, 20), consisting of 91 folios, in a hand of the first half of the fourteenth century; the first two charters are illegible. For an analysis of this chartulary see *Catalogue of Camb. University Library MSS.* iv, 144-72.

¹¹ *Cal. Papal Reg.* i, 108.

¹ Harl. MS. 2110, fol. 76b.

² Duckett, *Chart. and Rec. of Cluni*, ii, 213.

³ Harl. MS. 2110, fols. 7, 14.

⁴ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 210.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 63; cited from *Register of Castle Acre*, fol. 62.

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out of whom the convent of Bromholm should elect one for their prior.¹ During these four years the office of prior had been in abeyance, but on an election being held on the basis of the compromise of 1229, Vincent was chosen prior. All grievances were not, however, healed at once; for ten years later Prior Vincent was writing to the abbot of Cluni on the differences between himself and the priors of Lewes and Castle Acre.²

In 1275-6, Yves de Chassant, twenty-eighth abbot of Cluni, ordered a visitation of the English houses, and appointed for that duty John, prior of Wenlock, and Arnulph, the lord abbot's equerry. The visitors reached Bromholm on 12 March, 1276. They reported that the number of the brethren was sixteen, who lived sufficiently well and regularly. The debts amounted to £120. The same orders were issued by the visitors as are detailed under Castle Acre.³

In February, 1285, Roger, prior of Bromholm, wrote to the abbot of Cluni excusing himself from personal attendance at the chapter-general at Cluni in consequence of his having legal business to attend to before the justices on circuit in Norfolk. In 1293 the same prior again excused himself from attendance at the chapter-general on the ground of his serious ill-health.⁴

In May, 1313, a royal grant was made to the monks of Bromholm to put them in the same position which they had held during previous voidances. Upon the voidance of their house by the death of their late prior, William de Tutingdon, the king, believing that the temporalities belonged to him during such voidance, caused the priory to be taken into his hands and placed in the custody of John de Norton, king's clerk, and John Pike. Afterwards it was found, by inquisition, that William de Glanvill, the first founder of the priory, and his heirs, and also Ralph and Edmund, earls of Cornwall, to whom the advowson of the priory successively fell, did not during voidance receive anything out of the issues of the priory, but that on each voidance there had been a porter appointed, who was accustomed to have his sustenance out of the goods of the priory during voidance as a sign of dominion. Whereupon the king commanded John de Norton and John Pike not to interfere with the custody of the priory, and to deliver without diminution to the sub-prior and convent all the issues they had levied or received.⁵

Adam Lumbard, who had long served the king and his father, was sent to the priory in 1319 to receive life's sustenance in the place of Adam Pullehare, deceased.⁶

In 1350, John de Karleton, monk of St. Andrew's, Bromholm, obtained an indult to choose a confessor for plenary remission at the hour of death.⁷

Early in the reign of Richard II, the priory was in much distress. They paid 50 marks to the king, in 1385, to secure the appropriation of the church of Berdwell, of their own advowson, valued at 26 marks yearly; it is stated in the licence that the priory lands had been much wasted by the sea, and their house recently burned, and that if not relieved they would shortly have to cease divine service.⁸

The brethren of Bromholm in 1298 numbered twenty-five, but they were reduced to eighteen by the time of a visitation held in 1390. At the latter date the house is described as directly subordinate to the mother house of Cluni. There were five masses celebrated daily, three were sung and two were said throughout. The visitors found that all statutes and monastic duties were well and thoroughly observed.⁹

On 15 April, 1418, John Paston was collated to the priory of Bromholm, vacant by the resignation of Clement Chandellier.¹⁰ This was apparently a papal appointment, and meanwhile Nicholas had been elected by his own convent. Prior Nicholas is the first witness to the will of Clement Paston, dated June, 1419. An undated letter, probably somewhat later than this, from Prior Nicholas to William Paston, states that John Paston had posted letters on Christchurch gates summoning the writer to Rome.¹¹ There can be no doubt that Nicholas, after a brief rule, was deposed in favour of the papal nominee.

This prior was of some notoriety because of his connexion with the celebrated judge William Paston. Paston Hall was about a mile from the priory, and the Paston family regarded it with special interest. This John Paston claimed to be a kinsman of the lawyer, but the claim was never admitted, William Paston always maintaining that his true name was Wortes. He was originally a monk of Bromholm, and Prior Chandellier took action against him as an apostate, engaging William Paston as his counsel in the prosecution. John retaliated by bringing the matter before the Roman court, and proceeded against both the prior and William Paston, with the result that the former was called upon to resign his office, and the latter condemned in the heavy penalty of £205. Contrary to the advice of his friends William Paston contested the validity of the sentence, but only with the result of being for a time excommuni-

⁷ *Cal. Papal Reg.* iii, 372.

⁸ *Cal. of Pat.* 8 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 4; also 9 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 40.

⁹ Duckett, *Visitations of English Cluniac Foundations*, 41-42.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* *Chart and Rec. of Cluni*, ii, 198.

¹¹ *Paston Letters*, iii, 448, 484.

¹ Duckett, *Chart. and Rec. of Cluni*, i, 198.

² *Ibid.* ii, 202. Nos. 451-3 of the Cluni charters.

³ *Ibid.* ii, 127.

⁴ *Ibid.* 145-6.

⁵ *Pat.* 6 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 5.

⁶ Close, 12 Edw. II, m. 12 d.

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cated. In 1426 John Paston or Wortes, who seems to have had great influence at Rome, was appointed, by papal provision, bishop of Cork; but a private letter of William Paston of that year, writing of him as 'this cursed bysshop for Bromholm,' states that there were two other persons 'provided to the same bysshopricke yet lyvyng,' and that Prior John being still apostate would be unable to hold it. When the bishopric did become vacant, in 1430, Jordan chancellor of Limerick obtained the see; Prior John and others in vain endeavoured to oust him.¹

In 1430 John Paston resigned Bromholm; it seems that he had not resided there for many years. In that year Judge Paston wrote to the English vicar-general of the abbot of Cluni, who alone had power over the profession of Cluniac monks in this country, stating that there were divers virtuous young men in the garb of monks but unprofessed at the priory of Bromholm, some of whom had been there for nine or ten years, and praying that the prior of Thetford might be empowered to receive their profession.²

John Tyteshall succeeded as prior in 1460. Among the *Paston Letters* are two from this prior, one of the year 1461, and one *circa* 1480.³ The great event during his rule was the burial at the priory, of John Paston, the son of Judge Paston. He died in London on 21 or 22 May, 1466, and everything connected with his obsequies was carried out on a sumptuous scale. The interment at Bromholm took place on 29 May. £5 13s. 4d. was spent as a dole, and immense quantities of food and drink were supplied. A London chandler received £5 19s. 4d., and another chandler 55s. 11½d., in addition to many torches of local supply; it is not therefore wonderful that a glazier had to be paid 20d. for taking out, and afterwards resetting, two panes of the windows of the conventual church 'to late owte the reke of the torches.'⁴ By his will John Paston left to the prior 40s., and to each of the nine monks 6s. 8d.

Sir John Paston, by will of 1477, left his body to be buried in the conventual church of Bromholm by the founder's arch on the north side, near his father's tomb; an altar and tomb were to be erected at a cost of £20, and a like sum to be spent on 'a closette made at my cost over my father's body.' His desire for his father's memorial was that there should be none like it in Norfolk.⁵

Prior John Tyteshall ruled for many years. Shortly before his death he was engaged in rebuilding the dorter of his house. At that time

he wrote to John Paston, begging for his good offices with the duchy of Lancaster to obtain him a grant of timber; his special desire was to have 'viii princypall beemys everych on (*sic*) in length xj yerds.'⁶

Prior Tyteshall was succeeded by John Macham, who was followed in 1509 by John Underwood, who became suffragan to the see of Norwich under the title of bishop of Chalcedon. William Lakenham, who was the last prior, occurs in 1530.

That which made this remote Norfolk priory celebrated throughout England, and through many parts of continental christendom, for upwards of three centuries, was its possession of a famous cross made from fragments of the true cross. It was brought to England in 1223, and its story is told with some detail by Matthew Paris.⁷ An English priest who served in the emperor's chapel at Constantinople, having in his charge a cross made of the wood of our Saviour's cross, absconded on the emperor's death and brought it to England, and made it a condition of bestowing it on any monastery that he and his two sons should be admitted as monks. To this condition the sceptical monks of St. Albans and other great houses demurred, but at last the monastery of Bromholm, poor in worldly goods but rich in faith, believed the priest's story and agreed to his terms, and the cross was set up in their church. Its fame rapidly spread, and it soon became a place of pilgrimage. In the 'Vision of Piers Plowman' occur the lines—

And bidde the Roode of Bromholm,
Bryng me out of dette.

In the 'Reeve's Tale' of Chaucer is the pious ejaculation:—

Helpe, holy cross of Bromeholme.

The miracles associated with this pilgrimage were numerous. It is mentioned in the annals of Dunstable and Tewkesbury, and by other early chroniclers.

About 1313 Edward II visited this monastery, on account of his special devotion to 'the glorious cross' of Bromholm, and granted them the manor of Bacton, worth £12 9s. 7½d. a year, for an annual payment of 20s.,⁸ but it had a royal pilgrim at a far earlier date in the daughter of Margaret countess of Kent, sister of Alexander of Scotland, who visited Bromholm in 1233, when her mother and Henry III were at Bury St. Edmunds.

Boniface IX, in August, 1401, granted an indult to the prior of Bromholm and his successors, and other fit priests, religious or secular, deputed by them, to hear the confessions of and grant absolution to (saving reserved cases) the multitude who resort from afar to their church,

¹ *Paston Letters* (Gairdner), i, xxv, 21, 25-6; Cotton, *Fasti Eccl. Hibernie*. ² *Paston Letters*, i, 29-30.

³ *Ibid.* i, 541-3; iii, 275-6.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii, 266-71.

⁵ *Ibid.* iii, 207-8, 224. Sir John Paston, however, died suddenly in London in 1479, and was buried at the White Friars. *Ibid.* iii, 202.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii, 277.

⁷ Matth. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 80.

⁸ Chartul. fol. 5b.

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on account of a certain notable piece of the wood of the true cross. The reason for this piece of the cross being 'notable' is explained by the statement that some, their sins it is supposed being the cause, are unable to look perfectly upon the said piece, thereby sometimes incurring infirmities of divers sorts. At the same date the priory received the papal confirmation of the appropriation of the churches of Bardwell, Crostwick, and Tuttington, with leave for one of the monks to serve Crostwick as it was near the monastery. The priory, in asking for this confirmation, assured the pope that they had suffered grievously through the sea irrevocably absorbing many of their lands and tenements, through long pestilences, and through fire.¹

In order to still further help the priory of Bromholm in this their special distress, Boniface took the unusual step of granting indulgence equal to that of the church of St. Mark's of Venice to penitents who, on Passion Sunday, or on the three days preceding and following, visit and give alms for the conservation of this Cluniac house in England. This grant also authorized the prior of Bromholm to nominate six priests, secular or religious, to hear the confessions of such penitents.²

Fox gives a curious account of the alleged burning of this cross at the beginning of the fifteenth century. He states that one Sir Hugh Pie, chaplain of Ludney, was accused before the bishop of Norwich on 5 July, 1424, for holding that people ought not to go on pilgrimage or to give alms save to beggars at their doors, and that the image of the cross and other images ought not to be worshipped. He was also accused of having 'cast the cross of Bromholm into the fire to be burned, which he took from one John Welgate of Ludney.' However Sir Hugh utterly denied these articles, and purged himself by the witness of three laymen and three priests.³ At any rate the cross was not burnt, for it is in evidence more than a century later.

There is a peculiarly interesting memorial of the subject of the Bromholm pilgrimage in a fourteenth-century 'Hours of Our Lady' in Lambeth Library.⁴ To one of the pages an illuminated leaf has been attached; upon it is painted a heart, containing within it a crucifix having the two transverse beams of the patriarchal shape. Above the heart is written 'Jesus Nazareus Rex Judeorum,' and on each side one of the two lines forming this couplet:—

This cross yat here peyntyd is
Signe of ye cros of bromholm is.

¹ *Cal. Papal Reg.* v, 432-3.

² *Ibid.* 384.

³ Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, iii, 586.

⁴ Lambeth MSS. 545. It was first noted by the late Dr. Sparrow Simpson in 1873, and described and illustrated by him in the *Journ. of Arch. Assoc.* xxx, 52-61.

Beneath the heart in a later hand, the concluding line being partly erased:—

Thys ys the holy cros that yt so sped
Be me . . . in my need.

Within the outline of the heart and round the cross is written, in minute and much contracted characters, the following hymn, which is also given in full on an adjacent page:—

Oracio Devota de Cruce,
O crux salve preciosa,
O crux salve gloriosa,
Me per verba curiosa
Te laudare, crux formosa
Fac presenti carmine
Sicut tu de carne Christi
Sancta sacrata fuisti
Ejus Corpus suscepisti,
Et sudore maduisti,
Lota sacro sanguine
Corpus, sensus, mentem meam,
Necnon vitam salves ream
Ut commissa mea fleam,
Ne signare per te queam
Contra fraudes hostium.
Me defendas de peccato,
Et de facto desperato,
Hoste truso machinato
Reconsignas Dei nato
Tuum presidium.

V. Adoremus Te Xpe. Quia per crucem, etc.

Oratio. Adesto nobis, Domine Deus noster, et quos sancte crucis letari facis honore ejus quoque perpetuis defende subsidiis. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit, sicut Domino placuit ita factum est. Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

The so-called visitation of Legh and Leyton, undertaken early in 1536, noted a cross called 'The Holy Cross of Bromholm,' the girdle and milk of the Virgin, and pieces of the crosses of SS. Peter and Andrew. They also alleged that Prior Lakenham and three of his monks had confessed to them their incontinency.

The county Commissioners for Suppression, later in the same year, described Bromholm as a head house of the Cluniac order, of the clear yearly value of £109 *os.* 8*d.* They found four religious persons, all priests and requiring dispensations, adding that 'they bene of very good name and fame.' There were thirty-three other persons having a living there, namely, four waiting servants, twenty-six labourers and hinds, and three almoners. The house was in good repair, and the bells and lead valued at £200. The movable goods, cattle, and corn were valued at £49, and a hundred acres of wood at £66 13*s.* 4*d.*⁵

On 2 February, 1537, Richard Southwell wrote to Cromwell that he had in his charge the cross of Bromholm, which he would bring up after the suppression was finished, or sooner

⁵ Chant. Cert. Norf. No. 90.

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if Cromwell wished it. On 26 February he wrote again to Cromwell, saying that he had delivered the cross of Bromholm to the late prior of Pentney, the bearer of both letter and relic.¹

On 20 February Robert Southwell, solicitor to the Court of Augmentation, had a grant made to him by royal warrant of Bromholm Priory with all its manors, lands, advowsons, and pensions.²

Prior Lakenham obtained a pension of twenty marks.³

PRIORS OF BROMHOLM

Vincent, temp. Hen. I.⁴

Philip, c. 1210

Vincent,⁵ 1229

Clement,⁶ occurs 1258

John,⁷ occurs 1268, 1272

Roger,⁸ occurs 1285, 1293

William de Tutington,⁹ died 1313

William de Witton,¹⁰ elected 1313

John de Hardingham,¹¹ elected 1334

Clement Chandellier,¹² resigned 1418

John Paston,¹³ elected 1418

Nicholas,¹⁴ occurs 1419

John Paston,¹⁵ resigned 1430

Robert York,¹⁶ elected 1430

John Tyteshall,¹⁷ elected 1460

John Macham,¹⁸ elected 1504

John Underwood¹⁹ (bishop of Chalcedon), 1509

William Lakenham, occurs 1530, last prior

The thirteenth-century fine circular seal (3 in.) of this priory bears the priory church; in the centre, under a round-headed arch is St. Andrew seated, with a patriarchal cross in right hand (the holy cross of Bromholm), and a book in the left. In the pediment overhead, in a sunk trefoiled opening, is the half length Virgin and Holy Child. Over the roof is a pierced sixfoil. Legend:—

. . . M ✠ SANCTI ✠ ANDREE ✠ DE ✠
BROMHOLM²⁰

19. THE PRIORY OF ST. MARY, THETFORD²¹

The Cluniac priory of Thetford was first founded on the Suffolk side of the river by

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 145, 239.

² Aug. Off. Books, ccix, fol. 30 b.

³ Ibid. ccxxxii, fol. 36.

⁴ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* xi, 26.

⁵ *Cluni Chart.* ii, 202. ⁶ *Camb. Chart.* 52.

⁷ Ibid. ⁸ *Cluni Chart.* ii, 154-6.

⁹ Pat. 6 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 20. ¹⁰ Ibid. m. 15, 14.

¹¹ Norw. Epis. Reg. ii, 71. ¹² *Cluni Chart.* ii, 198.

¹³ Ibid. ¹⁴ *Paston Letters*, iii, 448, 484.

¹⁵ Ibid. i, 29.

¹⁶ Add. Charters, 141-313; 14, 571.

¹⁷ *Paston Letters*, ii, 541-3; iii, 275-6.

¹⁸ Norw. Epis. Reg. xiii, 23. ¹⁹ Ibid. xiii, 100.

²⁰ Top. Ch. 54; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* xi, 23.

²¹ Geoffrey Rocherio, prior of Thetford about 1350, wrote a full and interesting account of the foundation

Roger Bigod in the reign of Henry I. Roger had made a vow of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but was allowed to commute this by applying the money which it would have cost to the establishing of a monastery. He communicated his intention to Hugh, abbot of Cluni; and although the abbot could not spare monks from his house to form the new foundation, he welcomed the proposed addition to the order, and asked for a silver mark yearly in token of its dependence. The abandoned cathedral church of the East Anglian bishops, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, was at first selected as the church of the new priory, and a cloister or cells of woodwork were erected for the accommodation of the monks. Lanzo, prior of Lewes, in 1104 sent twelve monks to serve at Thetford, together with Malgod, a man of simple life, to serve as their prior. Thetford, desolate at the loss of its bishops, welcomed the monks, and for three years they were busy in building the new monastery within the borough. At the end of this time Stephen, a monk of noble parentage and of the highest learning and morals, a great friend of the abbot of Cluni and sub-prior of Lewes, was sent to Thetford to complete the foundation, and to take the place of Malgod, who was recalled, as prior. Stephen at once saw that the monastic site, surrounded by the houses of the burghers, was inconveniently straitened, and that there was no room for a guest-house. He soon prevailed on the founder, with the sanction of the king, who often held his court at Thetford, to give them a pleasant and open site on the other side of the river in the county of Norfolk. Herbert, bishop of Norwich, turned the first sod of the new foundation, and the prior, founder, and many noblemen laid the foundation stones. But the eighth day after the stone-laying Roger Bigod died, and an unseemly dispute ensued between the prior and bishop as to the place of his burial. Eventually the latter prevailed, and Roger was buried in the cathedral church of Norwich. Meanwhile the building went on, the revenues increased, and Prior Stephen lived to see its completion, and the removal of the convent to their new premises on St. Martin's Day, 1114.

In 1240 Gregory IX granted leave to the priory of Thetford to appropriate the church of Notheli, in the diocese of London, which was

in a MS. now at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It is transcribed in Martin's *Hist. of Thetford* (Appendix, 29-32), and an English abstract is given by Blomefield (*Hist. of Norf.* ii, 103-5). The foundation charter of Roger Bigod, and of his son William, and the confirmation charter of Hen. I, as well as a long list of subsequent benefactors, are given by Martin, and also by Dugdale, from a register of the priory which was destroyed in the fire of the Cotton library in 1731. Cott. MS. Vitel, fol. iv. See also Duckett, *Chart. and Rec. of Cluni*, i, 60, 61.

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already in their patronage, a due portion being reserved for their vicarage.¹ The revenues of this priory increased so considerably during the thirteenth century that at the taxation of 1291 it held the appropriation of six Norfolk churches and portions of the rectory of eighteen other churches in the same county, as well as four in Suffolk. The total annual value of its temporalities and spiritualities was then reckoned at £123 12s. 5d. The Valor of 1535 gives the clear annual value of this wealthy priory at £312 14s. 4½d.; the gross value was £418 6s. 3d.

In 1331 John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, obtained licence for alienation in mortmain of the advowson and appropriation of the church of Gersham to the priory of Thetford.²

If the first Prior Stephen thus worked for the good of his house, the second prior of that name was equally thorough in working evil. He was appointed some time before 1240, in which year he wrote to Cluni excusing himself from attending the general chapter,³ and was a native of Savoy, a connexion (or at least a compatriot) of the queen. Presuming on the influence of his royal protectress, he turned the priory of Thetford into a house of debauchery, carousing night and day with his brothers Bernard, a knight, and Guiscard, whom Matthew Paris⁴ describes as 'clericus monstruosus . . . cujus venter quasi uter in pruina, cujus quoque cadaver plaustrum oneraret.' At last in 1248 he engaged in a quarrel with one of his brethren, a hot-blooded Welsh monk Stephen de Charun by name,⁵ whom he wished to send back to Cluni, whence he had only lately come; angered at his prior's abusive language the monk drew his knife and stabbed him that he died before the great door of the church. The murderer was arrested and handed over to the bishop of Norwich, from whom the king, urged by the queen's desire for vengeance, claimed him, casting him into the prison of Norwich Castle, where he died.

An alleged miraculous interposition about the middle of the thirteenth century had considerable effect upon the fortunes of the priory. The following is an abstract of the remarkable story, as told by Brame in the fifteenth century.⁶ An artisan of Thetford, suffering from an incurable complaint, dreamt three times that the Blessed Virgin appeared, and told him that if he would regain his health he must persuade the prior to build a Lady Chapel on the north side of the church. When the prior heard the revelation he began to build a chapel of timber; but the man persisted that the Virgin should be honoured

with a fair building of stone. After some further revelations the prior set to work in earnest, and then a new marvel occurred. In their old monastery on the other side of the water there had been, in the frater, a wooden image of the Virgin which the monks had brought with them to their new church; but in the course of time it had been removed to make way for one of greater beauty, and placed in a dusty corner. The thrifty prior thought that this old image would suffice for the new chapel, and it was handed over to the painter to be beautified. On removing the old paint from the head a silver plate came to light, and on its removal a hollow was disclosed wherein, wrapped in lead, were a variety of precious relics, with their names engraved on wrappers of lead. The more important of the contents were relics of the robe of our Lord, of the girdle of our Lady, of our Lord's sepulchre, of the rock of Calvary, of our Lady's sepulchre, of our Lord's manger, of the sepulchre of St. John, and relics of SS. George, Agnes, Barbara, Vincent, Leger, Gregory, Leonard, Jerome, Edmund, Etheldreda, and parts of the grave-clothes of Lazarus. A letter was also found, addressed to Stephen the second prior by William, minister of the church at Merlesham, who sent these relics, transmitted from the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, at the request of Hugh Bigod and a monk named Ralph. When the relic-bearing image had been honourably replaced, the priory became the scene of miraculous cures. Brame gives the particulars of three, one of recovery of speech, and two of the restoration to life of children apparently dead. Pilgrims flocked to the priory, and as a result of their offerings a fine Lady Chapel was built on the north of the quire, the quire was itself extended forty feet, the frater was rebuilt on a larger scale, and five monks were added to the establishment.

Martin says that in 1236 the abbot of Cluni complained to Henry III that Earl Roger would not suffer him to visit this monastery, although it was a daughter of his church of Cluni, and one to which he claimed to appoint the prior; but that, after a suit,⁷ the visitation was adjudged to the prior and the patronage to the earl.⁸ Nevertheless, as is proved from the many subsequent Cluni visitations, this decision must have been speedily upset.

The report of the visitors from Cluni in 1262 sets forth that they made inquiries in London through Henry, sub-prior of Thetford, and Thomas the chamberlain, as to the condition of their house, and they stated that all divine offices and spiritual duties were properly carried out. The prior was prevented from coming in person, being hindered by bodily infirmities. The debts of the house amounted to 610 marks, the prior

¹ *Cal. Papal Reg.* i, 192.

² *Pat.* 5 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 15.

³ Duckett, *Chart. and Rec. of Cluni*, ii, 201.

⁴ *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), v, 32.

⁵ *Assize R.* 564, m. 13.

⁶ Brame's MSS. Corpus Christi Coll. Camb.; Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, App. xviii.

⁷ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 106.

⁸ Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 119.

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furnishing a full statement of accounts. The number of the brethren was twenty-two.¹ The Cluniac visitors of 1275-6 were at Thetford on the third Wednesday in Lent. They found twenty-four brethren all living with sufficient regularity save Ralph the cellarer, whom they found guilty of incontinency. The visitors expelled him and sent him to do penance at a distant convent. They also removed another brother for injuring a college servant. The liabilities of the house were 804 marks, and there was also a debt under the chapter's seal of 400 marks to the convent's patron, the Earl Marshal.²

In September, 1279, the priory was visited by the French prior of Mont-Didier and the English prior of Lenton. They reported that Prior Vincent, who found thirteen monks there on his appointment, had increased the number to twenty-two. They all led commendable lives, and the divine offices were regularly and devoutly conducted. The buildings were in good repair, and the church and cloister exceptional for beauty and workmanship. There was a sufficiency of goods until the next harvest. The debt of the house was 500 marks when the prior took it over, although his predecessor, Prior Thomas, affirmed that the liabilities did not exceed 400 marks. The prior had taken in hand the repair of the conventual buildings and the erection of new granges, on which £100 had been already spent. The visitors expressed themselves in warm terms of the worthy character of the prior, whose praise was in everyone's mouth. The house was, however, much embarrassed and crippled by the residence there of the advocate (*advocatus*), brother of the Earl Marshal, who cost the house more than the whole convent and prior.³ This advocate, or avoué, was John the brother of Roger Bigod, fifth earl of Norfolk, the patron of the house, who succeeded to his honours in 1270.

In May, 1281, Vincent, prior of Thetford, and the sub-prior of Lewes, were appointed to act as vicegerents for John, prior of Lewes, during his absence beyond the seas.⁴ On 6 September of the same year the prior of Thetford obtained protection for his own absence across the seas until a fortnight after Easter.⁵

Vincent, prior of Thetford, on 16 March, 1287, nominated Henry de Henham his fellow-monk, and Guy de Holbeach to act as his attorneys until Michaelmas, as he was going beyond the seas.⁶ The same prior on 22 January,

1291, obtained protection during a year's absence across the seas,⁷ and on 4 March of the following year the prior again obtained leave of absence until Michaelmas, appointing attorneys.⁸

On the death of Prior Vincent about the beginning of the fourteenth century, considerable dispute arose as to his successor, which resulted in an appeal to Rome. In April, 1301, the pope directed the prior of Holy Trinity, York, in conjunction with two continental ecclesiastics, to hold an inquiry into the cause relative to the priory of Thetford, subject to the abbot and convent of Cluni, by whom their prior had hitherto been appointed. The convent of Thetford, wishing to withdraw themselves from the jurisdiction of Cluni, elected by the procurement of the Earl of Norfolk one of their own monks, Reginald de Montargi, or de Eye, as prior, and his election was confirmed by the bishop of Norwich. Reginald resisted the abbot of Cluni, and went so far as to imprison and ill-treat certain monks sent by the abbot to publish the process against the prior and convent of Thetford, relying on the power of the bishop, John Bigod, clerk, and Roger his brother, Earl Marshal, patron of Thetford, to defend his position. The abbot's proctor on this occasion was Thomas de Mountargys, a monk of Lewes, who came to Norwich to lay his case before the bishop, apparently before he confirmed the election of Reginald. While Thomas was sitting in the cemetery of Norwich Priory reading over his instruments, Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, and a number of his friends came and seized him, carried him out of the cemetery against his will, and set some thirty men to guard the gate and prevent his re-entering. The monk then tried to seek refuge in the cemetery of St. George's church, but two of the earl's men came up and beat him and cut off part of his hood and assaulted a bystander who remonstrated with them, so that the monk fled in fear to the church of the Friars of the Sack, and his pursuers came in after him and shut him up in a room within the friars' house and kept him there till late the next afternoon, after the time fixed by the bishop for hearing his case had passed.⁹ Cluni then petitioned Boniface VIII in the matter, and the pope ordered his commissioners, if the above allegations were true, to upset the bishop's action, to deprive the intended prior, to release the imprisoned monks, and to warn John Bigod and the Earl Marshal to desist from interference. If this order was disobeyed all parties were to be cited before the pope.¹⁰ The result of this appeal could not have been favourable to Prior Reginald, for in 1302 Ralf de Frezenfeld was appointed prior by the abbot of Cluni.¹¹

¹ Duckett, *Chart. and Rec. of Cluni*, ii, 122-3.

² Ibid. 127.

³ Ibid. 142-3. 'Advocate' is sometimes used in monastic records as an interchangeable term for 'patron.'

⁴ *Cal. of Pat.* 9 Edw. I, m. 19.

⁵ *Pat.* 9 Edw. I, m. 7.

⁶ Ibid. 15 Edw. I, m. 12.

⁷ Ibid. 19 Edw. I, m. 20. ⁸ Ibid. 20 Edw. I, m. 18.

⁹ Assize R. 1234, m. 39. ¹⁰ *Cal. Papal Reg.* i, 594-5.

¹¹ Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 158.

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During the short rule of Reginald de Eye one of his monks, Henry de Wangeford, fled from the priory to the neighbouring house of Austin Canons, from which he went away after sunset in company with one of the canons, Richard de Harpele, and some servants of the same house who escorted him with arms half a league in the direction of Elveden, when Prior Reginald came up with a number of monks and servants, and a fight ensued ending in the re-capture of brother Henry,¹ who was taken back to the priory and there imprisoned for two months, but eventually escaped.²

To Ralf de Frezenfeld succeeded Thomas le Bygod, a monk of Walden. His appointment as prior was confirmed by the bishop on 31 December, 1304. Blomefield says that he was elected by the sub-prior and monks; but this seems most doubtful, for he had not shaken off his allegiance to Cluni and attended the chapter-general in the year following his appointment. On 14 October, 1305, Thomas prior of Thetford, nominated two attorneys to act for him in his absence until the following Easter.³

On 3 February, 1307, Walter de Norwich, king's clerk, was appointed to the custody of the priory of Thetford, which was stated to be of the king's patronage since the death of Roger le Bigod, earl of Norfolk. The reason for taking this step was said to be that the house was oppressed with debt.⁴

John de Benstede and William Inge were accordingly appointed by the crown in October, 1307, to the custody of the priory of Thetford, with its cells of Wangeford and Horkesley, to apply the rents and issues to the discharge of the debts of the house, reserving for the prior and convent and its ministers a reasonable sustenance.⁵

In 1308 the king committed the custody of the house to William de Ventodoro, dean of the priory of St. Peter of Carennac, Gascony, during the voidance of the priorship, instituting him *ad interim* prior of Thetford. In January, 1309, the term of his custody was extended to Michaelmas.⁶ When Michaelmas came William de Ventodoro's term of custody was further extended to Easter, to enable the abbot of Cluni, to whom the preferment belonged, to prefer one of his monks and present him to the king. From an inquisition it appeared that upon every voidance the abbots of Cluni had been accustomed to prefer one of their monks to that house, and by letter to present him to the Earl of Norfolk for the time being as patron of the priory, for the restoration of the temporalities; that the earls had always made such restoration until Earl

Roger during the war with France had caused certain of the monks, on the death of Vincent to elect Reginald de Eye, to whom he delivered the temporalities; that upon every voidance the earls were accustomed to place a porter (a horseman or footman) in the priory, who received necessary sustenance, but who took nothing else either for himself or his lord; and that the earls, fealty having been done them by the priors preferred, were accustomed by their bailiffs to restore the temporalities and remove the porter without taking or retaining to their own use any of the goods of the priory.⁷ The custody of the temporalities in the hands of William de Ventodoro was still further extended until Christmas, 1309.⁸ Soon after this date William must have been presented and accepted by Cluni as actual prior, for in February, 1310, he obtained, under the title of prior of Thetford, protection for a year's absence across the seas, and nominated attorneys to act for him.⁹ In 1311, Prior William Ventodoro again obtained protection to cross the seas from 14 May until the following All Saints' Day.¹⁰ Soon after this Prior William either died or resigned, for in December, 1311, we find the temporalities of Thetford restored to Martin de Rinhiaco, a Cluniac monk who had just been preferred to be prior by the abbot of Cluni.¹¹

In 1313 there was a most serious riot at the priory, when a mob made forcible entry, assaulted Prior Martin and his monks and servants, maimed some of them, and followed others who fled to the church so that they might be in sanctuary, and actually killed several of them by the high altar, and carried away the goods of the priory. On 17 August a commission of oyer and terminer was appointed to inquire into the affray and give judgement, and protection for a year was granted to Prior Martin.¹²

At the request of the prior and convent Walter de Norwich was appointed in 1314, during pleasure, to be keeper of the house, which the king had taken into his protection on account of its poverty and indebtedness. A reasonable allowance was to be made for the sustenance of the convent and its servants, and the balance was to be reserved for the discharge of the debts of the priory and to make good its defects. The keeper was to accept the advice and assistance of some of the more discreet of the house, and so long as he remained in custody no sheriff, bailiff, or other minister of the king was to lodge in the priory or its granges without the keeper's special licence.¹³

⁷ Ibid. 2 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 21.

⁸ Ibid. 3 Edw. II, m. 32.

⁹ Ibid. 5 Edw. II, m. 5, 19, 9.

¹⁰ Ibid. 4 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 13.

¹¹ Ibid. 5 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 5.

¹² Ibid. 7 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 16; pt. ii, m. 17 d.

¹³ Ibid. 8 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 30.

¹ Assize R. 1234, m. 26. ² Ibid. m. 21.

³ Pat. 33 Edw. I, pt. ii, m. 10.

⁴ Ibid. 35 Edw. I, m. 38.

⁵ Ibid. 1 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 18.

⁶ Ibid. 2 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 16; Duckett, *Chart. and Rec. of Cluni*, 115, 116.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

In 1318 the Close Rolls show further money entanglements. Peter de Bosco, who had been appointed prior in 1316, acknowledged on the part of the convent a debt of £100 owing to Master Roger de la Bere, clerk, and another debt of £50, owing to John Sarazein, of Ekenbleyen.¹ On 18 June of the same year, Boniface Karle de Doliano, executor of the will of Master Berenger de Quiliano, put in his place Banquinus Brunesii of Florence, to sue in the matter of a recognizance in chancery for £200 made to Berenger by the prior of Thetford.² Evidently the house was in the hands of professional money-lenders. In 1323 Prior Peter acknowledged a debt of £200 to John de Dynieton, clerk,³ and James de Cusancia, prior of Thetford, acknowledged in 1336 a debt of £82 13s. 4d. due to William Cosyn, a citizen of London.⁴

In March, 1337, Prior James de Cusancia further acknowledged his indebtedness in the sum of £88 to Peter Guernersi and Bindus Gile of Florence; this entry was afterwards cancelled on payment.⁵ In June of the same year the prior had to acknowledge for himself and convent that they owed to Andrew Berton, merchant of Chieri, the great sum of £265, to be levied in default of payment on their lands, chattels, and ecclesiastical goods in the county of Norfolk.⁶ The prior was allowed to retain custody of his house on the yearly payment to the crown of 50 marks, and 10 marks as custody fee.⁷

Prior James in 1345 refused, in conjunction with the other leading English priors of the Cluniac order, to pay their subsidy to the abbot of Cluni. Clement VI, on appeal, forwarded his mandate, through the archbishop of Canterbury to the prior, ordering him to comply with the ancient custom.

On account of his great age Prior James was removed from his rule in 1355, and was succeeded by Geoffrey de Rocherio.⁸

In 1376 letters patent were issued to the prior and convent of Thetford, granting that they should thenceforth be reputed denizen, and they were thus free from all direct allegiance to Cluni.⁹ This grant was inspected and confirmed by Richard II in 1380, on payment of a fine of 40s.¹⁰

Although the priory of Thetford was made denizen in 1376, which enabled it to elect its own prior and set it free from any pecuniary obligation to Cluni, the house continued to yield some allegiance to the great abbey, and accepted its visitations up to the close of its existence. In 1390 the Cluniac visitors were at Thetford, and described it as a direct affiliation of the mother church of Cluni. There were then twenty-two monks. There were six daily masses, three of which were sung. A tenth part of the bread was reserved for distribution to the poor. The visitors found that all monastic obligations according to the Cluni rule were duly observed.

In 1399 Boniface IX exempted Thetford Priory from the jurisdiction of the abbot of Cluni, who is described as distant and schismatical; he further authorized the convent to elect their own prior, with confirmation from the prior of Castle Acre.¹¹

The yearly apport of 13s. 4d., which the priory of Thetford used to render to the house of Cluni, was granted by Edward III, in 1462, to the provost and college of Eton.¹²

Robert Weting occurs as prior in 1480. In the patents of that year it is recited that the king ought to have a nomination to one corrody in this priory, and he understood from Robert the prior that, although Nicholas Michegood obtained a corrody of the king's nomination in the time of John the late prior, which he still holds, nevertheless William Newerk, one of the gentlemen of the king's chapel, obtained another corrody from the late prior and still held it, so that the prior and convent are chargeable with two crown corrodies; he then for the love he bore his son Richard duke of York and Anne his wife, daughter of John, late duke of Norfolk, patrons of the priory, granted that henceforth there should only be a small royal corrody at the priory.¹³ A good example of a corrody is found at an earlier date, 1315, when Simon son of Benedict of Thetford, and William de Thunderle complained that Prior Martin had refused to give them the daily corrody to which they were entitled, namely a white loaf called a 'miche,' a whole-meal loaf called 'white bread of the hall,' a gallon and a half of the best beer, pure and not mixed, a portion of soup, a dish of meat on the three meat days from both first and second courses, namely as much of each as the prior or two monks had, and on the four days in the week when fish was eaten portions of the two courses of fish, and if the first course were herrings their portion should be six herrings, but if eggs then six eggs, and for the second course as much as the prior received.¹⁴

¹ Close, 11 Edw. II, m. 5 d, 4 d.

² Ibid. pt. i, m. 3 d.

³ Ibid. 17 Edw. II, m. 27 d.

⁴ Ibid. 10 Edw. III, m. 30 d.

⁵ *Cal. of Close*, 11 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 32 d.

⁶ Ibid. 11 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 9 d.

⁷ Ibid. pt. ii, m. 37.

⁸ Prior Geoffrey began a history of his monastery, but only finished a fragment, which is among the MSS. of Corpus Christi College, Camb. Martin gives it in App. ix.

⁹ Reynier, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, 209.

¹⁰ *Cal. of Pat.* 3 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 12.

¹¹ *Cal. Papal Reg.* v, 196.

¹² Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. iii, m. 24.

¹³ Ibid. 20 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 21.

¹⁴ Assize R. 593, m. 31 d.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

The notorious visitors Legh and Leyton were here early in 1536, and alleged that they obtained confession of theft from one monk, and of uncleanness from another, adding that they suspected confederacy, as so little evil had been confessed although they were seventeen in number.¹

On 26 March, 1537, Prior William wrote to Cromwell, in answer to his application for the preferment of his servant, John Myllsent, to their farm of Lynford. They begged to be excused, as their founder (patron), the Duke of Norfolk, had the custody of their convent seal.²

The Duke of Norfolk, the powerful patron of Thetford Priory, naturally looked with dismay upon the approaching destruction of this house and of the church, where not only his remote but more immediate ancestors had been honourably interred. His father, Sir Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey and duke of Norfolk, who died on 21 May, 1524, was buried before the high altar of the conventual church, where a costly monument to himself and Agnes his wife had been erected; whilst still more recently, in 1536, Henry Fitzroy, duke of Somerset, had been buried in the same place. As a means of preserving the church and establishment, the duke proposed to convert the priory into a church of secular canons, with a dean and chapter. In 1539 he petitioned the king to that effect, stating that there lay buried in that church the bodies of the Duke of Richmond, the king's natural son; the duke's late wife, Lady Anne, aunt to his highness; the late Duke of Norfolk and other of his ancestors; and that he was setting up tombs for himself and the duke of Richmond which would cost £400. He also promised to make it 'a very honest parish church.' At first the king gave ear to the proposal, and Thetford was included in a list with five others, of 'collegiate churches newly to be made and erected by the king.' Whereupon the duke had articles of a thorough scheme drawn up for insertion in the expected letters patent, whereby the monastery was to be translated into a dean and chapter. The dean was to be Prior William,³ and the six prebendaries and eight secular canons were to be the monks of the former house, whose names are set forth in detail. The nomination of the dean was to rest with the duke and his heirs. The scheme included the appointment by the dean and chapter of a doctor or bachelor of divinity as preacher in the house, with a stipend of £20.⁴

But the capricious king changed his mind, and insisted on the absolute dissolution of the priory. The duke found that further resistance was hopeless, and on 16 February, 1540, Prior William and thirteen monks signed a deed of

surrender.⁵ Two months later the site and the whole possessions of the priory passed to the Duke of Norfolk for £1,000, and by the service of a knight's fee and an annual rental of £59 5s. 1d. The bones of Henry's natural son, and of the late Duke of Norfolk and others, together with their tombs, were removed to a newly erected chancel of the Suffolk church of Framingham, and the grand church of St. Mary of Thetford speedily went to decay.

PRIORS OF THETFORD

Malgod,⁶ appointed 1104
 Stephen,⁷ appointed 1107
 Constantine,⁸ occurs 1131
 Martin,⁹ occurs 1189
 Peter Vincent,¹⁰ occurs 1202
 Richard,¹¹ occurs 1226, died c. 1236¹²
 Stephen II,¹³ occurs 1240, killed 1248¹⁴
 William I,¹⁵ occurs 1262
 Vincent,¹⁶ occurs 1279, died c. 1300¹⁷
 Reginald de Montargi¹⁸ *alias* de Eye, elected c. 1300
 Ralph de Frezenfeld,¹⁹ appointed 1302
 Thomas Bigod,²⁰ appointed 1304
 William de Ventodoro,²¹ appointed 1308
 Martin de Rinhiaco,²² appointed 1311
 Peter de Bosco,²³ appointed 1316
 James de Cusancia,²⁴ occurs 1336
 Geoffrey de Rochario,²⁵ occurs 1355
 Roger de Berton,²⁶ occurs 1370
 John de Fordham,²⁷ occurs 1372, 1395
 John Ixworth,²⁸ appointed c. 1400
 Nicholas,²⁹ appointed 1430
 John Vesey,³⁰ appointed 1438
 Robert Weting,³¹ appointed 1480
 Roger Baldry de Bermingham,³² appointed 1503
 William Ixworth,³³ appointed 1518, last prior.

⁵ Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, App. xvii.

⁶ Ibid. App. xxix, xxxii.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Duckett, *Chart. Rec. of Cluni*, ii, 201.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 106.

¹³ Duckett, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 32.

¹⁵ Duckett, *op. cit.*, ii, 122-3.

¹⁶ Ibid. 142.

¹⁷ *Cal. Papal Reg.* i, 594-5.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 158.

²⁰ Pat. 33 Edw. I, pt. 2, m. 10.

²¹ Ibid. 1 Edw. II, pt. 1, m. 18.

²² Ibid. 5 Edw. II, pt. 1, m. 5.

²³ Close, ii, Edw. II, m. 5 d, 4 d.

²⁴ Ibid. 10 Edw. III, m. 30 d.

²⁵ Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, App. ix.

²⁶ Norw. Epis. Reg. Huydon, 10, 5-167.

²⁷ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 108; Bp. of Durham, 1381, Ely, 1338.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.; Pat. 18 Edw. IV, pt. 1, m. 28.

³¹ Pat. 20 Edw. IV, pt. 2, m. 21.

³² Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 159.

³³ Ibid.

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 144.

² Ibid. xii (1), 325.

³ Styled William Burdon, which was probably an *alias* for Ixworth.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 152, 356.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

There are two impressions as well as casts of the fine thirteenth-century seal ($3\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times 2 in.) of this priory in the British Museum. The seated Virgin, with nimbus, holds the Holy Child, with cruciform nimbus, on the left knee,

and a flower in the right hand; the background is diapered. Legend:—

SIGILLUM; PRIORIS; ET CONVENTUS: MONA-
CHORUM THETFORDIE.³

HOUSE OF CISTERCIAN NUNS

20. THE ABBEY OF MARHAM

This abbey of Cistercian nuns was founded by Isabel, widow of Hugh de Albini, earl of Arundel. It was dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, St. Barbara, and St. Edmund, on 27 January, 1249, by Richard, bishop of Chichester. The original endowment was the lands of the foundress at Marham, together with the manor and all its services; they were granted for the good of the souls of William Earl Warenne and Surrey her father, of Maud her mother, daughter of William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, of Hugh her husband, and of all her ancestors and successors.

On St. Bartholomew's Day, 1252, this nunnery, with the sanction of the pope and the bishop of Norwich, was formally incorporated into the abbey of Waverley, the first and mother-house of the Cistercian order in England; the nunnery making an offering to Waverley of four marks and a cask of wine.¹ On 3 September of the same year the gifts of the foundress were confirmed by Henry III, and they received further confirmation at the hands of Isabel's brother, John, Earl Warenne.² Walter, bishop of Norwich, in 1251, with the consent of the prior and convent of West Acre, and of Nicholas, vicar of the churches of the Holy Trinity and St. Andrew in Marham, licensed this house to have free sepulture in their own church by their own priests, and right to say mass and perform divine service there, on condition that none of the parishioners of the two churches were admitted to any sacrament or were buried in the conventual church. There was also a special reservation of the rights of the parochial churches in case of strangers desiring burial in the abbey church. The prior and convent of West Acre were rectors of the two parish churches.

The advowson of the church of Carleton St. Peter was given to the convent by the foundress, with an acre of land there; the rectory was appropriated and a vicarage ordained in 1274.

¹ *Annales de Waverleia* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 34-5.

² The foundation and incorporation, &c., are described and the charters transcribed in a chartulary or register of the abbey, references to which are given in Blomefield, vii, 384-93. This chartulary, of seventy-four folios, is preserved at Stow Hall, Norfolk; a short analysis of it is given in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iii, 251. The subsequent information in this sketch is taken from the chartulary, where no other reference is given.

A papal mandate was granted in May, 1290, on the petition of Queen Eleanor, to the abbot (bishop) of Norwich to appropriate to the prioress and convent of Marham the church of Stow Bedon, with the consent of the bishop and dean and chapter.⁴ In March, 1291, a further mandate was received by the abbot to at once proceed in this appropriation, notwithstanding that in former letters the word 'prioress' had been written in error for that of 'abbess' and 'dean and chapter' for 'prior and chapter' in the clause requiring their consent to the said appropriation.⁵

In consequence of the smallness of its endowments, the abbey was excused payment of tenths at the time of the taxation of 1291.

In November, 1302, licence was granted for the alienation in mortmain by John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, to the abbess and nuns of Marham, of the advowson of the church of Dudlington,⁶ and the abbess and convent obtained leave in 1327 to appropriate the church of Hackford, which was already in their patronage through the gift of Sir Andrew Hengham. The church was valued at £4 6s. 8d.⁷ The advowson of the church of Rockland St. Peter was confirmed to the abbey in 1346 by Sir Constantine Mortimer, and leave obtained by the bishop for its appropriation three years later. In the following year they also received the appropriation of the church of Rockland All Saints.⁸

In 1385 the abbess and nuns received grants from Richard Holdyche and John Clenche-warton of the manor of 'Beleter,' in Marham, and of 160 acres of land, forty of meadow, and 10s. in rent, of the yearly value of ten marks.⁹

The Valor of 1535 returned the gross annual value of this small abbey as £42 4s. 7½d. and the clear value £39 os. 1¾d.

A papal indult was granted in 1354 to Egidia Howard, nun of St. Mary's, Marham, to choose a confessor who should give her, being penitent, plenary remission at the hour of death.¹⁰

The chartulary contains a mortuary list from 1401 to 1453, with sixteen names of lay persons

³ Add. Ch. 26785; Cott. Ch. xxi, 40; B.M. lxi, 47.

⁴ *Cal. Papal Reg.* i, 513.

⁵ *Ibid.* i, 530.

⁶ Pat. 31 Edw. I, m. 46.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 16.

⁸ *Ibid.* 21 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 32.

⁹ *Cal. of Pat.* 9 Ric. II, pt. 1, m. 20.

¹⁰ *Cal. Papal Reg.* iii, 533.

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who died in their house or within its jurisdiction, and who were probably buried there. The mortuaries were chiefly gowns or mantles; thus Sir Ralph Hersent, a gown of violet colour; Isabel Cooper, a gown of cloth of gold; John Dolman, his best russet gown; Cecil Narburgh, a gown of blood colour furred with minever; Matilda de Marham, a mantle furred with white; Lady Eleanor, relict of Sir William Ingoldes-thorpe, a mantle furred with grey. But the mortuary of Thomas Rynstede was a sorrel horse and that of Sir John Champeney, a priest who had a chamber in the abbey precincts, a book, which was sold for eight marks.

The abbess of Marham had the privilege of proving the wills of those who died within the precincts or jurisdiction of the house. In 1401 there was a dispute as to this privilege, but it was confirmed to them by the bishop of Norwich.

A return made to the crown of the appropriated churches of the diocese in 1416, names the churches of Carleton St. Mary, Doddington, Hackford, Marham, Rockland, and Stow Bedon as appropriated to Marham Abbey.¹

The scandalous *comperta* of Legh and Ap Rice, drawn up in 1536, allege that the Abbess Barbara Mason and four of her nuns had confessed to grave incontinency. There seems to have been some foundation for these charges in this particular case, for when the county commissioners visited Marham later in the same year they reported that there were 'Religious persons of slaundersous Reporte whereof iij of them doue require ther Dispensacions, and the residue wyll contynue in Religione.' They further reported that there were twelve other persons having their living there, namely one priest, three women servants, and seven hinds; that the lead and the bells were worth £4 4s.; that the house was 'in sore decaye'; that the goods were worth

£32 13s. 6d.; and that 110s. were owing to the convent.

An inventory was taken of this house on 6 August, 1535. It is difficult to understand why church ornaments should have found their way to the dormitory; their presence there points to much disorder. In the church there were two altar cloths and another hanging, a ferial vestment, a mass book and six other books, a latten censer, a sacring bell, and five small standards (candlesticks) of latten. In the dormitory, a cross plated with silver-gilt, a cope of green satin of Bruges, various old altar cloths and vestments and hangings, two candlesticks of copper-gilt, a silver-gilt chalice, 'a rounde bezall garnyshed with iiij fete of sylver and guylt,' and another bezall similarly garnished.³

The goods and chattels of this house were sold, according to the county commissioners' certificate of 16 February, 1537, for £26 19s. 8d., save the plate in Richard Southwell's custody, which was valued at 61s. 8d.

A lease of the site of the abbey and its demesne lands was granted in 1537 to Thomas Bukworth, serjeant-at-arms.⁴ On 3 July, 1546, this property was granted to Sir Nicholas Hare and John Hare, citizens of London.

ABBESSES OF MARHAM⁵

Mary, the first abbess
 Mary,⁶ occurs 1305
 Sarah,⁷ occurs 1310
 Agatha Howard
 Mary de Ingham,⁸ elected 1365
 Egidia Howard, occurs 1380
 Eleanor Weyland, occurs 1384, 1419
 Margery, occurs 1435
 Joan Narburgh, occurs 1453, 1467
 Joan Heigham, occurs 1486, 1501
 Barbara Mason, occurs 1511-35

HOUSES OF AUSTIN CANONS

21. THE ABBEY OF CREAKE²

In a meadow of forty acres, on the right of the road leading from North Creake to Burnham Market, a house of Austin Canons was founded in 1206, in honour of the Blessed

¹ Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, 127.

² There are articles on this abbey by the late Mr. Carthew, F.S.A. in *Norf. Arch.* (vi. 314-59; vii, 153-69), which give many interesting extracts from, and accounts of, charters and rolls among the muniments of Christ's College, Cambridge. The statements in this sketch, where no reference is given, are taken from these articles. There is a short thirteenth-century chartulary of Creake, opening with an account of the foundation, which is given, with two early charters in the *Mon.* (vi, 487-8). Bishop Kennett's extracts from it are in *Lansd. MS.* 1040, fols. 203-4.

Virgin, by Alice, widow of Sir Robert de Nerford, governor of Dover Castle. At an earlier date, in the reign of Henry II, Sir Robert and Alice, his wife, had founded here a hospital, dedicated to the honour of St. Bartholomew, for a master, four chaplains, and thirteen poor brethren. The first master, William de Geyst, a secular priest, soon after its establishment, with the consent of Lady Alice (Sir Robert having died), became an Austin Canon and changed the foundation into a priory of that order, becoming himself the first prior of St. Mary de Pratis by

³ Ch. Gds. K.R. $\frac{1}{7}$.

⁴ Aug. Off. Books, ccix, fol. 95.

⁵ From the Chartul.

⁶ Assize R. 591, m. 16.

⁷ *Ibid.* 593, m. 12.

⁸ Norw. Epis. Reg. v, 65.

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Creake. Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, nephew of the patroness, consecrated the chapel of the priory in 1221. A bull of Gregory IX (1227-41), ordained that the rule of St. Augustine was to be observed by the canons, and confirmed them in the possession of the great meadow round the monastery, the vill of 'Receresthorp' and Ilveston, in Lincoln diocese; various houses, lands, mills, woods, and rents in Norwich diocese; a messuage in the city of London; and bestowed on them several privileges and immunities.

In 1231, Lady Alice having granted the patronage of the priory to the king, Henry III confirmed all its privileges, and sanctioned the priory being changed into an abbey.¹

In 1239 Bishop William de Raleigh confirmed to the abbey the patronage and appropriation of the church of St. Margaret, Habeton, and a moiety of that of All Saints, Wreningham, which had been bestowed during the vacancy of the see, and in 1247 Bishop Walter of Norwich sanctioned the appropriation to the abbey of the church of St. Martin of Quarles. In 1257 a bull of Pope Alexander authorized the appropriation of the church of Gateley, which was already in the abbey's gift. This appropriation was confirmed by the bishop of Norwich in 1259, and a vicarage formally ordained.

A deed of confirmation of the various appropriations held by the abbey, executed by the archbishop of Canterbury in 1281, which is now amongst the Christ's College muniments, has on the back an extent of all the abbey lands, rents, and services. It is therein stated that there were sixteen acres within the precinct walls of the house.

In 1286 a jury returned that the abbot of Creake held four fairs at the abbey, namely at the Annunciation, the Translation of St. Thomas, and the festivals of Saints Bartholomew and Nicholas; these had been granted by Henry III in 1227.²

The taxation returns of 1291 gave the annual value of the temporalities of the abbey in Norwich diocese as £39 6s. 0½d., and in Lincoln diocese as £20 11s. 1d.; and this exclusive of the great tithes of their several appropriated churches.

Richard Roulf, who had long served the king, and was incapacitated by age, was sent to the abbey of Creake in 1325 to receive the same maintenance that had been assigned to Adam de Waltham, deceased, at the request of the late king.³

In 1331 the abbey received a grant from James de North Creake, chaplain, and William Quarles of a messuage and forty acres of land in South Creake and North Creake, to maintain a chaplain to celebrate daily mass in the abbey for

the faithful departed.⁴ In the following year William Quarles, in conjunction with Laurence Hemming and Walter de Melford, granted the abbey further lands for a daily mass for their three souls.⁵

Land was also held by the abbey in Gedney, Lincolnshire, by the service of finding a canon to celebrate daily in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, on the site of a messuage formerly belonging to Thomas Dory, and supporting there five paupers, giving them daily a loaf of fifty shillings' weight, broth, and beer, and a portion of either meat or fish, and a cloth tunic every other year. This service Margaret, widow of John de Roos, alleged in 1341, had been discontinued for two years or more by the abbot.⁶

The accounts for the year of Abbot Brandon's death (1360) show that the deceased abbot's copes were converted into money; his quire cope (*capa chore*) realized 3s. 4d. The extant accounts for different years of this century prove that the revenues of this comparatively small house varied from £130 to £140, of which about £90 were derived from rents of lands and houses, and the residue from the sale of corn and stock from their own demesnes, from the four quarterly fairs, and from occasional legacies and gifts. The accounts very rarely denote anything that could be termed luxurious living. One shilling was spent on wine and threepence on apples in 1360, but even this was on the occasion of the abbot's funeral, and was probably for guests. Occasionally they accepted presents in kind, but there always seems to have been some return. In 1345-6 twopence and a pair of gloves were given to one bringing capons and mallards to the convent from Congham, and two knives, value 1½d., were given to two girls who brought apples to the abbot.

A sad disaster occurred at the beginning of the year 1378, when a great part of the monastery was 'petuously burnt.' It was beyond the power of the convent to re-edify, and there was danger of the house falling into extreme desolation, and of divine service being withdrawn, or much diminished, unless charitable remedy for their relief could be devised. The abbot appealed to the king as patron of the house, and Richard II, by letters dated 20 February, 'moved with pite,' gave the abbey by way of alms towards the rebuilding the handsome sum of £40 13s. 4d., to be paid out of the revenues of the lordship of Fakenham, one half at Easter and the remainder at Michaelmas.⁷

Robert Walsingham was appointed in 1491, and whilst he was abbot extensive rebuildings of the quire and presbytery of the conventual church were in progress or contemplation. Sir

¹ Chart. R. 15 Hen. III, m. 2.

² Ibid. 11 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 14.

³ Close, 19 Edw. III, m. 30 d.

⁴ Pat. 5 Edw. III, pt. i. m. 33.

⁵ Ibid. 6 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 16.

⁶ Year Book 15 Edw. III (Rolls Ser.), 448-50.

⁷ Harl. MS. 433, fol. 153.

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William Calthorp, of Burnham Thorpe, many of whose ancestors were buried in a chapel of the conventual church, by will dated 31 May, 1495, left £74 towards the building of the quire and presbytery and general repairs of Creak Abbey.

Giles Shevington, the last abbot of the house, occurs in 1503. He is mentioned in that year in the will of Walter Aslake, who gave to the convent all the lands in Holm and Ringstead that he purchased of Sir Roger Strange, on condition of his obit being duly observed. Walter also left 5s. to each canon, and to the abbey a complete vestment of white damask, and willed that—

the north side of the quire in the said abbey be made with tymbre workmanship and nayles of my goods, and mete and drink, and sand and lime, at the cost of the abbot and convent.

Not long after this date 'an infectious or epidemical disease' carried off the several canons of this small house, Abbot Giles being the last survivor.¹ The abbot himself died on 12 December, 1506; there was no convent left to elect a successor. The house was, therefore, *ipso facto* dissolved, and reverted to the crown. Through the intervention of the king's mother, the Lady Margaret, countess of Richmond, the lands and revenues of the abbey were settled upon Christ's College, Cambridge, which was of her foundation.

PRIORS OF CREAKE

William le Geyst,² *temp.* Hen. II
Robert, occurs 1228

ABBOTS

Robert,³ occurs 1230
Angerius,⁴ occurs 1237
William,⁵ occurs 1246
Godfrey,⁶ elected 1262; resigned 1281⁷
John Chevre,⁸ elected 1281
Thomas Sutherck,⁹ elected 1303
John de Harpole,¹⁰ elected 1334
Robert de Dokking,¹¹ elected 1352
Thomas de Redham,¹² elected 1353
Thomas de Brandon,¹³ elected 1357
John de Asshe,¹⁴ elected 1360

¹ Nichols, *Leic.* ii, 551. Probably the sweating sickness which raged in many parts of England in 1506.

² *Norf. Arch.* vi and vii.

³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ *Ibid.* ⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Reg. Epist. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.).

⁸ *Pat. Edw. I.* m. 26, 22.

⁹ *Ibid.* 31 *Edw. II.* m. 23, 21, 20.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 8 *Edw. III.* pt. ii, m. 37, 31, 20.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 26 *Edw. III.* pt. i, m. 24.

¹² *Ibid.* 27 *Edw. III.* pt. i, m. 3, 5.

¹³ *Ibid.* 31 *Edw. III.* pt. i, m. 14.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 34 *Edw. III.* pt. ii, m. 13.

John de Wighton,¹⁵ elected 1393
Robert Felbrigg,¹⁶ elected 1413
Thomas Crakyskyld,¹⁷ died 1439
John Stanhow,¹⁸ elected 1439
William Raume,¹⁹ *alias* Wyssyngset, elected 1465
John Churcher,²⁰ elected 1466
John Debenham,²¹ elected 1473
John Elvysh,²² elected 1475
Robert Walsingham,²³ elected 1491
Giles Shevington,²⁴ occurs 1503, last abbot, died 1506²⁵

22. THE PRIORY OF BEESTON²⁶

The priory of Austin Canons at Beeston-on-the-Sea, dedicated to the honour of St. Mary, was founded by Margery de Cressy about the end of the reign of John.²⁷ The original endowment was a messuage and 40 acres of land in Beeston and Runton, together with certain demesne lands, rents, services, meadows, wreck of sea and fisheries.²⁸

Lucy, abbess of Caen, granted to Roger the prior and the convent of Beeston, in 1267, the advowson of the church of Staninghall, Norfolk.²⁹

The taxation of 1291 gave the annual value of the temporalities of this priory in Norfolk, which were widely scattered in small parcels throughout the county, as £25 5s. 10½d., and of its possessions in Suffolk at £2 10s. 10½d.³⁰

Nevertheless, their appropriations could not have been carried out at that date, for when a crown return was called for in 1416 of the appropriated churches of this diocese, the reply from Beeston Priory was that they held no appropriations, and that their goods had been destroyed or much diminished in the pestilence of 1349 and by a terrible inundation in 1400.³¹

The Valor of 1535 gave the clear annual value of the priory at £43 2s. 4¾d., drawn from the manors and court fees of Beeston, Runton, Sheringham, Holt Perers, and Ranworth, and from lands at Sparham and Buxton, Norfolk, and Reydon, Suffolk.

In 1370 letters patent were granted on payment of 100s. for the alienation to the priory of lands and tenements in Upton, Ranworth,

¹⁵ Harl. MS. 6961, fol. 97.

¹⁶ *Pat.* 14 *Hen. IV.* m. 13, 8.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Norw. Epis. Reg.* x, 25.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* xi, 147.

²⁰ *Ibid.* xii, 29.

²¹ *Ibid.* 157.

²² *Ibid.* 47.

²³ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 77.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Nichols, *Leic.* ii, 551.

²⁶ See paper by Dr. Jessopp in *Norf. Antiq. Misc.* iii, 439–61.

²⁷ Rye, *Hist. of North Erpingham*, pt. i, 4.

²⁸ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* viii, 91.

²⁹ *Fin. Rot. Norf.* 52 *Hen. III.* 106.

³⁰ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), fols. 92, 94, 95, 96b, 99, 99b, 100, 104b, 105b, 126b, 127.

³¹ *Norw. Epis. Reg.* viii, 130.

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Pankeford, and Woodbastwick, to find a lamp burning daily in the priory church before the high altar at the time of divine services.¹

Boniface IV sanctioned, in 1401, the appropriation by this priory of the church of Runton, as their income was too slender for their sustentation and hospitality. The value of the benefice did not exceed 20 marks, and that of the monastery 30 marks. The church might be served by one of their own canons or by a secular priest, removable at the will of the prior.²

In 1408 the manor of Perers, and in 1412 tenements in Aylmerton, Felbrigg, and Shipton, a moiety of the advowson of Beeston and the advowson of Runton were all granted to the priory.³

In 1466 Isabel Lady Morley died seised of the patronage of the priory, and Eleanor her cousin, wife of William Lovell, Lord Morley, inherited it. This patronage had come to the Morleys as heirs of the Cressys.

John de Walsam, one of the canons of Beeston, got into serious trouble in 1317. The cause of the outrage cannot now be ascertained, but on one occasion he attacked and wounded his diocesan with a sword. Ultimately the case was referred to the pope, and the canon sent to Rome. In December of that year John XXII instructed the bishop to enjoin penance and satisfaction on John de Walsam, for now that he had recovered from his wounds the pope had given the canon absolution.⁴

The priory was visited by Bishop Goldwell on 25 August, 1494. He was received at the west gate of the monastery by Prior John Poty and the other priests, and proceeded in solemn procession to the high altar of the church, whence he gave his blessing. The visitation was held in the chapter-house. The prior testified that there was only one canon of the house besides himself, namely Thomas Taverner, and he was absent without leave. The bishop enjoined him to have at least two fellow-canons as speedily as possible, and annually to draw up a true return of the priory accounts.⁵

Thomas Plattying, by will proved in 1507, left 6*d.* to Our Lady of Grace and 4*d.* to Our Lady of Pity in Beeston Priory church.⁶

Bishop Nicke visited the house on 18 July, 1514. The prior reported that Canon Thomas Taverner was in Norwich without leave. Canon Nicholas Wodforth said that the prior did not produce his accounts, and charged him with a scandal. Canon Robins testified that all was well. Canon Daume said that they had no school; that mattins were said at five o'clock and

not in the night; that the common seal was in the prior's private keeping, but that everything else was right. Canon Rump knew of nothing to depose.⁷

Bishop Nicke again visited Beeston in August, 1532, when Richard Hudson, who had become prior that year, exhibited his accounts and inventory; Canon Woodford reported that all was well, with which report Canon Yorke agreed. The bishop finding nothing worthy of reformation dissolved his visitation.⁸

On 11 August, 1539, Prior Hudson and his four canons, Nicholas Wodforth, William Wusbarow, James Fysser, and Robert Swyer put their signatures to the acknowledgement of the king's supremacy.⁹ It is said that the income of the house was never sufficient to sustain more than four canons in addition to the prior; but this is highly improbable in its earlier days, considering the size of the house as shown by the ruins.

On 25 March, 1537, Harry Lord Morley wrote to Cromwell making bold to sue him for the priory of Beeston 'whereof sometime I was founder' (patron), understanding that it would be shortly suppressed. He desired to know whether he should sue the king for it.¹⁰

In some curious way, however, Beeston, though one of quite the smaller monasteries, managed to slip through the meshes of the first suppression. In March, 1538, Sir Richard Rich wrote to Cromwell saying that he intended to suppress Beeston 'which pretended themselves to be friars,' but were canons and so apparelled and known. He stated that they were consuming the goods and chattels.¹¹

The confusion as to the proper nomenclature of this house and as to the order to which the inmates belonged is not a little singular. It is usually described after the same fashion as the other small houses of Austin Canons that were so prevalent in East Anglia; but Dr. Jessopp says that he has twice found it described in the Norwich episcopal registers as 'Hospitale sive Ecclesia canonicorum B. Marie in Prato de Beeston.' Nevertheless it was at one time considered by some to be tenanted by friars, for the patent rolls of 1400 have an entry 'pro Priore de Monte Carmali de Beeston.'¹²

In the report of the 'mixed commission,' consisting of Sir William Paston and three others, the account of this house is headed, 'The Priory of Chanones in Beeston of th' order of Peterstone, they been callyd Chanones hospitlers and they have a convent seale.' This commission

¹ Pat. 44 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 36.

² *Cal. Papal Reg.* v, 416.

³ Pat. 10 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 24; 1 Hen. V, pt. i, m. 21.

⁴ *Cal. Papal Reg.* ii, 136.

⁵ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 55.

⁶ Reg. Spilymbre (Norwich), 4.

⁷ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 124.

⁸ *Ibid.* 316.

⁹ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. 2, 280; *Norw. Antiq. Misc.* iii, 460.

¹⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 321.

¹¹ *Ibid.* xiii (1), 232.

¹² Pat. 2 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 30.

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returned the annual value at £46 3s. 6½d., with debts owing to the amount of £20. The lead and bells were valued at £60, and the house was in good repair. The religious only numbered three, and were of 'goode name'; but there were in addition seven servants and six children living in the house. 'One scholler of Oxonforde hath xls. yearly for his exibicione.'¹

On its suppression in June, 1539, Prior Hudson was assigned a pension of £5, and the canons smaller sums.² The ex-prior was in receipt of the pension in 1553; he was at that time rector of Newton Flotman.

The crown granted a lease of the site of the priory and its possessions to John Travers in 1540;³ and in 1545 the site, lordships, lands, and tenements were granted jointly to Sir Edmund Wyndham and Giles Seafole.

PRIORS OF BEESTON

Roger, occurs 1267⁴
 Thomas, occurs 1297⁵
 William de Beston, elected 1314⁶
 Geoffrey de Hoton, elected 1325⁷
 Simon de Calthorpe, elected 1390⁸
 Laurence de Beeston, elected 1409⁹
 Geoffrey de Runton, elected 1416,¹⁰ occurs 1435
 John Cateson, occurs 1461
 John Wykmer, 1468¹¹
 John Poty, 1444¹²
 Simon Robyns, 1531
 Richard Hudson, 1532

23. THE PRIORY OF BROMEHILL¹³

Bromehill Priory, in the parish of Weeting and about a mile south-east of the village, was founded by Sir Hugh de Plaiz about the beginning of the thirteenth century. It was clearly well established by 1224, for in April of that year the king granted a two days' fair on the vigil and day of St. Thomas the Martyr, to the prior of Bromehill.¹⁴ This Austin house was under the joint invocation of the Blessed Virgin and St. Thomas the Martyr. The priory was endowed by the founder with a moiety of the manor of Weeting, termed Bromehill Priory Manor. The hundred

jury of 1275 returned the prior as lord of a moiety of Croxton as well as of the Weeting sub-manor, both being of the gift of Hugh de Plaiz in free alms.¹⁵

The taxation of 1291 shows that the priory then held lands or rents in ten Norfolk parishes of an annual value of £23 8s. 2d., in addition to the land in the two Suffolk parishes just named, which was valued at £2 2s. 7d.¹⁶

In 1349 the priory obtained the royal licence for the appropriation of the church of Croxton.¹⁷ In this year Prior Thomas de Saham died, in all probability of the plague, and was followed by Peter de Burnham.

In 1371 the priory obtained licence of alienation in mortmain to hold a messuage, 46 acres of land, 2 of meadow, and a fishery at Bernham, Suffolk, and lands and rents in Threxton, the gifts of William Smith and William Attemore.¹⁸ Three years later they obtained the handsome grant of £20 in rents at Weeting from Sir John de Plaiz.¹⁹ The manor of Mundford and the advowson of the church there were granted to the priory, in 1391, by William Beauchamp,²⁰ and in 1395 Boniface IX sanctioned the appropriation of the church of Croxton, value 25 marks, to this monastery, which was declared of the value of 80 marks. The advowson had recently been given to the priory by its lay patrons with a view to appropriation.²¹

Frequent discord arose between the priory and the neighbouring town of Thetford as to the toll, stallage, and pickname of Bromehill fair. It seems to have originated through the mayor's right to hold a court at the fair clashing with the original grant of the fair to the prior and canons by Henry III. At last, in 1331, an agreement was drawn up on the fair day between the mayor of Thetford and the prior of Bromehill, whereby the latter resigned all control of the fair to the town authorities for an annual payment of 18d. out of the fair profits, with a proviso that in case of neglect the prior had power to indemnify himself.²²

Philip Martin, vicar of Croxton, in 1452 left to the prior 3s. 4d., and to each of the three canons 20d., showing that there were then only three canons besides the prior. On 20 June, 1514, however, when the house was visited by Bishop Nicke, there were four canons in addition to the prior, all of whom were severally examined in the chapter-house. Prior Martin made a favourable report, and said that they had more

¹ Chant. Cert. Norf. No. 90.

² Aug. Off. Books, ccxxxii, fol. 43b.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 250.

⁴ *Fin. R. Norf.* 52 Hen. III, 106.

⁵ *Anct. D.*, A. 5577.

⁶ *Norw. Epis. Reg.* i, 56.

⁷ *Ibid.* ii, 5.

⁸ *Ibid.* vi, 15.

⁹ *Ibid.* vii, 18.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* viii, 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.* xi, 170.

¹² *Jessopp, Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 55.

¹³ In Blomefield (vi, 163-7) is a list of priors and numerous documents are cited. Where no other reference is given the information in this sketch is taken from that source.

¹⁴ Close, 8 Hen. III, m. 8.

¹⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 439.

¹⁶ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 95b, 100b, 101, 101b, 113b, 130, 131b.

¹⁷ *Pat.* 23 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 45 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 11.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 48 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 20.

²⁰ *Escaet Norf.* 13 Ric. II, m. 130, cited by Tanner.

²¹ *Cal. Papal Reg.* iv, 519.

²² This agreement is given in full in Martin's *Hist. of Thetford* (1779), App. 27.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

than 2,000 sheep. Canon Henry Sympson had several complaints as to ruined walls, insufficient lamps, and the quality of the bread, ale, and meat. It is of interest to note a reference to the bad repair of the school-house ('camera scolae vocata scolehou-chambre'). This must refer to a school for outsiders; so small a house would not require a separate room for the instruction of novices. Canon Edmund also complained as to lights and food, the hours of meals, the lack of a barber, absence of servants and defects in the building, all the fault of the prior; but he disbelieved a reported scandal against his superior. He also stated that the number of canons on the foundation was formerly seven. Canon John Whetebred complained of the quality of the bread and ale and the absence of servants. Canon Richard Mason thought the food was not wholesome and that there was no provision for administering the necessities of life to the infirm or giving them attendance; he also drew attention to the bad condition of the church and buildings.

The bishop's consequent injunctions included the removal of one Agnes Clarke from the priory's service, and the exclusion of Christian de Weting; the finding light and lamps for the church in the winter; an improvement in food and drink; the repair of the school-house before All Saints' Day, and the execution of other necessary repairs; and the providing of a barber and servants. The visitation was then prorogued to Michaelmas.¹

In 1520 Prior Martin was followed by Robert Codde. In that year John, bishop of Chalcedon, with certain colleagues, visited the house on behalf of Bishop Nicke. Prior Codde testified that all things were going on well, and a like brief report was made by the four canons, Edmund Banyard, John Whetebred, Richard Mason, and Richard Breccles. The injunctions, consequent on this visitation, ruled that the prior was to provide within thirty days a place of confinement with stocks and chains for the correction of canons; and that the canons were not to frequent taverns, nor to leave the priory without permission of their superior, and to give up the use of buckles.²

William Barlow *alias* Finch occurs as prior in 1525. He had already been prior of several small Austin houses, Tiptree and Leighs in Essex, Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire, and Bisham in Berkshire; he was afterwards successively bishop of St. Asaph, St. David's, Bath and Wells, and Chichester.

The priory was again visited by Bishop Nicke in 1526. Prior Barlow gave a good report of everything. Canon Banyard said that there was no farmery nor attendance for the infirm canons; Canon Whetebred complained that there was no regular confessor, and that an annuity had been

granted to one Mr. Redmayne; Canon Mason also objected to this annuity, and drew attention to the ruinous condition of the church; and Canon Breccles complained that silence was not observed in the dormitory. The only consequent injunction was an order to the prior to provide a confessor for the canons.³

This house was suppressed, at Cardinal Wolsey's request, by Pope Clement's bull of 14 May, 1528, towards the endowment of his projected college at Ipswich. It was dissolved on 18 September, 1528, by Drs. Gardiner and Legh, the canons being ordered to enter other Austin houses. The work of demolishing the church and building was at once undertaken, £4 13s. 4d. being paid for taking down the lead. In the same year 53s. 4d. was paid by the cardinal to the vicar of Croxton as his pension, and there was also a payment of 40s. to ex-Prior Barlow.⁴

After the cardinal's fall the land and site and possessions of the late priory of Brome Hill, including six manors in Norfolk, a windmill at Weeting, lands, rents, &c., in twenty-four Norfolk and three Suffolk townships, together with an annual rent from Weeting of £20, and the advowson of Croxton Church were granted by the crown to the master, fellows, and scholars of Christ's College, Cambridge.⁵

PRIORS OF BROME HILL

Geoffrey,⁶ occurs 1240
Henry,⁷ occurs 1268
William,⁸ occurs 1308
Ralph de Threkestone,⁹ elected 1311
John de Welle,¹⁰ elected 1342
Thomas de Soham,¹¹ elected 1344
Peter de Burnham,¹² elected 1349
William Estmore,¹³ elected 1394
Robert Stowe,¹⁴ elected 1412
John de Walsoken,¹⁵ resigned 1424
Richard Winchester,¹⁶ elected 1424
John Rammesey,¹⁷ elected 1446
Robert Foster,¹⁸ elected 1466
William Kyrteylng,¹⁹ elected 1479
William Lovell,²⁰ elected 1491
Thomas Axill,²¹ elected 1491
Thomas Martin,²² elected 1514
Robert Codde,²³ elected 1520
William Barlow,²⁴ occurs 1525, last prior

¹ Ibid. 242-3.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv, 4229 (9), 4755.

³ Pat. 23 Hen. VIII, pt. ii, mm. 23 and 24.

⁴ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 164.

⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 44.

⁸ Ibid. iii, 54. ¹¹ Ibid. iv, 46.

¹² Ibid. 103. ¹³ Ibid. vi. ¹⁴ Ibid. vii, 33.

¹⁵ Ibid. ix, 37. ¹⁶ Ibid. ¹⁷ Ibid. xi, 6.

¹⁸ Ibid. 156.

¹⁹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 164.

²⁰ Ibid. ²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid. ²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

¹ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 85-7.

² Ibid. 154-85.

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24. THE PRIORY OF OLD BUCKENHAM

This priory was founded about the year 1146 by William de Albin, second earl of Arundel, and Queen Adeliza his wife. The foundation charter, given in full in the *Monasticon*, is cited in confirmation charter by Edward II.¹ By this charter the priory was endowed with the rectories of All Saints and St. Andrews on the manor of Buckenham, the site of the old castle, and its materials, eighty acres of lands and much wood and meadow. The priory was dedicated to the honour of St. Mary, St. James, and All Saints, and the canons were to follow the rule of the order of St. Augustine, according to the institution of St. Mary of Merton, and to pray for the souls of the founder and his wife, King Stephen, Maud, their ancestors and progeny, and for the souls of all benefactors.

William de Albin, earl of Sussex, the son of the founder, gave the canons the advowson of Kenninghall; Richard, son of Robert de Scenges gave them the advowson of St. Mary's, Barwick, Peter de Cley the advowson of St. Peter's, Cleythorpe; Robert son of Robert de Tateshall the advowson of Gunneby, and Thomas de St. Giles the advowson of St. Benedict, Norwich. They also received large benefactions, in the lifetime of the founder's son, of lands, tenements, rents, and services from Richard de Scenges and others, as set forth in the same confirmation charter of Edward II.

When the taxation roll of 1291 was drawn up this house had possessions in forty-two Norfolk parishes, of the annual value of £52 os. 9½d., and in one Suffolk parish, value 1s. 2d.²

Pardon was granted in 1335 to the priory for having obtained various small grants of land in Buckenham, &c., without mortmain licence,³ and the church of Griston was appropriated to the convent in 1348.⁴

The Valor of 1535 gave the clear annual taxation value of the priory at £108 10s. 2½d.

On 18 August, 1310, the prior of Buckenham received a letter from the crown, thanking him for the loan that he had agreed to make to the king of victuals for the Scotch expedition, namely, 6 quarters of wheat, 10 of malt, 10 of oats, and 2 beeves and 10 sheep. He was ordered to deliver them to the sheriff of Norfolk, so that he might speedily forward them to Berwick-on-Tweed, making indentures with him of the sum of the victuals and of their market price. He was to be repaid the following Easter.⁵

¹ Chart. R. 11 Edw. II, No. 49, m. 10; *Mon.* vi, 419.

² *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.) 97, 99, 100, 104-8, 127.

³ Pat. 9 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 16.

⁴ Ibid. 22 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 27.

⁵ Close, 4 Edw. II, m. 23.

In 1479 there were eight canons at Old Buckenham Priory, in addition to the prior, namely, Thomas Fincham, Richard Cley, Henry Lyche-field, Thomas Beverley, John Buckenham, John Chambyr, William Harnsych, and Richard Buckenham, cellarer. In 1480 there were the same canons, with the addition of John Baron. In 1493 there were these nine canons, with the addition of John Formale, a novice just admitted amongst them. The full complement of the house was reached in that year, for it consisted, according to its foundation, of a prior and ten canons. Each canon, in addition to food and maintenance, received 40s. yearly stipend, somewhat after the fashion of secular canons. They chose yearly from their numbers a sub-prior, a sacrist, and a cellarer. The temporal officers of the household were the steward of their courts, a hayward, a woodward, and a porter. There was also an auditor, appointed by the lord for the annual auditing of their accounts. In 1493 John Bown was their auditor; the total income was about £110, and they disbursed about £100. In that year John Plattynge was prior.⁶

Bishop Goldwell visited this house on 16 October, 1492; the prior and seven canons then present were each privately examined, with the result that various complaints were formulated against the prior. They were to the effect that Prior John did not show yearly to the chapter the state of the house; that he was too partial, and that there was not perfect charity among the canons; that there was not a sufficiency of fish on fast days; that he did not seek the advice of his chapter on serious affairs, but did everything after his own judgement; that he had pledged a silver-gilt bowl, value eight marks; that if any of the brethren were ill he did not assign anyone to attend them in the farmery but obliged them to attend hall; that he farmed out the dairy to the great loss of the house; that the frater was not served save in Lent and Advent, nor was care taken for the observance of silence in cloister and quire; that the food for the kitchen was not good or wholesome; that the house and walls of the priory were ruinous; and that a certain woman named Isabel Warner was often at the priory under suspicious circumstances.

Upon this the bishop adjourned the visitation to the following day, and then further prorogued to 9 July of the next year, doubtless with the object of seeing whether the necessary reforms were carried out.

On 26 June, 1514 Bishop Nicke visited; and after a sermon in the chapter-house by Master Forthe, Prior John Millgate complained that Canon Thomas was not obedient; Sub-Prior Beverley, that Canon Thomas Ixning was not

⁶ From particulars given by Blomefield from 'An account book of this priory in the hands of Mieux Rant Esq.'

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obedient, and only attended mattins and mass at his pleasure; Sacrist Thomas Buckenham, that Canons Ixning and Benet came late to mattins, and that the procession before mattins was not duly observed; Canon Richard Buckenham, that Canons Benet and Tailour did not duly attend divine offices; Canon George Buckenham, that there was no due provision for the canons when ill; Canon Ixning accused himself of very frequent absence from mattins; and Canons Norwich, Benet and Winkfield all testified that *omnia bene*. A list of the debts of Canon Ixning, amounting to 55s. 3d. was appended to the visitation.

On 27 June, 1520, the house was visited by John, bishop of Chalcedon, and two other commissaries of the bishop of Norwich. George Walden, one of the canons, though duly summoned, did not appear, and was pronounced contumacious. Prior John gave a good report, and stated that the parish churches of Buckenham were served by the canons, by licence sought and obtained from the bishop. The sub-prior, sacrist, and Canon Norfolk testified that all was well, save that they had no schoolmaster (*preceptorem in grammatica*). The remaining five canons confined themselves to a good report.

The priory was again visited on 24 July, 1526, when John Millgate prior, Thomas Beverley sub-prior, Thomas Brown sacrist, and five other canons all testified *omnia bene*. Thomas Flixtoun, and William Harvy, novices, complained of the insolence of a servant; whilst John Sharpyng and Thomas Reve, two other novices, complained that their annual stipends of 13s. 4d. were so small that they could not provide themselves with necessities.

Yet another visitation of this house is recorded on 13 July, 1532. Prior Millgate, five of the canons, and two of the novices knew of nothing worthy of reformation; Sub-Prior Brown complained that some of the younger canons left the cloisters after compline against rule, and that Canon Sharpyng wore pointed shoes; Canons Sharpyng and Harvy owned to wearing such shoes; Canon Flixtoun complained that silence was not duly observed after compline, and that some left the cloister; and Richard Godeman, a novice, stated that Canon Harvy served the cure of Stanford and was not fit for it, and also complained of Canon Sharpyng.

The consequent injunctions ordered that the canons should retire to the dorter immediately after compline; that the south gates should then be closed and no one suffered to go out save by leave of the prior or sub-prior; that no canon should wear pointed shoes, but only those of the old pattern; and that no canon was to serve a secular cure without the bishop's licence.¹

¹ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.) 29, 44, 160, 257, 307.

Prior Millgate and the full complement of ten canons signed the Acknowledgement of the King's Supremacy, in August, 1534.²

On 10 November, 1535, when it was known that suppression was imminent, the aged Prior Millgate wrote to Cromwell a somewhat piteous letter, enclosing a fee, and 'beseeching that we may obtain your favourable licence for the keeping of one cure and one chapel with four masses in the week day, with two honest religious priests for maintaining their poor house.' Also that they may put some of the laymen of their house in trust for employing their pastures and receiving their rents; else they are afraid great men who could not be resisted would require them to do as they like; also that they may receive members and observe Cromwell's injunctions for maintaining God's service. Some of the younger men of their company, the prior continued, were not godly disposed, and rather desire liberty than to be straitened.³

The local suppression commissioners of 1536, who visited Buckenham on 22 September,⁴ reported that this 'priory of Black Chanones' was of the clear annual value of £143 7s. 8d., that there were five canon priests, of whom one desired to remain religious, and the rest desired dispensations; that 'the name ys good as we can lerne by reporte of there neybures,' that there were twenty-one waiting servants of the house, eleven hinds, and eight children which had their living there; that the house was 'newly buylt and in marvellous goode reparacion,' and worth with the bells and lead £180; that the movables, goods, stocks, and stores were worth £117 9s. 4d.; that the debts due to the house were £50 2s. 11d.; and that the woods of diverse years growth covered 111 acres, and were worth £233 6s. 8d.⁵ The house was suppressed on 2 September, 1536.⁶

An inventory of church goods of this monastery, taken about 1536, mentions a silver-gilt cross with crucifix attached, a silver-gilt cross enclosing a portion of the true cross, a small silver-gilt cross, two small silver-gilt crosses, four small chalices parcel-gilt, a silver-gilt pix, a silver-gilt pax, two silver-gilt candlesticks, a small parcel-gilt censer, two pairs of small silver-gilt cruets, a parcel-gilt ship, two parcel-gilt basins; also a cope of red velvet, two copes of blue velvet, three copes of white damask, one cope of red damask, one of red silk, one of red satin, one of blue satin, two of white satin, and four of white fustian.⁷

A pension of £15 was assigned to Prior Millgate on 1 February, 1537.⁸

² *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. 2, 281.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 269-70.

⁴ *Ibid.* xii (1), 455.

⁵ Chant. Cert. Norf. No. 90.

⁶ Suppression Papers (P.R.O.) 838.

⁷ (1) K.R. Ch. Gds. 1898.

⁸ Aug. Off. Bks. ccxxiii, fol. 42b.

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According to confessions made by one John Turnour of Old Buckenham on 24 May, 1537, before Richard Southwell and others, a week before the previous Palm Sunday, he had been told by John Lok that Hugh Wilkinson had offered him an angel noble to kill the king's visitors in their beds that night at Buckenham Abbey. Other confessions made at the same time seem to show that there was no plot of the kind, but merely some vague talk reflecting a certain amount of popular indignation at the suppression.¹

Immediately on its suppression, Sir Edmund Knevet, of Buckenham Castle, obtained a lease of the priory site and demesne lands.²

PRIORS OF OLD BUCKENHAM

William,³ occurs 1216
Walter,⁴ elected 1221
Hugh,⁵ elected 1269
Richard de Otteley,⁶ elected 1286
John de Multon,⁷ elected 1307
Nicholas de Cotton,⁸ elected 1327
Hugh de Brom,⁹ elected 1329
William de Spykeworth,¹⁰ elected 1354
William de Bonham,¹¹ elected 1381
Roger Carleton,¹² elected 1402
John Norwich,¹³ elected 1437
Bartholomew Melles,¹⁴ elected 1451
John Whalley,¹⁵ elected 1458
John Bokenham,¹⁶ 1480
John Plattynge,¹⁷ elected 1493
John Millgate,¹⁸ occurs 1514, last prior

25. THE PRIORY OF COXFORD

William Cheney founded a priory of Austin Canons, *temp.* Stephen, in the church of St. Mary, East Rudham. About the beginning of the reign of Henry III the priory was removed to the eastern boundary of the parish at a place called Cotesford or Coxford. John Cheney, the nephew of the original founder, granted to the canons the churches of East and West Rudham, together with land, mills, fishponds, &c., in those parishes. This charter is undated; but the witnesses prove that it was between 1146 and 1149.¹⁹

Hervey Beleth, lord of East Rudham, whose mother was the daughter of John Cheney, gave the manor of East Rudham and lands in several

other townships, about 1215, to these canons, and placed the maintenance of the hospital for poor folk of his founding at Boycodeswade in their hands.²⁰

In 1227 Henry III granted the prior a fair on the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury and the two following days.²¹ A yearly fair was also granted to the priory in 1251 on their manor at Rudham, on the vigil, morrow and feast of St. Barnabas.²²

The hundred rolls of 1273-4 show that the prior of Coxford claimed a lete in Rudham, and held certain tenements in both East and West Rudham, together with the churches and the church of Houghton in free alms, as the gift of Hervey Beleth. He also held thirty acres of land, the gift of Nicholas de Beriner, which had been alienated to him in the time of Henry III.²³

The taxation of 1291 showed that this priory had rents, &c., in forty-two Norfolk parishes, which were reckoned at the annual value of £144 19s. 4½d.

In 1293 William de Say, son and heir of Geoffrey Lord Say and Alice his wife (who was one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir John Cheney), died seised of the patronage of the priory. Geoffrey Lord Say had confirmed to the canons all the gifts of William and John Cheney, and William de Say added to them the church of St. Margaret at Thorpe Market.²⁴

Licence was granted in 1326 for the alienation by Maud de Tony to Coxford Priory of 3 messuages, 100 acres of land, 100 acres of pasture, and 10s. rent in Grimston, Congham, Roydon, Weavling, and Appleton, to find a chaplain to celebrate daily in the chapel of St. Katherine, lately built by her in the churchyard of Appleton for the souls of Maud, Robert her husband, and all the faithful; in lieu of a licence granted her in 1320 to assign the same to West Acre priory.²⁵

The Valor of 1535 gives the gross annual value of the priory as £153 7s. 1d., and the clear annual value £121 18s. 10½d.

Archbishop Peckham visited the priory in January, 1281, and found so lax a state of discipline that he subsequently sent the prior a long letter,²⁶ in which he says that he had found him lacking in religious zeal, not attending divine service regularly, and failing to control his subordinates, so that by his negligence the canons go out coursing with hounds, attend banquets, chat with girls, and bring the house into contempt, causing it to be a scandal and a jest to the neighbourhood. Nor did he show care or diligence

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xii (1), 579.

² Aug. Off. Bks. ccix, fol. 85.

³ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* i, 387.

⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 26.

⁸ Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 16.

⁹ Norw. Epis. Reg. ii, 29.

¹⁰ Ibid. iv, 154.

¹¹ Ibid. vi, 75.

¹² Ibid. 282.

¹³ Ibid. x, 9.

¹⁴ Ibid. xi, 27.

¹⁵ Ibid. 105.

¹⁶ Ibid. xii, 79.

¹⁷ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* i, 388.

¹⁸ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* 44.

¹⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 369; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 153.

²⁰ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 153.

²¹ Chart. R. 11 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 7.

²² Ibid. 35 Hen. III, m. 10.

²³ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 452-3, 535.

²⁴ Dugdale, *Baronage*, i, 511.

²⁵ Pat. 19 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 22.

²⁶ *Reg. Epis. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i, 162-5.

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in the temporal affairs of the priory, but in spite of his age preferred to follow hounds rather than books. The archbishop, therefore, appointed John, formerly official of the bishop of Norwich, and another monk to act with the prior in the control of the business of the house; he further ordered that if any of the canons wanted to follow the hounds they should do so on horses and not on foot, and that only when the prior himself was present. Those who were suspected of incontinency were not to be allowed outside the priory except in cases of necessity, and then only when accompanied by others of good fame, and if they spoke to women or went into their houses they were to be severely punished; nor were women to be admitted to the priory on any account, save in the case of great and noble ladies accompanied by their trains who could not be refused. Chess and similar games were at the same time strictly forbidden, one of the canons, Robert de Hunstanton, being singled out as a special offender in this particular respect. Finally, the archbishop ordered that his letter should be copied and shown to the visitors on the occasion of all future visitations, that they might see how far the state of the house had improved.

On 2 November, 1492, Archdeacon Goldwell, as commissary of the bishop, visited Coxford, when prior Henry, sub-prior Robert Dereham, and six other canons were present. The report showed that the farmery was not open for the reception of infirm brethren; that the frater was too cold for sitting at meals; that it would be for the good of the house to have a grammar master for the younger canons; and that there was no honest recreation provided.¹

Bishop Nicke paid a personal visitation to the priory on 12 July, 1514. John Mathew, the prior, said that matins mass was not celebrated; that the brethren were disobedient, quarrelsome, and incorrigible; and that Canon John Berdon had taken flight three or four times and was then imprisoned. Sub-Prior John Nytingale said that silence was not observed; that the prior did not present annual accounts; that the frater was ruinous; and that they had no farmery. Canon William Kettleston re-echoed the complaints as to frater and farmery. Canon Richard Andrew said that the prior only rose for the night offices on the four great festivals. Five other canons reported *omnia bene*. The consequent injunctions provided for the presenting of an annual account, for the better observance of silence, for the providing of suitable food for the sick, and for the obedience and religious behaviour in quire of the canons.²

The bishop suffragan of Chalcedon visited in 1520. After preaching in the chapter-house from the text, *Sitis solliciti servare unitatem*, the prior and nine canons were severally

examined. Prior Mathew complained that at the request of Dr. Hare they had assigned an annuity of 40s. to his nephew, Nicholas Hare, to act as their steward, an office which they found he could not lawfully hold. John Nightingale, sub-prior, said that there was no annual return of accounts, but *cetera omnia bene*. The eight other canons had no complaint, and spoke the praises of the prior. The prior exhibited an inventory of the goods of the house, and was enjoined for the future to lay an annual balance-sheet before the senior canons.³

At the visitation on 8 August, 1526, Prior Mathew acknowledged that he had not presented any annual statement of accounts, and John Nightingale, sub-prior, testified that such had not been the custom of the priory for the past forty years. There were only three other canons at the visitation, two of them priests and one a deacon; they all said *omnia bene*.⁴

Henry Salter was prior when the last visitation of this house was held in 1532. The prior said that there was no record of the possessions of the house in consequence of his predecessors having kept no accounts; that he had not yet been prior for a year, but that at the end of the year he promised to produce a balance-sheet. He further reported that Canon Robert Porter had been guilty of incontinence, and had been corrected by Master Rawlins, his predecessor. Sub-Prior William Neville made a good report of everything save as to the condition of the dorter; four other canons were content to testify *omnia bene*. The visitor enjoined that, with the consent of the prior and convent, the house and chamber of the sub-prior should be used as a farmery; that the dorter should be repaired as soon as possible; and that the year's balance should be presented within a month after Michaelmas.⁵

John de Cokesford was prior on 17 September, 1534, when the prior and nine canons subscribed to the king's supremacy.⁶ In several documents of 1534-6, evidently referring to the same prior, the sub-prior is indifferently termed Mathew, Coxford, and Adamson; apparently John Mathew, the former prior, was re-elected about 1533.

According to Legh and Ap Rice's scandalous *comperta* of 1536, one of the oldest canons of this house, the sub-prior, William Neville, confessed to them his incontinency.⁷ Later in the same year the county commissioners for suppression reported that 'The Priory of Chanones of Cokesforde of the order of Seynt Augustine ys a hede house and hathe a Covent seale and ys of the yearly value of cxxli, ix, ix*d*, with xvij*li*, vijs, *xd* for the demayne under ther in the occupacione of the Prior. Religious persones iij

³ Ibid. 169.

⁴ Ibid. 251.

⁵ Ibid. 313-14.

⁶ Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), xiv, 501.

⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 2699.

¹ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 29.

² Ibid. 111-12.

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alle Prystes of goode name and they require their dispensaciones. Persones havyng livynges ther lxiij, whereof weytinge servauntes vij, hindes xl, childerne iij, almes folke in the hospittale xiiij.¹ The lead and bells were reported to be worth £100, but the house was in decay and ruinous. The goods were worth £67 7s. 11d.; the movable goods and cattle £17 7s. 11d.; and the corn £50. There were no debts due, but the house owed £26 13s. 4d.¹

On 30 April, 1536, Prior John Mathew wrote to Cromwell asking for his poor living and pension without further vexation and trouble, and said that Dr. Legh had assured him he should have £20 a year. He also begged for his chamber with two beds, one for himself and one for his servant.² The pension eventually granted was one of £15.

The four commissioners for Norfolk certified, on 27 January, 1537, to the sale of goods of this house,³ including the following interesting items:—

Furst sold to Mr. Fermor, the table at the high altar	xs
Item sold to Mr. Fermor, the orgaynes in the quire	iiij <i>li</i>
Item sold, the table of alabaster in the quire to Sr. Thomas Strange . . .	vs
Item sold, a pece of lynen and another olde altar cloth	iiij <i>d</i>
Item sold to Master Fermor, the stuff in the churche	vij <i>s</i> viij <i>d</i>

The plate valued at 68*s*. 8*d*. was reserved in the charge of Richard Southwell.

The site and possessions of the priory were granted in May, 1537, to Thomas, duke of Norfolk.⁴

PRIORS OF COXFORD

Matthew Cheney,⁵ first prior
 Hubert,⁶ occurs 1190, 1219
 William,⁷ occurs 1232
 Adam de Dalling,⁸ occurs 1244
 John,⁹ occurs 1250 and 1257
 Hugh de Elmham,¹⁰ occurs 1286
 Reyner, occurs 1288¹¹
 Robert,¹² occurs 1299, 1314¹³
 William de Hampton,¹⁴ elected 1315
 John Thorp,¹⁵ died 1342
 John de Thornham,¹⁶ elected 1342
 Peter de Fleckenho,¹⁷ elected 1346

¹ Chant. Cert. Norf. No. 90.

² Cott. MS. Cleop. E. iv, 269.

³ Suppression Papers (P.R.O.), 832.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xii (i), 605.

⁵ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 156.

⁶ Ibid. ⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid. ⁹ Ibid. ¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Assize R. 1282, m. 18 d.

¹² Pat. 27 Edw. I, m. 37.

¹³ Assize R. 593, m. 32 d.

¹⁴ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 61.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid. iii, 56.

¹⁷ Ibid. iv, 55.

Henry de Elmham, c. 1369

John de Walsingham,¹⁸ elected 1404

Edmund de Snetisham,¹⁹ elected 1430

John de Dereham,²⁰ elected 1438

Benedict de Snetisham,²¹ elected 1449

John Wichingham, resigned 1468

John Knollys,²² *alias* Clement, died 1478

Henry Mileham,²³ elected 1478

John Mathew,²⁴ occurs 1514

Henry Salter,²⁵ occurs 1532

John de Coxford,²⁶ *alias* Mathew, occurs 1534, last prior

There is a cast of an imperfect impression of a fifteenth-century seal of this priory at the B.M. The seated Virgin bears the Holy Child on the left knee and holds a fleur-de-lis-headed sceptre in the right hand. On each side is a kneeling canon. In the base the prior kneeling. Legend:—

+s' PRIORIS ET CONVENTUS BEATE MARIE
DE COKISFORD²⁷

26. THE PRIORY OF FLITCHAM

This small Austin priory was founded about the beginning of Henry III's reign by Sir Robert Aguillon, as is proved by documents cited in Blomefield.²⁸ Damietta de Flitcham is sometimes named as the foundress, but this lady merely gave the manor of Snoring in Flitcham parish to the priory of Walsingham. Although the priory of Flitcham became a cell of Walsingham at an early date, the manor of Snoring was held by Walsingham down to the dissolution independently of Flitcham Priory.

In 1275 the jury of the hundred of Freebridge found that the prior and convent of Flitcham held a carucate of land in free alms of the gift of Robert Aguillon in times beyond their memory.²⁹

The taxation of 1291 shows that the priory had possessions at that date in eight Norfolk parishes, and its annual income was estimated at £27 10*s*. 7*d*.

From the year 1316 the vicars of the parochial church of Flitcham were presented by the priory, the great tithes being appropriated by the convent. The diocesan muniments generally term this house St. Mary ad Fontes or de Fontibus. Documents of the sixteenth century name it as the priory of St. Mary at the Welle.

In 1365 the prior and convent received the fourth part of the manor of Flitcham at the

¹⁸ Ibid. vi, 314.

¹⁹ Ibid. ix, 41.

²⁰ Ibid. x, 21.

²¹ Ibid. xi, 43.

²² Ibid. xii, 63.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* 111.

²⁵ Ibid. 169.

²⁶ Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), xiv, 501.

²⁷ B.M. lxix, 14; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 369.

²⁸ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* viii, 418.

²⁹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 463.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

hands of John de Cheverston.¹ Five years later the priory obtained the additional endowment of 180 acres of land at Anmer from Thomas Balle and others.² At this latter date there were five canons here, in addition to the prior. In 1383 the priory received a grant of lands and rents of the annual value of 70s. 2d. from Thomas de Flitcham and Nicholas Barome, to find a canon-chaplain to celebrate three days a week for the good estate of the donors whilst living and their souls after death.³ These and other grants brought the income of the priory up to just double its former amount, the clear annual value in 1535 being £55 5s. 6½d.⁴

Edmund Litchfield, appointed prior of Flitcham in 1498, was consecrated bishop *in partibus* of Chalcedon in 1502, and acted as suffragan in Norwich diocese; he was followed as prior by John Martin.

The priory was visited on 12 July, 1514, by Bishop Nicke. John Martin, the prior, stated Canon Thomas Hoker had handed £11 to the prior of Walsingham. Canon Geoffrey Swaffham said that the barns and other buildings of the priory required repair, and that agriculture was neglected. He further stated that the prior and John Stinge had made a compact for the delivery to the latter, at a date now passed, of a hundred combs of barley for the sum of £6 or £7; and because the prior had failed to deliver the barley at the appointed time he would have to hand over 160 instead of 100 combs. He also alleged that the house was in debt for barley to William Fuller, of Castle Acre, and for sheep to Master Fyncham, of Marshland, and that the common seal of the priory was in the exclusive keeping of the prior. As a consequence of this visitation, the prior was summoned to Norwich.

The brief entry relative to this priory in the visitation of 1530 is illegible through injury to the MS.⁵

The county commissioners of 1536 reported that 'the priory of Chanones of Flychame ys namyde to be a cell to the priory of Chanones of Walsynghame.'⁶ In consequence of this it escaped at the time of the destruction of the smaller houses, but fell with Walsingham on 4 August, 1538.⁷

PRIORS OF FLITCHAM

Philip,⁸ occurs 1256⁹

Fulk Briton,¹⁰ occurs 1300

Vincent de Flitcham,¹¹ elected 1332

¹ Inq. p.m.; 39 Edw. III, pt. ii, 20.

² Ibid. 44 Edw. III, pt. ii, 44.

³ *Cal. of Pat.* 6 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 15.

⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii.

⁵ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 110, 168.

⁶ Chant. Cert. Norf. No. 90.

⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 11.

⁸ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* viii, 417.

⁹ Assize R. 567, m. 58. ¹⁰ Blomefield, loc. cit.

¹¹ Norw. Epis. Reg. ii, 53.

John de Flitcham,¹² elected 1349

Lawrence de Weston,¹³ 1374

John de Hillington,¹⁴ elected 1375

John Flitcham,¹⁵ elected 1404

Thomas Berdon,¹⁶ died 1438

Thomas Pope,¹⁷ elected 1438

John Leson,¹⁸ elected 1448

John Dorking,¹⁹ elected 1458

William Wiltshide,²⁰ elected 1467

Richard Gottys, LL.B.,²¹ elected 1490

Edmund Litchfield,²² elected 1496

John Martin,²³ occurs 1514

Thomas Podishe,²⁴ occurs 1526

Richard Vowell,²⁵ occurs 1535

27. THE PRIORY OF HEMPTON²⁶

This house was at first a hospital, founded in the reign of Henry I by Roger de St. Martin,²⁷ in conjunction with Richard Ward,²⁸ who afterwards became an Austin Canon and the first prior. The house was situate at the end of a dam or causey between the towns of Fakenham and Hempton, and hence was sometimes known as Damnesende. Soon after its first foundation it was changed into a small priory, dedicated to the honour of St. Stephen, for three or four canons of the order of St. Augustine. The priory eventually held the rectory of Hempton, the manors of Hempton, Waterden, and Tofts, parcels of land in various parishes, two fairs, a market, a water-mill, and extensive rights of pasturage for sheep.

In the year 1200 John, archdeacon of Worcester, gave a palfrey to the king in acknowledgement of his grant of a fair to be held on Whitsun Tuesday for the use of the brethren of St. Stephen's by the causey of Fakenham.

The taxation of 1291 showed that this priory held lands or tenements or rents in no fewer than forty of the Norfolk parishes; but they were mostly small parcels and only produced a total income of £29 2s. 0½d.

Licence was granted to the prior of St. Stephen's in 1302, after inquisition *ad quod damnum* by the sheriff and payment of a fine, to bring back to its old bed a watercourse which used to run through the court of the priory.²⁹

¹² Ibid. iv, 102.

¹⁴ Ibid. 40.

¹⁶ Ibid. x, 19.

¹⁸ Ibid. xi, 15.

²⁰ Ibid. 161.

²² Ibid. 205.

¹³ Ibid. vi, 29.

¹⁵ Ibid. 308.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid. 107.

²¹ Ibid. xii, 144.

²³ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* 110.

²⁴ Tanner, *Norw. MSS.* i, 259.

²⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii.

²⁶ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 100-2. The priors are taken from this account, where there is no other reference.

²⁷ Leland, *Collectanea*, i, 60.

²⁸ Weever, *Antient Funerall Monuments*, 824.

²⁹ Pat. 30 Edw. I, m. 16.

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During the long rule of Nicholas de Kettleston (1339–86), Sir John Bardolf, of Mapledurham, was patron of the priory; he held the great manor of Hempton, in succession to the family of St. Martin.

The Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 gave the clear annual value at £32 14s. 8d.

In November, 1297, a commission of oyer and terminer was issued on the complaint of Guy Ferre, to whom the king had granted for life the manor of Fakenham, that the prior of St. Stephen's, Hempton, had depastured his beasts on the pastures of the said Guy and of the king's villeins in the hamlet of Pudding Norton, a member of the manor of Fakenham.¹ In the following February, Guy Ferre further complained that Giles, prior of Hempton, with a multitude of malefactors, arrested in the high road at Waterdene the villeins of Fakenham Manor as they were taking the goods of the said Guy to the fair of Creak, imprisoned them, carried away the goods, and depastured not only the several pastures of the manor, but even the growing corn.²

These were troublous times for the priory. There seems to have been much difficulty in securing their manorial rights. In February, 1299, William de Bedingham, the king's minister for the execution of the sheriff's writs, complained that, being ordered by the late sheriff in pursuance of a writ to aid the prior of St. Stephen's to distrain the prior's villeins of Worstead to perform their due and accustomed services, he was attacked by a mob of over sixty men and women, all of whose names are duly set forth.³

The priory of Hempton held of the priory of Castle Acre a water-mill called 'Bryggemylle,' in Hempton, by Fakenham, at the yearly rent of 42s. Close to the mill was a high road, over the millpool causey, leading to Walsingham, which causey needed yearly repair. Certain men of Fakenham, scheming to destroy mill and high road, so as to make the high road go through Fakenham and not over the causey, got the prior and convent fined, from year to year, in the court of the lords of Fakenham, by presenting them for raising the causey beyond customary bounds, and keeping the water higher than usual. On the other hand, if Hempton Priory neglected to repair the causey, they would be fined no small sum at the sheriff's turn, to their own great impoverishment, the disinheretance of their churches, and the peril of travellers to Walsingham and others using the road. A commission of oyer and terminer was appointed, 1385, to adjudicate on the complaint of the two priories.⁴ By an indenture made in 1461 between Nicholas, prior of Castle Acre, and Stephen,

prior of the church of St. Stephen de Dammysende of Fakenham, the yearly rent of 42s. paid by the canons of Hempton to Castle Acre Priory for the water-mill, termed Bridgemill, was lowered to 20s.

Accounts of the receipts and expenses of Hempton Priory from Michaelmas, 1500, to Michaelmas, 1501, as entered by Canon Richard Marham, are extant.⁵ The rents of the tenants, the farms of the mills, and the receipts of grain and pease, and the sales of skins and underwood, &c., are all set forth. From the expenses it appears that considerable repairs were in progress in the cloister. There were at that time in the house three canons (including the prior), thirteen servants, and two boarders.

William Fakenham was the next prior. He was in office in 1514, when the house was visited, on 13 July, 1514, by Bishop Nicke. The prior and Canon Creke bore testimony that all was well. Brother Henry Betelee, subdeacon, and brother Henry Milham said that they had usually nothing to eat before high mass was finished, except on days when they laboured, but had no other complaints. The bishop enjoined the prior that the brethren should have something to eat daily at eight o'clock, save on fast days, and that silence should be observed in the cloister throughout one whole day each week.⁶

John Sambrook occurs as prior in 1529, and Henry Salter, *alias* Salt, in 1534. On 22 November, 1534, Prior Henry and three other canons signed their acknowledgement of the king's supremacy.

This small priory is included in the list of lesser monasteries of Norfolk drawn up in 1536 for immediate suppression.⁷ On 11 August, 1536, the priory was visited by Sir Roger Townsend, Sir William Paston, Richard Southwell, and Thomas Mildemay, as commissioners. They drew up an inventory of articles that were to be kept by the prior for the king's use until further orders.

In the quyer at the hygh alter.

Fyrst ij olde alter clothys not worne; iiij lytle candyll stykes off latyne; an olde crosse with ye foote of copper; iij lityle olde cruettes off pewter; an olde hangynge off Rede and grene sylke hangynge before y^e alter not worne; ij olde corporasse casys nothyng worthe; ij olde syngle vestmentes worne and lytyll worthe; vj olde bokes off there servys nothyng worthe; a lytyll sacrynge belle.

At our Ladys alter.

An olde table of alabaster; ij olde aluter clothys off lynyn roome; an old vestment; an old payntyd clothe before y^e ault: worne and nothyng worthe.

¹ *Cal. of Pat.* 26 Edw. I, m. 32 d.

² *Ibid.* m. 28 d.

³ *Ibid.* 27 Edw. I, m. 36 d.

⁴ *Pat.* 9 Rich. II, pt. i, m. 29 d.; pt. ii, m. 37 d.

⁵ Add. MS. 10621. It is a small quarto, of twenty-nine paper folios, and would be well worth printing in extenso.

⁶ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 112–13.

⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 516.

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In a cheste nere to ye prior's chamber.

An olde vestement with decon and subdecon and a cope of blew or purpur velvyt; an olde cope with a vestment and a decon and subdecon off olde blew sarsnet worne and nothyng worthe; an old cope of olde copper gold and sylk; iij copys or vestmentes decon and subdecon off blake sylke and worne nothyng worthe; an olde syngle vestment off blake velvyt; ij olde vestments the on off whyt . . . the other grene worne and lytell worthe; iiij olde copys off sylke nothyng worthe; a fayer chalesse por' at x Oz di'; a lytyll crosse of wode playtyd with sylver where ys conteynyd certeyn relyques; ij other pecys of wode playtyd with sylver; x sylver sponys pond viii Oz di', at iij. iiij*d.* ther oz.

Inventories were also taken of the contents (for the most part ordinary and poor) of the little chamber next the prior, the guest chamber called 'Walles chamber,' the hall, buttery, kitchen, bakehouse, brewhouse, storehouse, and bailiff's chamber. The cattle consisted of 20 swine, 5 kine, 125 sheep, 40 lambs, and 13 horses and mares for the plough. The standing corn on 68 acres was estimated at £13 12*s.*, and the barley, pease, and oats on 97 acres at £14 11*s.* 9*d.* The total of the inventory estimate came to £128 3*s.* 9*d.*

On 24 January, 1537, Richard Southwell was again at Hempton and paid various small sums as 'rewardes' to twelve different persons attached to the monastery in sums varying from 10*s.* to 20*d.*, and including 6*s.* 8*d.* to 'the daye wyff.' Opposite the name of Henry Salter, prior, is *nil*. On the following day (25 January) the goods of the house were sold; they realised £73 13*s.* 6½*d.*

With these papers is given the sworn deposition of the prior before the commissioners, to the effect that—

the howse ys of th order of seynt Augustyne and ys a hede howse havynge a convent seale. Item ther ben of religious persones within the same howsse ij requyryng capacities. Item there of servants xv, hindes x, and waityng servants v.

The lead on the steeple, transepts, quire, south chapel, gate-house, and cloister was estimated at twenty-one foddors, worth £63. The four bells in the tower weighed 24 cwt., and were valued at £25 4*s.* The debts of the prior were £8 17*s.*, whilst there was £6 16*s.* owing to him. The priory debts included 10*s.* for beef owing to the butcher, and 12*d.* due to the 'Butter Wyffe' for butter.¹

The priory obtained a pension of £4 13*s.* 4*d.* on 10 December, 1537.²

On 22 March, 1537, Francis Bedingfield, of London, obtained a lease of the priory site and demesne lands.³

The site of the priory, with the manor and appropriated rectory, were granted in 1546 to Sir William Fermer and Catharine his wife.

¹ Suppression Papers (P.R.O.), 17,270; also ⁸³².

² Aug. Off. Books ccxxxii, fol. 3.

³ Ibid. ccix, fol. 57*b.*

PRIORS OF HEMPTON

Simon,⁴ before 1165

Richard,⁵ occurs 1269

Giles,⁶ occurs 1297

Richard de Westacre,⁷ elected 1301, occurs 1305⁸

Alexander de Lenn,⁹ elected 1324

Nicholas de Kettleston,¹⁰ elected 1339

John de Snoring,¹¹ elected 1386

John Pensthorp,¹² elected 1393

Richard,¹³ occurs 1438, 1450

Stephen Wighton,¹⁴ elected 1451

John de Lexham, *alias* Penton,¹⁵ elected 1481

William Fakenham,¹⁶ occurs 1514

John Sambrook,¹⁷ occurs 1529

Henry Salter, *alias* Salt,¹⁸ occurs 1534, last prior

The thirteenth-century seal of this house is oval (2 × 1½ in.) and shows St. Stephen standing between two great candles under a gothic canopy; below was apparently a half-length figure (? of the prior), but in the only known specimen¹⁹ this part is broken. Legend:—

SIGILLU COMMV . . . DE HEMPTONN

28. THE PRIORY OF HICKLING

This small Austin house was founded by Theobald, son of Robert de Valoines, in the year 1185, and was dedicated to the honour of St. Mary, St. Austin, and All Saints, the observances in use being those of the Essex house of St. Osyth, from which four canons came for a while to Hickling to instruct the brethren in the rule of their order.²⁰

In January, 1204, King John confirmed Theobald's foundation charter, by which he had granted to the canons of Hickling his lands at Arlum, together with the churches of Hickling, and of Parham and Hasketon in Suffolk. By the same charter were confirmed the gifts by William de Muntchanesy, of his land at Kessingland, Suffolk; by Robert de Waxham of a moiety of the church of Waxham; and by Henry de Fleg of the other moiety of the same church.²¹ About the same time the king granted them a Friday market at Hickling.²²

⁴ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 101.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Assize R. 591, m. 15*d.*

⁹ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 114.

¹⁰ Ibid. iii, 24.

¹¹ Ibid. vi, 119.

¹² Ibid. 184.

¹³ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 101.

¹⁴ Norw. Epis. Reg. xi, 27.

¹⁵ Ibid. xii, 82.

¹⁶ Tanner, Norw. MSS. i, 344.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 503.

¹⁹ Ackn. of Supr. (P.R.O.), 62.

²⁰ Oxenedes, *Chron. Minor* (Rolls Ser.), 433.

²¹ Chart. R. 5 John, m. 15, No. 117.

²² Ibid. No. 116.

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The founder and his wife Avice also granted to the priory the church of All Saints, Ditton, which was confirmed to them by the bishop of Norwich in an undated charter.¹

In 1209 Innocent III granted protection to the prior and brethren of Hickling, present and future, together with confirmation of their possessions, namely: the parish church of All Saints, Hickling, with St. Mary's chapel, the church of St. Mary, and chapel of St. Andrew's, Parham; All Saints church and chapel of Hasketon; the church of Hanwich and tithes of Runcton; the rights they had in St. John Baptist's church, Waxham, and in St. Margaret's, Westwick, Norwich; the patronage of St. Margaret's Palling, the lands they had of the fief of Palling and Waxham; lands and rents in the city of Norwich and town of Yarmouth, and a yearly rent of 14 marks due to them by gift of Hamon de Valoines from the monks of Gerwalle, in the name of the town of Runcton.²

In 1227 Henry III granted to the priory of Hickling the right to hold a three days' fair at All Saints' tide at Hasketon.³

The priory had possessions in no fewer than thirty-two Norfolk parishes at the taxation of 1291, but their total annual value was only £15 12s. 9d.

The advowson of the church of Raveningham was given to the priory of Hickling, in 1339, by Katharine, widow of Walter de Norwich, and her son John.⁴

The heavy fine of £24 was paid by the priory in July, 1380, to obtain licence for alienation in mortmain by John de Eccles and Geoffrey de Somerton of the reversion of a third part of the manor of Hickling called 'le Netherhall,' which was held by trustees during the life of Edward de Berkale, for finding a lamp to be kept burning daily before the high altar in the priory church.⁵ In October of the same year, the further sum of £20 was paid in a hanaper by the prior for the alienation in mortmain by the same donors to the convent of a messuage, 40 acres of land, 30 of pasture, and 10 of rush bed, and 60s. of rent in Palling and Waxham for finding a chaplain to celebrate daily in the priory church for the souls of John de Toucestre, Richard de Pouche, chaplain, and others.⁶

The priory paid 20 marks to the king in 1384 for licence to hold a third part of the manor of Hickling, a moiety of the church of Catfield, and the manor called 'Boylondeshall' in North Walsham.⁷ In 1397 Pope Boniface confirmed the bishop's sanction to the priory that, on the resignation or death of the perpetual

vicar of All Saints, Hickling—in consideration of impoverishment through frequent hospitality and great exactions—they might cause the vicarage to be served by one of their canons.⁸

The Valor of 1535 gives the clear annual value of the priory as £100 18s. 7½d. Their most valuable possession was the manor of Hickling, which was estimated to be worth annually £45 0s. 11¾d.

Hickling was one of the townships that suffered most severely from the tremendous storm of December, 1287, no fewer than nine score persons being drowned there. In the priory the water rose more than a foot above the high altar, and all the canons fled away except two, who stayed behind and managed to save the horses and other property by bringing them up into the dormitory over the vaulted undercroft.⁹ A still worse disaster befell the priory in 1349, when the prior, Richard, died of the plague, as did his elected successor, Simon Wodewale, who passed away even as the brethren were informing him of his election. Such havoc did the pestilence work that only two canons were left alive, one of whom, John, became prior, though only a novice and not even professed.¹⁰ Another epidemic in 1439 visited Hickling and carried off three or four of the brethren.¹¹ Nor did all go well with the religious life of the house, for the chronicler records that after the death of Prior William Wroxham in 1390 all signs of true religion disappeared from the priory and had scarcely been restored more than forty years later, adding that with the fall of the bell tower in 1400 perished also nearly all regular discipline at Hickling.¹²

In September, 1343, Martin de Hapesburgh, canon of the priory of Hickling, petitioned the pope to order the abbot and convent of St. Benedict, Holme, to receive him as a monk according to the mandate of Benedict III from which the abbot, at the suggestion of the prior of Hickling, did remove the bull. The petition was granted, provided it was found that Pope Benedict did make a special mandate.¹³ In the following December Clement VI issued his mandate to the bishop of Norwich, the dean of Lincoln, and the chancellor of Hereford to cause Martin de Hapesburgh to be received into the monastery of Holme.¹⁴

A faculty was granted in 1364, by Pope Urban V, to Prior Richard to dispense four of his canons, provided they had completed their twenty-second year, to be ordained priests, there being but few by reason of the pestilence.¹⁵

Archdeacon Goldwell, as commissary of the bishop, visited Hickling on 23 October, 1492. Thomas Greggs, the prior, and eight canons

¹ Cott. MS. Vit. F. iv, fol. 11.

² *Cal. Papal Reg.* i, 34.

³ Close, 11 Hen. III, m. 26.

⁴ *Cal. of Pat.* 13 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 9.

⁵ *Ibid.* 4 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 39.

⁶ *Ibid.* m. 13.

⁷ *Ibid.* 8 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 12.

⁸ *Cal. Papal Reg.* v, 19.

⁹ Oxenides, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 270.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 437.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 439.

¹² *Ibid.* 438.

¹³ *Cal. Papal Pet.* i, 74.

¹⁴ *Cal. Pap. Reg.* iii, 144.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* iv, 41.

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were in attendance. The result of their examination was summed up in the report. The servants of the house were badly paid; there were formerly three lamps burning in the church, and then scarcely one; the altars lacked their proper coverings; there was too great parsimony both in food and drink; the vestments of the church needed repair; the fire for the canons was insufficient in the winter; there was an absence of necessities for the sick in the farmery; the prior did not show the state of the house to his brethren; Robert Sutton obtained the prior's licence to hold the cure of Hanworth for two whole years, and the prior was too rigorous in correcting him without reasonable cause; and the prior was unwilling to pay to Canon Robert Wymondham his pension as a priest. There is no record of the injunctions that followed on this visitation.¹

The priory was visited on 21 July, 1514, by Bishop Nicke. The prior acknowledged that he made no return of his accounts to his brethren. Canon Edmund Norwich said that there was general irregularity in attending the divine services. Canon Andrew Wales said that the cure of Hanworth was served by a canon and not by a secular chaplain. Canon John Hickling complained that there was no schoolmaster. Five other canons, one of whom was a subdeacon, and another an acolyte, were content to testify *omnia bene*. As a result, the bishop enjoined on the prior to provide an instructor in grammar before Christmas. The bishop also united the vicarage of Hanworth with the rectory for the term of the life of the then prior.²

The priory was again visited on 18 July, 1520, by the bishop suffragan of Chalcedon and other commissaries, when Prior Robert Wyndham and eight canons were severally examined. They all united in reporting *omnia bene*, and the only injunction was that the prior should furnish an inventory and balance-sheet of his house at the next Michaelmas synod at Norwich.³

On 13 June, 1532, the aged Bishop Nicke visited the priory in person, when Prior Robert and nine canons were examined. The prior, Robert Walsham the sub-prior, and five of the canons had no complaints to make. Richard Norwich, the chanter, stated that the steps to the hall were so worn that they were in a dangerous state. Canon John Hickling said that the expense of attendance in the farmery was laid upon the sick. Canon Robert Aleyn confirmed this statement. The bishop's consequent injunctions provided that the attendance in the farmery was to be paid for at the expense of the house, and that the steps to the hall were to be repaired before Christmas. To these injunctions was added a most exceptional one that does not

appear to have been caused by any statements in the formal examinations. It was ordered that cudgels (*fustibus*) should be provided for the defence of the priory. This was evidently considered a matter of importance, for there is added in English 'Memorandum for clubs to be provided.'⁴

Prior Robert and nine of the canons subscribed to the king's supremacy in the chapter-house on 4 June, 1534.⁵

The scandalous *comperta* of Legh and Ap Rice, drawn up early in 1536, give the names of six canons of this house who are supposed to have confessed their incontinency to these visitors.⁶ Before, however, the county commissaries could visit the priory later in the same year, the house had been dissolved. They therefore contented themselves with reporting its dissolution, and stating that 'the Religious persones are sent uppe for ther Dispensacions to my lorde of Caunterburyes grace. They added that—

the possessiones of the housse ys grauntyd to the Bishophe of Norwiche by Acte of Parliamente whiche said Bishophe claymeyth by the same Act the goodes and catalles appertaynyng to the same whiche we have lefte to your determinacione and judgement.'⁷

The prior obtained a pension of 20 marks.⁸

PRIORS OF HICKLING⁹

Alexander, 1185–1209
 Roger, 1209, resigned 1232
 Nicholas, 1232–48
 Alan, 1248–70
 Hubert, 1270–6
 Geoffrey, 1276–88
 Ranulf, 1288¹⁰–93
 John, 1293–1319
 Richard de Hemesby,¹¹ 1319–49
 John Grys¹² *alias* Netesberch,¹³ 1349, resigned 1358
 Richard de Hemesby,¹⁴ 1358, resigned 1366
 William de Wroxham,¹⁵ 1366–90
 John de Tudyngton,¹⁶ 1390–3
 Thomas Haneworth,¹⁷ 1393, resigned 1408
 John de Hickling,¹⁸ 1408–24
 Richard Norwich,¹⁹ 1424, resigned 1431
 Roger Okkam,²⁰ 1431

⁴ Ibid. 277–8.

⁵ Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), xiv, 506.

⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 143.

⁷ Chant. Cert. Norf. No. 20.

⁸ Aug. Off. Books, ccxxii, fol. 56 b.

⁹ The list of priors is complete from 1185 to 1431 in Oxenades, *Chron. Minor* (Rolls Ser.), 433–8, but for the most part only their Christian names are there given.

¹⁰ He was a canon of Butley and was not elected but collated by the bishop.

¹¹ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 79.

¹² Ibid. iv, 96.

¹³ Ibid. v, 27.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid. 73.

¹⁶ Ibid. vi, 153.

¹⁷ Ibid. 184.

¹⁸ Ibid. vii, 5.

¹⁹ Ibid. viii, 90.

²⁰ Ibid. ix, 55.

¹ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 25–7.

² Ibid. 125–6.

³ Ibid. 173–4.

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Thomas Thorp,¹ 1461

Thomas Gregg,² 1485-1503

Robert Botyld *alias* Wyndham,³ 1503

There is a cast of the pointed oval seal of this house (2 in. by 1½ in.) of thirteenth-century date at the British Museum. The seated Virgin bears the Holy Child on the left knee. On each side are three cherubs. Legend :—

SIGILL ECCE SCE MARIE DE HIKEL⁴

29. THE PRIORY OF GREAT MASSINGHAM

A small Austin priory, dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin and afterwards to SS. Mary and Nicholas, was founded at Great Massingham before 1260, probably by Nicholas le Syre of Massingham. The house was originally termed a hospital, and was doubtless chiefly intended for the relief of the poor, but the master being termed a prior, and the house being placed under the Austin rule, it was also correctly designated a priory. It continued, however, to be referred to occasionally as a hospital and its prior as the warden at least as late as 1405⁵; and in 1395 it is even called 'the king's Domus Dei' of Massingham, when John Wilton, who had faithfully served the late king but was now incapacitated through leprosy, was sent there to be sustained.⁶

In 1260 Nicholas de Massingham granted to the Prior William of the hospital of St. Mary of Massingham, a messuage and mill and two carucates of land in Great and Little Massingham, together with 5s. rent and a furlong of heath, with all homages and services, on condition of the hospital paying the donor an annuity of £15 for life, and annuities of £5 and six marks respectively to his brother John and his sister Joan.⁷

The house had but a small endowment. The taxation roll of 1291 shows that it had possessions in six Norfolk parishes, and that its annual value was £18 2s.

On 12 May, 1293, the prior and brethren of the hospital of St. Mary, Great Massingham, obtained licence to hold, of the gift of John Lamberd and others, twenty-five acres of land in Massingham.⁸ In April, 1302, the prior and convent of the hospital obtained licence to enclose a path below their convent on the west side for the enlargement of their buildings.⁹

For several years the priory received a great many small gifts of lands from the inhabitants of Massingham, a clear proof that its services were valued.

Edward II, in 1313, granted a licence to the prior and convent of Great Massingham, to acquire in mortmain lands and rents to the value of £10 a year.¹⁰ On 22 July of the same year in part satisfaction of this licence, Simon Knout assigned to the priory 6 acres and 3 roods of land in Massingham; Avice, late wife of Geoffrey Bartelot, and Reginald her son 2½ acres; Margery and Basilia Chamberleyn, 1 acre; Felicia de Narford, a moiety of an acre; Robert and Emma Cat, 3 roods; Katherine Bryghtlet, a rood; and William de Whitewelle, 35s. 4d. of rent.¹¹ In August, 1315, there was an additional alienation of 11½ acres of land in Massingham to the priory, on payment of half a mark.¹²

In October, 1329, sixteen other persons alienated small plots of lands in Massingham to the priory (here termed hospital) of the united yearly value of 13s. 4d.¹³ In 1335 eleven others granted somewhat larger plots of the annual value of 24s. 2½d.,¹⁴ and the advowson of the church of St. Mary, Warham, with 5d. of rent was given to the priory in 1339, by Katherine, widow of Walter de Norwich, and John her son.¹⁵

On 18 February, 1299, the king signified to the bishop of Norwich the royal assent to the election of brother Geoffrey de Fakenham, cellarer of the house of SS. Mary and Nicholas, Massingham, to be prior of that house, he having been presented by the sub-prior and brethren to the king as patron by reason of the knights' fees and advowsons of churches, late of Richard, son of John, deceased, tenant-in-chief, being in his hands.¹⁶

John de Lenn was instituted to the priory by the bishop in 1325; the royal assent had on this occasion also to be obtained, as the patronage was in the king's hands, by reason of the forfeiture of Thomas de Weyland.¹⁷

The buildings of this small priory being much decayed, and its emoluments so small, the bishop's licence was obtained in 1475 to unite it to the priory of West Acre. It was therefore re-established as a cell of West Acre, and maintained two canons and two poor brethren.¹⁸

There is an elaborate survey and rental of the possessions of Massingham priory at Candlemas, 1540, at the Public Record Office, covering twelve closely written folios.¹⁹ The house is

¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 305.

² Ibid. He is called the twenty-first prior by the chronicler.

³ Ibid.

⁴ B.M. lxix, 25; Ackn. of Supr. (P.R.O.), 63.

⁵ Pat. 6 Hen. IV, pt. 1, m. 15.

⁶ Ibid. 18 Ric. II, pt. 1, m. 21.

⁷ Fin. Norf. 44 Hen. III, 33.

⁸ Pat. 21 Edw. I, m. 17.

⁹ Ibid. 30 Edw. I, m. 23.

¹⁰ Ibid. 6 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 12.

¹¹ *Cal. of Pat.* 7 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 18.

¹² Ibid. 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 25.

¹³ Ibid. 3 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 18.

¹⁴ Ibid. 9 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 9.

¹⁵ Ibid. 13 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 9.

¹⁶ Ibid. 27 Edw. I, m. 36.

¹⁷ Pat. 18 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 16.

¹⁸ Norf. Epis. Reg. Goldwell. fol. 221.

¹⁹ Rentals and Surv. portf. xxiv, 4.

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therein termed 'the priory of Datforde in Great Massingham.' Bound up with it are various later surveys, mostly of Elizabethan date.

PRIORS OR WARDENS OF GREAT MASSINGHAM

William,¹ 1260
 Geoffrey de Fakenham,² elected 1299
 John de Lenn,³ elected 1325
 John Wesenham,⁴ elected 1354
 John de Reynham,⁵ elected 1372
 Roger de Brisele,⁶ elected 1378
 Stephen Helgeye,⁷ appointed 1395
 Robert Bate,⁸ appointed 1405
 John de Hegham,⁹ elected 1420
 Nicholas Felbrigg,¹⁰ elected 1420
 John Gedney,¹¹ elected 1456
 John Cousyn,¹² elected 1467

30. THE PRIORY OF MOUNTJOY

William de Gyney or Gioneto, in the reign of Richard I, founded a chapel dedicated to the honour of St. Laurence at a place called Tueit, afterwards known as Montegaudio or Mountjoy, in the parish of Heveringland. The land on which the chapel was to be erected was called the old stew (*vetus vyvarium*), with the alder bed adjoining. He endowed it with houses for the brethren to live in, a mark of rent from a mill, thirty acres of the assart of Sudfrid, twenty acres of the assart of Rumholt, three ditches of turf to be dug yearly near the ditches dug for the use of his court of Heveringland; feeding for six pigs in his park at acorn time without pannage, and 1,000 red herrings of the rent that is due yearly at Michaelmas at Dilham for the buying of herrings.¹³

It is said that originally this chapel and houses for brethren, otherwise a priory, was granted to the priory of Wymondham, and that they were to maintain two or three monks at Mountjoy. But at all events, soon after its foundation, the founder by another charter conveyed to Brother Vincent, a canon there, and his successors, the mill of Likkemilne, with the meadow by the millstream and an acre of land.¹⁴ A third grant of the founder of a piece of his turbary, with the soil, water, and fishing in Heveringland, was made to the prior and canons of Mountjoy.¹⁵ A fourth charter, witnessed by

the founder, whereby William Henecote grants the priory a piece of land on payment yearly of a root of ginger, and two other almost equally early charters name canons and not monks.¹⁶

It may therefore be accepted that an Austin prior and canons were established here early in the reign of John, and that Vincent was the first prior. There are five other undated charters, of the beginning of the thirteenth century, at the Public Record Office, whereby small grants were made to the prior and canons of St. Laurence's, Heveringland.¹⁷

Roger de Gyney, lord of Heveringland, materially increased their pasture rights.¹⁸ On 3 May, 1294, Roger de Gyney granted lands and rents to the priory, to the annual value of £10, of his fee in Heveringland, Swenington, and Dilham, as their rents and profits were so attenuated that they did not suffice for their support,¹⁹ and in 1306 Sir Roger de Gyney granted to Prior Thomas and the canons that none of his bondmen should implead them in his court by reason of any plea of trespass.²⁰

On 28 October, 1311, John de Felthorp, clerk, entered into an obligation, in the Mountjoy chapter-house, to pay to the prior and canons a mark of silver, a quarter of wheat, and a quarter of barley as yearly pension during life, for his sojourn of thirteen weeks in the year at their house, payable in each year at Michaelmas before his sojourn.²¹

Peter the prior of Mountjoy occurs in various charters *temp.* Edward II, up to 1324.²² Whilst Peter was prior the house received considerable augmentation of an endowment from Thomas de Quitwell, rector of Felthorpe, of land and services in Felthorpe; in return for which the priory was to provide a canon to celebrate mass daily for the souls of the donor, of Richard and Alice, his father and mother, and of Sir William de Quitwell.

In 1343 John Fode and John de Hadescho, chaplains, had royal licence on payment of 100s. to assign to the priory two messuages and 7s. 7d. rent in Heveringland, Felthorpe, &c., to support two canons to celebrate daily for the souls of John Fode and John de Shelton,²³ and next year John the prior and the canons of St. Laurence had released to them by Walter Neel of Heveringland all right in two pieces of land called 'Tolkesker' and 'Netheryd.' In the same year Peter, rector of Irmingland, released to the priory all his rights in the advowson of that church, as well as land and rents in the same parish.²⁴

In 1364 Pope Urban V granted an indulgence of a year and forty days of enjoined penance to those penitents who should visit the convent and

¹ Fin. Norf. 44 Hen. III, 33.

² Pat. 27 Edw. I, m. 36.

³ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 115.

⁴ Ibid. iv, 156.

⁵ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 8. ⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Pat. 18 Ric. II, p. 2, m. 13.

⁸ Ibid. 6 Hen. IV, p. 1, m. 15.

⁹ Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 92.

¹⁰ Ibid. viii, 56. ¹¹ Ibid. xi, 94.

¹² Ibid. 161.

¹³ Anct. D. A. 3014.

¹⁴ Ibid. 3013.

¹⁵ Ibid. 3012.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid. 2999-3003.

¹⁸ Ibid. 2782-3-4.

¹⁹ Ibid. 2781.

²⁰ Ibid. 2788.

²¹ Ibid. 2750.

²² Ibid. 2807, 3043-6, 3051.

²³ Ibid. 2748; Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 27.

²⁴ Anct. D. A. 2732-3; Pat. 18 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 28.

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conventual church of Mountjoy on Christmas Day, Circumcision, Epiphany, Easter Day, Ascension, and Pentecost, as well as on the Nativity, Purification, and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and on the festivals of St. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, and St. Laurence.¹

An indenture of 8 June, 1490, relates that whereas the parish church of St. Andrew, Irmingland, with the patronage and advowson, were given many years ago to the convent of St. Laurence of Mountjoy, and the church, rectory, and tithes cannot now support a fit priest to officiate there, and the chancel and rectory house are ruined, and the parishioners wander elsewhere to hear divine service, William the prior and his convent demise the site of the rectory and the church and rectory to Thomas Bettes of Irmingland, with all tithes, for ninety years, to provide a priest there, power being reserved to remove such priest and institute another.²

In 1515 Thomas Clerke, B.D., was instituted by the bishop. On 28 June, 1517, Prior Clerke granted to Henry Fermour of East Barsham his foldcourse and pasture in Mountjoy and Felthorpe, with the great close and all liberties of pasturage for seven years, paying £14, viz. £5 in hand towards the sustentation and repair of the monastery, and 26s. 8d. each year till the last, and then 20s. The prior was to provide a barrel of tar (for sheep marking?) every second year, and a close house with lock and key to lay the wool in till sold.³

This priory was one of those intended to be suppressed by Pope Clement's bull of 1528 towards the endowment of Cardinal Wolsey's colleges at Ipswich and Oxford; but his fall prevented this being carried out.

The prior of Mountjoy was summoned to convocation in 1529⁴; but probably this was an oversight, for on the attainder of Wolsey the priory was seized by William Hales, lord of Heveringland, the patron of the house, as an escheat to him, and was thus united to his lordship,⁵ Thomas Clerke, the last prior, becoming rector of Moulton Parva.

PRIORS OF MOUNTJOY

Vincent,⁶ occurs c. 1200
 Thomas,⁷ occurs c. 1225
 John Weting,⁸ elected 1304
 Thomas Carlevile,⁹ elected 1305
 Peter de Cleve,¹⁰ elected 1308
 John,¹¹ occurs c. 1323
 Simon de Fleg,¹² elected 1349

¹ Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), vi, 439.

² Anct. D. A. 2739. ³ Ibid. 2825.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 2699.

⁵ Blomefield, viii, 231.

⁶ Anct. D. A. 3012-3.

⁷ Ibid. 2782-4. ⁸ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 17.

⁹ Ibid. 19. ¹⁰ Ibid. 28.

¹¹ Anct. D. A. 2749. ¹² Norw. Epis. Reg. iv, 96.

John Ewedon,¹³ occurs 1357

John de Cotton,¹⁴

Philip de Tideshale,¹⁵ 1379

Edmund Aymes,¹⁶ 1401

Edmund de Walsingham,¹⁷ 1429

John Sudbury,¹⁸

Robert Snape,¹⁹ 1448

Thomas Everhard,²⁰ 1465

John Clement,²¹ 1470

Christopher Brown,²² occurs 1479

William Lovell,²³

William Kyrteling,²⁴ elected 1491

Thomas Grimston,²⁵ elected 1502

Thomas Clark,²⁶ elected 1515

31. THE PRIORY OF PENTNEY

The Austin priory of Pentney, founded in the twelfth century by Robert De Vaux, was dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, and St. Mary Magdalen. The founder endowed it for the health of the souls of himself and his wife Agnes and his ancestors, with the manor of Pentney in the isle of Eya, with all its appurtenances, and especially with the mill of Bridgemill; with two salt pans, the one at Lynn and the other at South Wootton; the whole rent of Fulk de Cougham; the assart belonging to the hermitage of Walney, with Offsey and Shortwood; fifteen acres of land at Wadington, called Crundale; thirteen acres of Richard the weaver at Wadington; the mill at Shotesham; the land of Ralph the son of the priest; and the advowsons of his churches of Thurton, Chediston, Ketteringham, Shotesham St. Botolph, Houghton, and Shotesham All Hallows.²⁷

William the eldest of the three sons of the founder, confirmed his father's grants with a small addition. William de Vaux, in his turn, left three sons, and was succeeded by Robert, as William his eldest son took holy orders, and eventually became prior of Pentney. John de Vaux, great-grandson of Robert, died in 1288, leaving two daughters, his co-heirs. Petronel the elder daughter, who married Sir William de Nerford, brought her husband the patronage of the priory.

In 1291 this priory held property in thirty-four Norfolk parishes, in addition to Chediston,

¹³ Anct. D. A. 2884.

¹⁴ Abp. Witlesay, Reg.

¹⁵ Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 64.

¹⁶ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* viii, 232.

¹⁷ Ibid. ¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Norw. Epis. Reg. xi, 19.

²⁰ Ibid. xi, 147. ²¹ Ibid. 178.

²² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* viii, 232.

²³ Ibid. ²⁴ Ibid. ²⁵ Ibid. ²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ The foundation charter is given in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 67-70, from a chartulary at Belvoir; Blomefield (*Hist. of Norf.* ix, 38-41), cites largely from the same source.

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Suffolk, and was held to be of the annual value of £68 1s. 9½d.

Licence was granted in May, 1305, for the alienation in free alms by William de Ros of Hamelak and Maud his wife to the prior and convent of Pentney, of an acre of land in Shotesham and the advowson of the church of St. Mary in that town.¹ In 1316 the priory paid a fine of ten marks to secure the alienation in mortmain by Petronel de Nerford of the church of Little Abington, Cambridgeshire, and a moiety of an acre adjoining the church.² In the same year the bishop of Ely sanctioned the appropriation of this church to the priory.³

The church of Bilney was irregularly appropriated by Pentney Priory without royal sanction. When the benefice was vacant in 1344, Edward III presented to the rectory, claiming that it was in the crown's gift by reason of the appropriation being made, after the publication of the mortmain statute, without the licence of any of the king's progenitors.⁴ Another irregularity, this time on the part of the crown, came to light in the following year, when pardon was granted by Edward III to Pentney priory—at the request of Peter de Brewes, king's yeoman—for entering upon and appropriating the church of Little Abington, of their patronage, which the king remembers he granted them licence to appropriate, after the death of the late rector, before obtaining formal letters of licence.⁵

Pentney during the years 1166–7 played a part of some importance in the struggle between the ecclesiastical and royal authorities—Becket and Henry II. Hugh, earl of Norfolk, had cast covetous eyes upon the priory's lands, and had seized them on the pretext of a recovery made, apparently by collusion, against William de Vaux, the patron and son of the founder; against this seizure the prior and canons appealed to Rome, and the pope ordered the sentence of excommunication to be pronounced by the bishop of London against the earl. The bishop, however, finding himself in the dilemma of either disobeying his ecclesiastical superior or offending the king, endeavoured to persuade Earl Hugh to restore the lands; he seems to have offered other lands to the canons in exchange, but they refused his offers, declining to give up a site which had been dedicated to God's service. The earl continuing obdurate, the pope sent an order for his excommunication and that of William de Vaux to Becket, who ordered the bishops of Norwich and Ely to publish it, while he at the same time wrote to the canons comforting them and urging them to have courage

and to make no rash compromise with the earl.⁶ The exact course of subsequent events is difficult to trace, but victory eventually must have rested with the canons, as they continued in possession of their lands at Pentney.

Vincent de Caldecote, one of the canons of St. Mary Magdalen, Pentney, obtained an indult in 1349 to choose a confessor for plenary remission at the hour of death.⁷ In the following year Henry de Yakesle, another of the canons, obtained a like indult.⁸

In 1468, Walter bishop of Norwich, with the consent of the priors and convents of both houses and of John earl of Northumberland, patron of the priory of Wormegay, united Wormegay, on account of its poverty, with the priory of Pentney, of which it was henceforth considered a cell.

To secure the union and consolidation of the two priories, the prior and convent of Pentney covenanted to pay 40d. per annum to the prior of Norwich for a moiety of the church of Fordham, which had been appropriated to Wormegay in 1346; and 20d. per annum for the church of Westbrigg, which had been appropriated to them in 1416. The rectories of East Tuddenham and Wormegay were also appropriated to the same priory.

Pentney Priory was visited on 7 November, 1492, by Archdeacon Nicholas Goldwell, as commissary for his brother the bishop. Ralph Midylton the prior, John Lyncoln the sub-prior, and sixteen canons were present. Nothing was discovered that required reformation.

On 6 July, 1514, Dr. Thomas Hare visited the priory as commissary of Bishop Nicke. The prior and twelve canons were severally examined. John Woodbridge, the prior, said that he had not made any return of his accounts to his brethren for the last two years. Thomas Wormegay and William Maltershale complained that they had no schoolmaster for two years.

The other ten canons contented themselves with *omnia bene*. No injunctions followed this visitation.

The suffragan bishop of Chalcodon and other commissaries visited Pentney on 5 July, 1520. After a sermon in the chapter-house by Master Dry from the text *Fraternitatem diligite*, the prior and ten other members of the convent were separately examined, when each testified that all was going on well.

At another visitation held in August, 1526, when Robert Codde was prior, the five canons and four novices who were examined gave an equally satisfactory report.

The final visitation of Pentney before its dissolution was on 1 August, 1532. Prior Codde, Sub-Prior Richard Stafford, and eleven canons testified *omnia bene*. Canon Richard

¹ *Cal. of Pat.* 33 Edw. I, pt. ii, m. 24.

² *Ibid.* 9 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 32.

³ *Cat. of Camb. Univ. MSS.* v, 291, 457.

⁴ *Pat.* 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 44.

⁵ *Ibid.* 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 20.

⁶ *Hist. of Abp. Becket* (Rolls Ser.), vi, 543–59.

⁷ *Cal. Papal Reg.* iii, 359.

⁸ *Ibid.* 404.

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Bowgynn, who was in charge of the cell of Wormegay, said that that priory was much out of repair. Canon Thomas Lytyll, who was also at the cell of Wormegay, made no complaint. Canon Richard Lynn complained of the capacity of the schoolmaster.¹

The Valor of 1535 gave the annual income of Pentney Priory, including Wormegay, as £170 4s. 9½d.

The secret *comperta* of Legh and Ap Rice, early in 1536, recorded that Prior Codde had carried on an intrigue with the abbess of Marham, and we are asked to believe that the prior and five of his canons confessed their incontinency to these two visitors, themselves of scandalous lives.² In the face of the report of the county gentlemen who visited the house a few months later, and of the several satisfactory reports made at the searching episcopal visitations of this house during the sixteenth century, it is impossible to give the least credence to the slanders. The county commissioners reported that 'the priory of Chanones of Pentney and Wormegay of the Order of Seynt Augustine' had a clear annual value of £180 19s. 0¾d.; that the religious persons in the house numbered nine, 'alle Prystes of very honest name and goode religious persones who doue desyre the kynges highness to contynue and remayne in religione'; that eighty-three other persons had their living there—namely, twenty-three hinds, thirty household servants, and thirty children and other poor servants; that the lead and bells were worth £180, and that the house was in very good and requisite repair; that the goods were worth £119 5s. 6d.; that the woods were worth £20; and that £16 was owing to the house.³

In March, 1536, Richard Southwell, himself a county commissioner, and Robert Hogen wrote to Cromwell, specially commending to his notice the prior of Pentney, who, according to Legh and Ap Rice, was guilty of a grievous crime and the head of a dissolute set of canons. Southwell and Hogen assured Cromwell that the 'prior relieved those quarters wondrously where he dwells, and it would be a pity not to spare a house that feeds so many indigent poor, which is in a good state, maintains good service, and does so many charitable deeds.'⁴

On 6 October, 1536, the county commissioners, Messrs. Townsend, Paston, Southwell, and Mildmay, were at Pentney; in a subsequent report they stated that they did not then suppress it because of the insurrection in the north parts; probably thereby meaning that they were afraid of exciting further

hostility by suppressing a house that bore so good a repute and did so much for the poor of the district.⁵

The county commissioners sold to 'my Lorde of Rutland,' on 16 February, 1537, 'alle the stuff in the Quyre for xls. the stuffe in Lady Chappell fo. xs., and the stuffe in the vestry for £13 6s. 8d.' He also purchased the contents of the conventual buildings, cattle, corn, hay, and growing crops; the total amounting to £114 15s. 9d. In addition to this the plate, in the custody of Richard Southwell, was valued at £22 11s. 4d. The debts of the house amounted to £16.⁶

In March, 1537, ex-Prior Codde was not only awarded a pension of £24, but was appointed warden of the hospital of St. Giles, Norwich.⁷

The priory was granted on 14 February, 1538, to Thomas, earl of Rutland.⁸

PRIORS OF PENTNEY

Geoffrey,⁹ occurs 1167
 William de Vaux,¹⁰ *temp.* Hen. II
 Ralph,¹¹ occurs 1225
 Simon,¹² mentioned 1228, 1250
 Geoffrey,¹³ *c.* 1260
 William,¹⁴ *temp.* Edw. I
 Richard de Marham,¹⁵ elected 1302
 Giles de Whitwell,¹⁶ elected 1338
 Thomas de Helgeye,¹⁷ elected 1342
 Ralph de Framlingham,¹⁸ elected 1349
 Vincent de Caldecote,¹⁹ elected 1351
 Peter Bysshop,²⁰ elected 1353
 Walter de Tyrinton,²¹ elected 1381
 John de Wilton,²² elected 1397
 William Swaffham,²³ elected 1414
 John de Tyrinton,²⁴ elected 1416
 Richard Pentney,²⁵ elected 1449
 Ralph Medylton,²⁶ elected 1464
 John Woodbridge,²⁷ elected 1496
 John Hawe,²⁸ elected 1518
 Robert Codde,²⁹ occurs 1526, last prior

The thirteenth-century seal *ad causas* of this house is oval (2 in. by 1½ in.), and shows

⁵ Ibid. xii (1), 218.

⁶ Suppression Papers (P.R.O.), 282.

⁷ Aug. Off. Bks. ccxxii, fol. 49; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 352 (33).

⁸ Aug. Off. Bks. ccxi, fol. 22.

⁹ *Hist. of Abp. Becket* (Rolls Ser.), vi, 262.

¹⁰ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 41; almost certainly an error.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Norw. Epis. Reg. iii, 14.

¹⁷ Ibid. 62.

¹⁸ Ibid. 133.

¹⁹ Ibid. vi, 76.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid. vii, 89.

²² Ibid. xi, 19.

²³ Ibid. xii, 192.

²⁴ Rymer, *Foedera*, and Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.*

²⁵ Ibid. viii, 6.

²⁶ Ibid. 143.

²⁷ Ibid. xiv, 148.

¹ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 29, 106, 167, 251, 312.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 143.

³ Chant. Cert. Norf. No. 90.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 221.

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Christ standing, in his left hand a cross, his right hand raised towards the kneeling figure of Mary Magdalene; over his head the crescent moon and stars, between the two figures the conventional tree, in the field NOLI ME TANGERE. Below is the half length figure of a monk in adoration.¹ Legend:

S' . ECCLESIE . SCE . MARIE MAGDALENE DE
PENTENEI AD CAVSAS *

32. THE PRIORY OF PETERSTONE

The priory of St. Peter of Peterstone (*de Petra S. Petri*) was founded in the parish of Burnham St. Clement, or Overy, as a house or hospital under the Austin rule, towards the close of the twelfth century. Blomefield states that it was to some extent subordinate to Walsingham Priory from its foundation, but this is doubtful.²

From a return made 2 Henry IV of the appropriated churches of the diocese, we find that the church of Beeston was appropriated to this priory in the year 1200, and the church of West Lexham in 1229.³

Some time in the reign of Henry III there was a dispute between the canons of Walsingham and Thomas prior of the hospital of Peterstone. The priory of Walsingham, which held the appropriation of the church of Burnham St. Clement, had granted to the master and brothers of the hospital a free chantry in their chapel with right of burial, for which they were to pay a mark yearly. On the refusal of payment, however, it was recovered with the arrears.

Messuages and lands were granted in 1336 to the prior and Austin Friars (*sic*) of Peterstone to the yearly value of 18s. 5d.,⁴ and other small grants were made at different dates.

The taxation roll of 1291 returned the temporalities of Peterstone at £20 10s. 10½d. a year, and the spiritualities at £3 6s. 8d.⁵ The temporalities of this priory were valued in 1428 at £20 10s. 10d. a year, and their spiritualities at £27 4s. 2d.⁶ When a crown return of the appropriated churches of the diocese was called for, in 1416, the reply from Peterstone Priory was that they had held the rectory of West Lexham since 1229, but that they were in sore straits from the results of the pestilence of 1349, the inundation of 1378, and the still more serious inundation of 1387.⁷

This priory having fallen into considerable decay was annexed to Walsingham Priory in the

year 1449.⁸ In the episcopal registers where the bishop's sanction to the union is recorded, Peterstone, named as a hospital, is described as being insufficient, poverty-stricken, much dilapidated, and having its income reduced to twenty marks a year; a pension of 13s. 4d. was reserved to the cathedral priory of Norwich.⁹

PRIORS OF PETERSTONE

Thomas,¹⁰ occur temp. Hen. III

Philip¹¹

Simon, occurs 1248,¹² 1250¹³

Geoffrey,¹⁴ occurs 1270

Roger,¹⁵ occurs 1272

Eustace de Barsham,¹⁶ elected 1308

Warin de Reppes,¹⁷ elected 1314

Thomas de Warham,¹⁸ elected 1339

John de Howhurd,¹⁹ elected 1349

John de Massingham,²⁰ elected 1365

John de Dunton,²¹ elected 1375

William Bryflet,²² elected 1393

Dionysius de Warham,²³ elected 1396

Richard Hulme,²⁴ elected 1433

33. THE PRIORY OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, THETFORD

Thetford was in the hands of Stephen in 1139. Soon after this date the king gave all the lands and advowsons on the Suffolk side of the river, both within and without the borough, to William de Warenne, the third earl of Warenne and Surrey. Immediately after he had received this grant, the earl founded a monastery on that side of Thetford for canons of the order of St. Sepulchre, of the Austin rule, which order had been introduced into England about 1120. By the foundation charter the earl bestowed on the canons the church of St. Sepulchre, with a quadrigate of land in the adjoining fields, together with all the lands, churches, tithes, and manorial rights in Thetford that he had obtained from the king. He further granted them two yearly fairs, namely at the Invention (3 May) and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September). The earl was at this time about to set forth on a crusade, and the concluding sentences of the charter solemnly commend the maintenance of his new foundation to his brother palmers, to the burgesses, and

⁸ Pat. 28 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 18.

⁹ Norw. Epis. Reg. xi, 378.

¹⁰ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 24.

¹¹ Called predecessor of Simon, prior in 1250; Assize R. 560, m. 11.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 24.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 28.

¹⁷ Ibid. i, 58.

¹⁸ Ibid. iii, 31.

¹⁹ Ibid. iv, 115.

²⁰ Ibid. v, 65.

²¹ Ibid. vi, 44.

²² Ibid. 183.

²³ Ibid. 225.

²⁴ Ibid. ix, 63.

¹ Ackn. of Supr. (P.R.O.), No. 101*.

² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 23-25.

³ Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, 130.

⁴ Pat. 10 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 38.

⁵ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 78, 92, 93, 97-98, 100, 103, 105-6.

⁶ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.*

⁷ Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, 130.

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to all his faithful friends. It was witnessed by his brothers Ralph and Reginald.¹

Hamelin, Earl Warenne, who married Isabel, the founder's daughter and heir, confirmed this grant, and also gave them a third fair on the festival of the Holy Sepulchre, 20s. in rent, and the tithes of two mills. He died in 1202. William, Earl Warenne, Hamelin's son, gave the canons sixty acres of lands, and 10s. rent out of his mill at Brendmilne. Henry II also gave sixty acres of demesne lands of Thetford to the priory.

Early in the reign of Henry III, Sir Geoffrey de Furneaux, lord of Middle Harling, died, and was buried in the priory church by the side of his wife Amy. He gave the canons, for this privilege of sepulture among them, the ninth sheaf of all his demesnes in Bircham (Cambridgeshire) and Middle Harling, together with a messuage and twelve acres of land. About 1250 Alice, wife of Sir Michael Furneaux, a grandson of Sir Geoffrey, was also buried in this church, as well as many subsequent members of the family.

In 1272 William Nunne of Thetford granted to Prior Ralph and the canons a messuage in the town towards procuring habits for the canons, and Thomas de Burgh in 1274 granted the ninth sheaf of his demesne lands in Somerton, Suffolk, and Burgh in Cambridgeshire, in exchange for the advowson of Somerton.

The taxation of 1291 showed that this priory was of the annual value of £20 0s. 1½d.; it then held possessions in fourteen Norfolk and five Suffolk parishes, in addition to small incomes from the dioceses of Ely and London.

The hospital of God's House, Thetford, was definitely settled on the priory in the year 1347.

In 1331 Edward III licensed the appropriation to the priory of the church of Gresham, the advowson of which had been granted by John, Earl Warenne, in 1281, but the bishop of Norwich refused his consent. In 1339 the prior and canons appealed to Rome, and Pope Boniface granted them leave to appropriate the revenues on the next vacancy, provided they served it by one of their own canons and paid all episcopal dues. The bishop would not, however, give his consent without the formal ordination of a vicarage.

A survey of this house, taken on 20 December, 1338, shows that the priory held the Thetford churches of SS. Cuthbert, Andrew, Giles, Edmund, Lawrence, and the Holy Trinity, the last two being served by the canons. They also

held 293 acres of meadow and arable land in the neighbourhood of Thetford, of the united value of £10 12s. 0½d. They had liberty of one foldcourse in the field of Westwick, wherein they might feed 500 sheep, and might remove those sheep to Brend for change of pasture when the shepherd pleased and had convenience for washing them; also another foldcourse for 320 sheep, and various other pasturage rights for cattle and swine. The total annual value of the priory at the time of this survey was £62 9s.

In 1394 Abbot Cratfield, of Bury St. Edmunds, licensed the prior to purchase the tenement called Playforth in Barnham, with its services, rents, foldcourse for 400 sheep, and 133 acres of arable land worth ½d. an acre, of Master Walter of Elveden, who held it of the fee of St. Edmund. For this the prior was to pay a yearly rent to the abbey of 22d., and 2d. on the election of a new abbot.² In 1442 the earl of Suffolk obtained licence to alienate to the priory 240 acres of arable land, 600 of pasture and heath, four foldcourses in Croxton, and a messuage and garden in Thetford, to found a chantry in the conventual church. The prior sued John Legat, rector of Tuddenham, in 1464, for an annual pension of £6 from that church, which he had detained for two years; the prior recovered it by proving that he was always taxed at 12s. tenths for the portion.

When the Valor of 1535 was drawn up the clear annual income was then only £39 6s. 8d. This was a great falling-off from the income of 1338; several items of income were much reduced, for instance the pension of £6 a year from Tuddenham church stood only at 40s. in the last Valor.

The priory was visited by Archdeacon Goldwell, on behalf of the bishop, on 12 November, 1492. Prior Reginald and seven canons were present; the visitor found that no reform was needed.³

Bishop Nicke visited the house on 21 June, 1514. The record of this visit is incomplete. The prior, Thomas Vicar, said that Canon William Brigges, then at Snoring, was an apostate and of evil life. Richard Skete complained that no one had been appointed sacrist, that the beer was of poor quality, that the prior had returned no account since his appointment, that Stephen Horham, the prior's servant in charge of the dairy, had the spending of the profits of seven or eight cows, that Stephen was married, and he had suspicions as to his wife, and that Stephen had laid violent hands on him. Richard Downham made some like complaints, and also spoke of the bad repair of the buildings and nave of the church, and that there were not sufficient vessels in the kitchen, and that spoons

¹ There is no known chartulary of this priory. The charter is recited in a confirmation charter of John, Earl Warenne, given in Dugdale, *Mon.* ii, 574. Ex autogr. in bibl. Deuvsiana a. 1640. Martin's *Hist. of Thetford* (1779), 174-95, has a painstaking account of this house; the statements in this sketch are chiefly taken therefrom, where no other reference is given.

² Cott. MS. Tib. B. ix, fol. 30.

³ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 32.

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and other silver plate had been pledged. William Kingsmill made like complaints, and said that the prior, whom he considered remiss but not criminal in his conduct, had presented no accounts for seven years. The depositions of Robert Barneham and Thomas Herd were to much the same effect.¹

At Bishop Nicke's visitation of June, 1520, only the prior, John Thetford, and three canons were present. The prior stated that the priory buildings were in sad decay, and that the income was not sufficient for their support. Richard Noris said that Thomas Lowthe, the predecessor of the present prior, had taken with him a breviary belonging to the house.²

At the visitation of July, 1526, the prior and five canons were present. Prior Thetford complained of the unpunctuality of the canons at high mass on Sundays and the principal feasts. Nicholas Skete thought the beer was too sweet and weak.³

The last visitation was held in July, 1532, when the prior and three canons were severally examined, and all testified *omnia bene* so far as the condition of the house permitted. There were also three novices who were professed by the bishop. The bishop enjoined on the prior to see that the newly professed were instructed in grammar.⁴

Prior John Thetford and six canons subscribed to the royal supremacy in their chapter-house on 26 August, 1534. In that year Prior Thetford, who had been a canon of Butley, gave to the church of that monastery two chalices, one for the chapel of All Saints and the other for the chapel of St. Sigismund; also two relics, with a silver pix for relics, and the comb of St. Thomas of Canterbury. He resigned the priory of Thetford about the close of 1534, and became prior of Holy Trinity, Ipswich.

Legh and Ap Rice, the notorious visitors of Cromwell, visited this priory towards the end of 1535. According to their *comperta* Prior Clerk confessed incontinency to these men and his desire to marry; they also reported badly of three others.⁵

The county commissioners for suppression of this house in 1536 reported that it was of the clear annual value of £44 12s. 10d.; that the lead and bells were worth £80, and the movable goods £29 8s. 7d.; and that the debts owing amounted to £7 1s. 7½d. The house was 'very Ruynous ande in Decaye.' They found only one religious person there, 'of splendre Reporte who requirythe to have a dispensacione to goo to the Worlde.' The persons who had their living at the house were sixteen—namely, two priests, two hinds, four children, and eight waiting servants.⁶

¹ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 88–89.

² Ibid. 155. ³ Ibid. 242–3. ⁴ Ibid. 303.

⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* x, 144.

⁶ Chant. Cert. Norf. No. 90.

Prior Clerk obtained a pension of ten marks.⁷ The house, site, and possessions were granted in 1537 to Sir Richard Fulmerston.

PRIORS OF THETFORD

Richard,⁸ 1202
 Gislebert⁹
 William,¹⁰ 1228
 Richard,¹¹ 1242
 Roger de Kersey,¹² 1247
 William,¹³ 1274
 Peter de Horsage,¹⁴ elected 1315
 Richard de Wintringham,¹⁵ elected 1329
 John de Shefford,¹⁶ elected 1338
 Roger de Kerseye,¹⁷ 1347
 Robert de Thetford,¹⁸ 1349
 Robert Edwyn,¹⁹ resigned 1351
 Adam de Hokewold,²⁰ elected 1351
 William de Haneworth,²¹ elected 1358
 Adam de Worsted,²² elected 1378
 Robert de Stowe,²³ died 1420
 John Paltok,²⁴ elected 1420
 John Grenegras,²⁵ elected 1432
 Peter Tryon,²⁶ elected 1454
 Reginald Ilberd,²⁷ elected 1471
 John Burnell, *alias* Burham,²⁸ 1496
 William,²⁹ 1503
 Thomas Vicar,³⁰ occurs 1512
 John Thetford,³¹ occurs 1519
 John Clerk,³² occurs 1535

The thirteenth-century seal of this priory has under a pinnacled canopy Our Lord rising from the sepulchre, at the head of which is an angel, with two sleeping soldiers in base. Legend:—

. ECCLESIE D' THETFORD. . . .³³

A fine but imperfect impression of a seal *ad causas* of this house is attached to a charter of 1457. It bears the Risen Saviour standing, the right hand raised in benediction, and the left grasping a long cross. In the field, on the left are the arms of Warenne, chequy; and on the right a crescent and a star. Legend:—

. HEFO. . . . AD CAVS.³⁴

⁷ Aug. Off. Bks. ccxxxii, 35b.

⁸ Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 189–90.

⁹ Ibid. ¹⁰ Ibid. ¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid. ¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 63.

¹⁵ Ibid. ii, 28. ¹⁶ Ibid. iii, 19.

¹⁷ Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 189.

¹⁸ Ibid. ¹⁹ Norw. Epis. Reg. iv, 134.

²⁰ Ibid. ²¹ Ibid. v, 29.

²² Ibid. vi, 63. ²³ Ibid. viii, 57.

²⁴ Ibid. ²⁵ Ibid. ix, 57.

²⁶ Ibid. xi, 76. ²⁷ Ibid. 82.

²⁸ Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 190.

²⁹ Ibid. ³⁰ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* 88.

³¹ Ibid. 155. ³² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.).

³³ B.M. Cart. lxix, 48; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 729; Achn. of Supr. (P.R.O.), 109.

³⁴ Add. Chart. 17245; Blomefield, *Norw.* ii, 98.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

34. THE PRIORY OF WALSHINGHAM

An anonymous ballad from the press of Richard Pynson, *circa* 1460, of which there is a unique copy in Pepys Library, relative to Our Lady of Walsingham, thus opens :—

Of thys Chappel see here the foundatyon
 Builled the yere of Christ's incarnatyon
 A thousand complete sixty and one,
 The tyme of Saint Edwarde, Kinge of this region.¹

It proceeds to relate how the noble widow Lady Rychold de Faverches was favoured by the Virgin with a view of the Santa Casa at Nazareth, and commissioned to build its counterpart at Walsingham. Eventually

Our blessed Laydie with blessed minystrys,
 Herself being here chief Artificer
 Arrered thys sayde house with Angells handys,
 And not only rered it but sette it there it is.

That the chapel was founded in the time of Edward the Confessor is also confirmed by Leland.² The earliest deeds in the chartulary of Walsingham Priory name Richeldis, the mother of Geoffrey de Favarches, as the founder of the chapel; but the term founding in this case refers to the re-establishment or re-building of the chapel by that lady after the Conquest.

About the year 1169,³ in the episcopate of William Turbus, Geoffrey de Favarches, on the day he set out for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, granted to God and St. Mary and to Edwy his clerk the chapel of Our Lady which his mother had founded at Walsingham with all its appurtenances, together with the church of All Saints, Little Walsingham, to the intent that Edwy should found a priory. Shortly afterwards these gifts, with slight additions, were confirmed to the Austin Canons of Walsingham by Robert de Brucart and Roger, earl of Clare.⁴

It is clear that the chapel of Our Lady of Walsingham was of no small repute ere the priory was established, for it was very unusual in the twelfth century to find a mere chapel in the possession of lands, tithes, and rents. The chapel was enclosed within the priory precincts, and from its earliest establishment a continuous stream of pilgrims found their way to this sanctuary. The offerings speedily enriched the priory, and though fluctuating much at different periods, produced a considerable income for the four centuries of its existence. Roger Ascham, when visiting Cologne in 1550, remarked: 'The Three

Kings be not so rich, I believe, as was the Lady of Walsingham.'

Among kindly pilgrims may be named Henry III (1241), Edward I (1280 and 1296), and Edward II (1315). Edward III, in 1361, granted £9 towards the expenses of John duke of Brittany, for his expenses in this pilgrimage, and licence of absence from London, to his nephew, the Duke of Anjou (one of the French hostages) for a like reason. The same king, in 1364, gave safe conduct to King David of Scotland and twenty knights to make pilgrimage to Walsingham.⁵

But it was not merely offerings in money that made the priory prosperous; gifts of lands, rents, and churches were bestowed on the canons soon after its foundation. A confirmation charter of Henry III in 1255, confirmed the substantial benefactions of eight different donors,⁶ and Edward I, when at Walsingham in 1281, confirmed to the priory the churches of St. Peter, Great Walsingham, St. Clement, and St. Andrew, Burnham, St. Andrew, Bedingham, Tymelthorpe, and Owelton.⁷

The taxation of 1291 shows that the priory had then possessions in eighty-six different Norfolk parishes, and that its annual income from such sources was £79 2s. 6³/₄d.

Clement V, in 1306, sanctioned the appropriation by the priory of the church of St. Peter, Great Walsingham, value £10, of their patronage; the church was to be served by one of their canons.⁸ Royal sanction to the appropriation of the church of St. Peter, Great Walsingham, was not granted until 1314.⁹ On 5 May, 1309, at the instance of Queen Isabella, licence was granted to the priory of Walsingham for the acquisition in mortmain of lands and rents to the yearly value of £40. This instrument was vacated on 9 May, 9 Richard II, because the priory had by then acquired lands and tenements to that amount.¹⁰

In May 1385, the priory paid the king the heavy fine of £100 to secure the alienation to them in mortmain of considerable lands and manors in Norfolk, including the manors of Great and Little Ryburgh, of the value of £40 yearly, to find four chaplains, canons or secular, to celebrate daily in the newly-built chapel of St. Anne within the said priory for the good estate of Joan, widow of Thomas de Felton, knight, and for her soul after death, and for the souls of the said Thomas, Thomas his son, and others, and to find a light to burn daily therein at high mass.¹¹

Prior Thomas and his convent obtained licence in mortmain, in 1465, for the acquisition of lands,

¹ *Arch. Journ.* xiii, 115.

² Leland, *Collectanea*, iii, 26.

³ This date is arrived at from a careful study of the years of the different priors' rule, as given subsequently from the dateless chartulary list. It is highly improbable that Geoffrey, of an age to make a pilgrimage in 1169, was the son of a lady who founded the chapel in 1061; possibly he was grandson.

⁴ Walsingham Chart. Cott. MS. Nero E. vii.

⁵ Nichol, *Pilgrimages of Erasmus* (1875), lxvi, 79; Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), vi, 315, 324.

⁶ Chart. R. 39 Hen. III, m. 5.

⁷ Ibid. 9 Edw. I, m. 75.

⁸ *Cal. Papal Reg.* ii, 19.

⁹ *Cal. of Pat.* 8 Edw. II, pt. 1, m. 11.

¹⁰ Ibid. 2 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 9.

¹¹ Ibid. 8 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 15.



WALSINGHAM PRIORY (*Obverse*)



WALSINGHAM PRIORY (*Reverse*)



WEST ACRE PRIORY



BROMHOLM PRIORY

NORFOLK MONASTIC SEALS, PLATE II

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

tenements, and rents, in relief of their 'poor possessions,' to the value of £40, that they may pray for the good estate of the king and queen and for their souls after death.¹

About 1345, the prior and canons of Walsingham petitioned Elizabeth, lady of Clare, beseeching her to abandon her intention of permitting the Franciscan friars to have a house in either Great or Little Walsingham. They advanced various reasons against the coming of the friars; but they were all of them of a purely selfish character, and did not touch on the higher grounds of education and of a faithful ministering to the poor, which were no doubt the actuating motives of this noble lady in her new foundation. The petitioners stated that they foresaw that certain tithes would lapse and that their income derived from mortuary masses and offerings at burials, churching of women, confession and other occasions would certainly diminish. The most interesting objection was that wherein they stated that for the security of the valuable jewels that had been presented to their shrine by Lady Elizabeth and her ancestors and others, the gates of the priory were always closed at night; that the pilgrims who arrived late were accustomed to make their offerings the next morning; and that this would probably not be the case if they were entertained by the friars.² It is satisfactory to know that the petition failed.

In 1346, John de Watlington, canon of Walsingham, obtained an indult to choose a confessor for plenary remission at the hour of death.³ Benedict de Bodham, another canon of this house, had the dignity of papal chaplain conferred on him in 1350,⁴ and in the same year Canon Benedict and Thomas de Clare, prior of Walsingham, obtained the papal indult for plenary remission at the hour of death.⁵ James de Wighen and Richard Brutiham, canons of Walsingham, obtaining the like privilege in 1352.⁶ Pope Urban, in 1364, granted a faculty to Prior Thomas to dispense four of his canons provided they had completed their twenty-second year, to be ordained priests, there being but few, owing to the pestilence.⁷

On 1 March, 1384, the custody of the priory was given by the king to the sub-prior, acting on behalf of his kinsman Roger, son and heir of the late earl of March, a minor, in consequence of contention between the sub-prior and John Snoryng, prior, the latter being wasteful of its revenues in his desire to secure the position of abbot. This step was taken on the advice of a commissary, presided over by Michael de la Pole, the chancellor, appointed to inquire into the dispute.⁸

¹ *Cal. of Pat.* 5 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 4.

² Cott. MS. Nero E. vii, fol. 152. The petition is given both in French and Latin.

³ *Cal. Papal Reg.* iii, 233. ⁴ *Ibid.* 393.

⁵ *Ibid.* 402.

⁶ *Ibid.* 473, 505.

⁷ *Ibid.* iv, 41.

⁸ Pat. 7 Ric. II, pt. 2, mm. 21, 23 d.

One of the charges against Prior Snoryng was that he had interfered with the weekly market at Walsingham, placing divers windows and doors in the priory wall on the site where it was held. The letters patent, however, of 1 March, giving the custody of the priory to the sub-prior, were speedily cancelled, for on 9 March the prior was allowed to resume his rule, but only upon finding three recognizances of 1,000 marks each, pledging him to keep the priory and all its lands and manors without waste or alienation until the next Parliament, and further pledging him not to go or send to the Roman Court.⁹

Further financial irregularities on the part of Prior Snoryng resulted in his suspension and eventual removal from the office in 1387-8 by the commissaries of the bishop of Norwich, against which sentence he appealed to Rome. The king took the priory and its possessions into his own hands, appointing a commission, at the head of which was the abbot of Holm, for its due administration. Licence was granted to Snoryng in 1389 to pass beyond the seas, to defend his right before the Holy See. In June 1391, a further licence was granted by the crown to Snoryng to prosecute to a conclusion in the Roman court his long pending suit, Sir Thomas Geney, and three citizens and mercers of London giving bail, each in 1,000 marks, that he would not during his stay attempt aught against the king's regality or the laws and customs of the realm.¹⁰

Conditional absolution was granted by Boniface IX, in May 1398, from excommunication of Prior John Harford and the convent of Walsingham, together with relaxation of their interdict, and the annulment of formal papal letters and proceedings. Thomas Fornesete, canon of this house, having set forth to the pope that for certain reasons he had formerly, without leave of his superior, thrown off his habit, broken iron chains and prison and left his order, the pope ordered the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Norwich and Ely to carry out, with regard to him, Pope Benedict's ordinances as to apostates. The recent petition of the convent of Walsingham, however, set forth that the bishop of Ely, in defiance of the pope, absolved Thomas and ordered restoration to his canonry and prebend, as well as payment of his costs in going and returning to Rome. They further stated that on their refusing to receive Thomas, the commissary of the bishop of Norwich excommunicated the convent and put the priory under interdict, from which sentence they appealed to Rome, adding that Thomas had suppressed the truth.¹¹

⁹ *Cal. of Pat.* 7 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 17.

¹⁰ Pat. 12 Ric. II, pt. 2, m. 9; 13 Ric. II, pt. 1, m. 36; 13 Ric. II, pt. 2, m. 32; 14 Ric. pt. 2, m. 6.

¹¹ *Cal. of Papal Reg.* v, 157-8.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

The episcopal visitations at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries prove that the priory of Walsingham, corrupted probably by the wealth that pilgrims poured into its lap, was the most disorderly and demoralized religious house of the diocese.¹

Bishop Goldwell held a personal visitation of the priory on 1 September, 1494, when John Farewell was prior. The prior and sixteen canons attended the visitation. Matters were evidently in an unsatisfactory state, but no one dared to speak of aught save trivial complaints, and the record expressly says that the prior was afraid to say all that he knew. The bishop deferred his injunctions, and soon after Prior Farewell resigned and accepted the rectory of Ryburgh.

Twenty years elapsed before there is record of another visitation. During that period the wealth of the priory had materially increased, chiefly owing to the royal example of Henry VII and Henry VIII, which made pilgrimages to Walsingham fashionable among the nobility and courtiers. The number of the canons nearly doubled, and disorder increased in a like ratio. The visitation of Bishop Nicke on 14 July, 1514, revealed a sad state of affairs. The prior and thirty-one canons were severally examined. The inquiry proved that the prior was leading a scandalous life; that he went by night into the chapel of Our Lady to abstract treasure; that he kept an aged fool; that he treated the canons with insolence and brutality, and had deliberately warned them in chapter before the visitation that those who revealed anything to the bishop should suffer for it. His evil example had corrupted the canons, many of whom broke bounds, frequented taverns, and were constantly quarrelling, whilst some had even broken into the prior's cellar, stolen his wine and sat up at night drinking. No wonder that the servants were insolent and the boys rebellious. The bishop at once issued certain strict injunctions, and associated the prior of West Acre with Prior William Lowth making the latter swear to receive none of the goods or possessions of the house without the knowledge of the coadjutor prior. The visitation was then prorogued until 15 March.

On 30 August of the same year, further regulations for reformation of discipline were promulgated in the chapter-house by Dr. Thomas Hare and four other commissaries of the bishop. These chiefly related to the strict wardenship of the chapel of Our Lady, ordering that the warden do pay over all money received into the treasury every Saturday, and at the same time go through the inventory of the jewels. Prior William Lowth was compelled to resign, and Richard Vowell was appointed in his place. It is anything but creditable to the bishop and others

concerned that the evil-lived Lowth was permitted to become prior of West Acre.

On the vacancy occurring, the prior took the opportunity of obtaining the cancelling of the *congrat d'élire* that had been wrongfully issued by Henry VII, on 15 September, 1503, for the election of Prior Lowth; evidence being produced that the convent had always elected a prior without licence from the Earls of March, their founders, or from any of the king's predecessors.²

The bishop at last issued new statutes for the rule of the priory, but Prior Vowell was unable to obtain their acceptance by a majority of the convent, and the attempt led to much dissension. On 13 July, 1520, the priory was visited by the suffragan bishop of Chalcedon. The sub-prior Edmund Warham, who had held that office for many years, and two of the canons gave loyal support to the prior, but six of the canons told the visitor to his face that they declined to have anything to do with the new statutes, whilst eight others were in other ways refractory. The scandals, however, seem to have abated; the prior and sub-prior merely complained of disobedience. The suffragan and his fellow commissioners called upon the seven worst offenders to submit themselves and ask pardon, which they seem to have done. As penance, they were required for the next seven days to take the lowest places in quire; on the next Wednesday to fast on bread and beer; and on the same day, after the Lady Mass, to kneel before the high altar and say five Our Fathers.

The visitation of August 1526, seems to show that Prior Vowell had by that time purged his house of disorder and disobedience; but there were complaints that no scholars were sent to the university, and that the younger brethren had no one to instruct them in grammar.

The last visitation was held on 9 August, 1532, when Prior Vowell produced his accounts and inventory. The aged Sub-Prior Edmund Warham testified *omnia bene*, and so did John Clenchewarton the cellarer, Nicholas Mileham the treasurer, Simon Orry the sacrist, John Harlow the chanter, Richard Garret the warden of the chapel of Our Lady, and the rest of the twenty-three canons, save one, who were present. The one complainant was Canon William Race, who alleged that two of his fellow canons were irregular at mattins, and that there was some shortness of food. It is pleasant to find that at the last visitation of this once disorderly house nothing was found worthy of reformation.³

Mention has already been made of some of the earlier royal visitors to the shrine of Walsingham, and its fame did not wane with the progress of time. An anxious affectionate letter of Margaret Paston to her husband John Paston, when he lay

¹ See Dr. Jessopp's introduction to the *Norw. Visit.*

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.*, i, 911.

³ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Cam. Soc.), 57, 113, 147, 170, 252, 314.

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ill at the Inner Temple, dated 28 September, 1443, tells the sufferer how her mother had vowed an image of wax of his own weight to Our Lady of Walsingham and that she herself had vowed to undertake a pilgrimage to that shrine for his sake.¹ The Paston Letters also tell of Henry VI's visit to Walsingham in 1455; of the intention of Edward IV and his queen, if her health permitted, to undertake the pilgrimage in 1469; of the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk going there on foot from Framlingham in 1471, and of the Duke of Buckingham undertaking the same in 1478.²

Henry VII kept Easter, 1487 at Norwich, and from thence went in pilgrimage to Walsingham, where he visited Our Lady's church, famous for miracles, and made his prayers and vows for help and deliverance.' When the king soon afterwards gained a victory at Stoke, 'he sent his banner to be offered to Our Lady at Walsingham, where before he made his vows.'³ The same king, by his will, ordered an image of silver-gilt to be set up in the shrine.

Henry VIII made here an offering of 6s. 8d. in 1510. On a subsequent visit, according to Sir Henry Spelman, the king walked barefoot from Barsham to the chapel of Our Lady, and offered a necklace of great value.⁴ The well-known letter of Queen Katharine of Aragon to the king, announcing the victory of Flodden (1513), concludes: 'and now go to Our Lady at Walsingham, that I promised soo long ago to see.'⁵ In April of the same year Admiral Howard wrote to Henry VIII as to Master Arthur Plantagenet, who, being in great peril of shipwreck, called upon Our Lady of Walsingham for help, and vowed that if it pleased God and her to deliver him, that he would not eat flesh or fish till he had seen her. The admiral excused him from service to enable him to fulfil his vow.⁶

In the king's book of payments there are entered, under 1509—William Halys, king's priest, singing before Our Lady at Walsingham, half a year's wages 100s.; for the king's candle there, 46s. 8d.; for 3½ oz. of fine gold for the king's little chain, £6 6s. 8d., and making the same, 6s. 8d.; in January 1511, offering at Our Lady of Walsingham, £1 14s. 4d.; in June of the same year, part payment for glazing Our Lady's Chapel at Walsingham, £20. In November, 1512, £23 11s. 4d. was paid to Barnard Flour, for glazing Our Lady Chapel, Walsingham. In November, 1515, there are entries of 100s. as half a year's wage to Sir Richard Warde for singing before Our Lady at Walsingham, and the king's candle there again cost 46s. 8d.⁷

¹ *Paston Letters* (Gairdner), i, 48. ² *Ibid. passim.*

³ Lord Bacon, *Life of Henry VII*, vi, 56, 59.

⁴ Spelman, *Works*, ii, 149.

⁵ Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, I, i, 29.

⁶ Cott. MS. Calig. E. ii, fol. 141.

⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii (2), 1442, 1449, 1451, 1458, 1469.

In September 1517, Cardinal Wolsey, when in bad health, made a pilgrimage to this shrine, to which there are various allusions in the State Papers. The cardinal was again there in 1520, and apparently as devout as any one. But the times were against these pilgrimages, and there came a change. In 1528 Wolsey, as legate, issued a decree granting to Richard Vowell, the prior of Walsingham, and his convent—in consideration that the universal devotion by which the priory was first sustained was now cooled, through the perverse reviling of some and the pestiferous preaching of others—the Austin priory of Flitcham, which had fallen into decay through neglect, and the possessions of which were adjacent to those of the former. Four resident canons were to be maintained for the due celebration of divine service. The prior in return for this grant promised to have daily mass celebrated for Wolsey, and to pay a pension of 10s. to the bishop of Norwich and his successors for episcopal consent to the scheme.⁸ The 'king's candle' was still kept burning at the Walsingham shrine, 43s. 4d. being paid for its maintenance at Lady Day, 1529, together with £5 for the king's mass priest 'before Our Lady.'⁹

In her will, Katharine of Aragon, who died in January 1536, provided that some personage should go to Our Lady of Walsingham on pilgrimage, distributing twenty nobles on the way.¹⁰

On 18 September, 1534, Richard Vowell, the prior, Edmund Warham, the sub-prior and twenty of the canons signed their acceptance of the king's supremacy.¹¹

The Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 returned the annual income of the priory from endowments as £391 11s. 7½d., whilst the offerings even in 1534 amounted to £260 12s. 4½d. These offerings were threefold: those made at the chapel of Our Lady £250 1s.; at the sacred milk of Our Lady 42s. 3d.; and at the chapel of St. Lawrence, £8 9s. 1½d.

It was apparently with reference to this Valor that Prior Vowell wrote to Cromwell on 24 October, 1535:—

At my latest visit to you for valuation of the oblations in Our Lady's chapel, you desired me to make suit to you again when the certificate of the commissioners was brought in, and beg audit for Rob Townes-hend, to whom I have made known my mind more fully than I can write. Without your aid our house shall never be able to bear the charges.¹²

Cromwell's visitors, Legh and Ap Rice, were here about the beginning of 1536; if the scandalous *comperta* are to be believed six of the Walsingham canons confessed their incontinency to these men. They noted that there was much superstition in feigned relics and miracles.

⁸ *Ibid.* iv (2), 2254.

⁹ *Ibid.* v, 309.

¹⁰ Cott. MS. Otho. C. x, fol. 216.

¹¹ Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), xiv, 519.

¹² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 229.

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There is no formal report extant as to this house in the return of the county commissioners, but a letter of Richard Southwell's to Cromwell, dated 25 July, 1536, shows that their duties were delegated to Sir Thomas Lestrangle and Mr. Hogges, who were ordered to sequestrate all money, plate, jewels, and such-like stuff found at the priory. From this remarkable letter it is clear that Southwell either believed, or affected to believe, that someone in Walsingham Priory followed some black art or made use of the philosopher's stone, whereas the discovery was probably a mere chemist's laboratory :—

Emoung other thinges the same Sir Thomas Lestrangle and Mr. Hoges dyd there fynd a secrete privye place within the howse dyd ever come, as they saye, in wiche there were instrewnmentes, pottes, bellowes, flyes of suche strange colors as the lick none of us had seene, with poysses and other thinges to sorte, and dewyd gould and silver, nothing there wantinge that should belonge to the artte of multiplyng. Off all wiche they desyred me by lettres to adverteise you, and also that from the Satredaye at night till the Sonday next folowinge was offred at their now beinge xxxiijs. iiijd. over and besyd waxe. Of this moultiplying it maye please you to cawse them to be examyned, and so to adverteise unto them your further pleasure.¹

On 22 September of the same year Prior Vowell wrote to Cromwell. From this communication it is evident that there was a good deal of underhand work going on in the convent. The prior denied that either he or his chapter were privy to certain articles and letters that had been sent in their name to Cromwell, and accused, Robert Wylsey (one of the canons who had subscribed to the king's supremacy in 1534), of having forwarded them, which he partly acknowledged. It is significant that the prior concludes his letter by saying that he sends Cromwell by the bearer his 'fee' for the ensuing year.² A list of Cromwell's blackmail from the threatened houses for this year includes £4 from Prior Vowel.³

The shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham has obtained an undying fame by the visit of Erasmus, the great scholar of the Renaissance, who used his most pungent satire to expose the vanities of pilgrims and pilgrimages. When Erasmus was at Cambridge in May, 1511, he wrote to his friend Andreas Ammonius, that, in fulfilment of a vow, he was about to visit the virgin of Walsingham, and to hang up some Greek verses there.⁴ These verses are given in his works as collected by Frobenius in 1540.⁵ They have been thus Englished :—

'Hail ! Jesu's mother, blessed evermore,
Alone of women God-bearing and virgin,
Others may offer to thee various gifts,
This man his gold, that man again his silver,

A third adorn thy shrine with precious stones ;
For which some ask a guerdon of good health,
Some riches ; others hope that by thy aid
They soon may bear a father's honoured name.

'Or gain the years of Pylus' reverend sage.
But the poor poet, for his well-meant song,
Bringing these verses only, all he has,
Asks in reward for his most humble gift
That greatest blessing, piety of heart,
And full remission of his many sins.'⁶

It is impossible to doubt that at this time Erasmus shared the usual opinion of the day on pilgrimages and special shrines. It was not until 1524 that Erasmus put forth his colloquy on pilgrimages, wherein he introduces an imaginary conversation as to an imaginary second visit to Walsingham. In the colloquy Erasmus supposes a meeting of two friends, Menedemus and Oxygus, the latter of whom has just returned from pilgrimages to Walsingham and other shrines, stating that the town is almost sustained by the resort of pilgrims. Oxygus describes the wonders of the place, the gold, the silver, and the precious stones offered to the image of Our Lady, the marvels worked at the holy wells, the miracle of the knight on horse-back, for whose admission the portal of the chapel stretched itself, the various relics and especially the crystal phial containing some milk of the Virgin. The Santa Casa, said to have been miraculously conveyed there centuries before, specially attracted the attention of Oxygus, who commented upon the apparent renewing of the walls, the roof beams, and the thatch. All this was admitted by the sacrist, and after his assent he was asked : 'As now no part of the old building remains, how do you prove that this was the cottage which was brought from a great distance ?' whereupon the sacrist 'immediately showed us a very old bear's skin fixed to the rafters ; and almost ridiculed our dulness in not having observed so manifest a proof.' The most amusing part of the satire is where the sub-prior of the house saluted Oxygus, asking him if he was not the man who on a visit some years before had hung up a votive inscription in Hebrew characters ? On receiving an affirmative answer, the canon proceeded to state how laboriously they all had striven to read it, and how many spectacles had been wiped in vain. Whenever any doctor of theology or law had arrived, he was at once conducted to the inscription. Some declared it was Arabic, others that it was meaningless. At last, however, someone arrived who was able to read the title, which was in Latin. But they all finally agreed that the inscription was in Hebrew, because no one knew Greek, and anything that they did not understand they always called Hebrew.

It is singular to reflect that this part of the colloquy has several times served as a text for

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* Cleof. E. iv, fol. 231.

² *Ibid.* xi, 196.

³ *Ibid.* App. 16. ⁴ *Epistola*, 114. ⁵ *Tom.* v, 1109.

⁶ Erasmus, *Pilgrimages*, by J. G. Nichols (ed. 1875), 102.

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the ignorance of dwellers in monasteries. No one would have been more amused than Erasmus at this literal interpretation of his ironical reference to an ignorance of Greek. Every canon of the house would be bound to understand Latin, and some few would almost certainly know at least the elements of Greek. Prior Vowell, though not an estimable man, was a scholar, and was chosen just about this time to preach the Latin sermon at Leicester, when the general chapter of the English province of the Austin canons was held there.

The articles of inquiry for the guidance of the second visit of the sub-commissioners to Walsingham Priory are still extant.¹ They were to ask for inventories of all the jewels, relics, plate, and movable goods, and whether any had been alienated, sold, or pledged? What were their relics of most estimation, and what proof they had of their truth? Whether the keepers of the relics did not solicit offerings, and why they were not all in the same place? What was the greatest and most undoubted miracle done there by Our Lady, together with proof of the same? Whether Our Lady's milk be liquid, and who was sacrist about ten years ago, and whether he did not renew it? Also—

what is the saying of the buylding of Our Ladye chappell, and of the first invencion of the image of Our Ladye there; what of the house where the bere skynne is, and of the knyght; and what of the other wonders that be here, and what proves be thereof?

No one can read that part of Erasmus' colloquy relative to Walsingham, and this long list of nineteen articles of inquiry, of about ten years later, without at once realizing that the articles were based upon the statements of the colloquy, and were drawn up by someone who was thoroughly conversant with its terms. Doubtless the English scholars of the new learning, and Cambridge generally, would be well conversant with this spirited satire of Erasmus. And yet, oddly enough, by a process of inversion, these articles have been more than once cited to prove the exact truth of all the statements in the colloquy.

The priory of Walsingham had a special hold on Norfolk, even in places far remote from the town. The concourse of pilgrims from all parts of England, as well as from over the seas, kept Our Lady of Walsingham vividly in mind. The chief road by which they travelled, which passed by Newmarket, Brandon, and Fakenham, is still called the Palmers' way. Those pilgrims who came from the north passed through Lynn, where the pilgrims' chapel, with a beautifully groined roof, yet remains; thence they passed on by the priories of Flitcham and Coxford. Another great road led from Yarmouth, through

Norwich and Attleborough, past the hospital of Bec, where thirteen beds for Walsingham pilgrims were ready every night. At South Acre, West Acre, Hilborough, Prior's Thorns, Stanhoe, Caston, and other places, as well as Lynn, special chapels were provided for the wayside devotions of the zealots who were wending their way to Walsingham.

No wonder, then, that the suppression of the lesser monasteries in 1536, and the general upheaval of matters pertaining to the ancient faith of the populace, should have aroused much bitterness with regard to the threats against Walsingham. In April, 1537, depositions were taken before Sir Roger Townsend and Sir John Heydon against George Gysburgh, of Walsingham, charged with expressing regret that so many houses were dissolved where God was well served, and advocating a rising of the commons. George Gysburgh confessed to discussing with one, Ralph Rogerson, a rising against the suppression of the abbeys, believing that Walsingham would soon go.² On 3 May, Sir Roger Townsend and Richard Southwell wrote to Cromwell as to the apprehension of the rest of the 'conspirators.' They had seized Nicholas Mileham, sub-prior of Walsingham, who by the confession of one, Watson, was privy to the proposals; they thought that the Gysburghs (father and son) and Ralph Rogers would make a larger confession if examined by Cromwell and others of the council, for in their confession, so far, they did not touch the sub-prior, a man of lewd inclination.³ On 20 May, Prior Vowell, the time-server, wrote an unctuous letter to Cromwell thanking him for favour shown to him and to his kinsman taken into the Lord Privy Seal's service; with the letter he sent 'a poor remembrance' as a further bribe to Cromwell.⁴ Cromwell's accounts show that this poor remembrance was the big round sum of £100.⁵

The charge against these 'conspirators' was somewhat flimsily sustained, and their offence had certainly not gone beyond words, but the punishment was awful and speedy. On 24 May, 1537, a special commission sitting at Norwich Castle condemned no fewer than eleven of the accused to be drawn, hung, beheaded, and quartered for high treason. The executions took place in different parts of the county, so as to arouse more terror. On Saturday, 26 May, Ralph Rogerson and four others were executed at Norwich; on 28 May, two more were executed at Yarmouth; on Wednesday, 30 May, Sub-Prior Nicholas Mileham and George Gysburgh perished on the scaffold at Walsingham; and on 1 June the young William Gysburgh

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xii (1), 482.

³ *Ibid.* xii (1), 521.

⁴ *Ibid.* xii (1), 573.

⁵ *Ibid.* xiv (2), 782.

¹ Harl. MS. 791, fol. 27.

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and John Pecoek, a Carmelite friar, suffered at Lynn. Several others, including two clergy, were condemned to life imprisonment.

A few days after the execution of the sub-prior and another at Walsingham, namely on 3 June, depositions were taken before Sir Roger Townsend of certain who charged Henry Manse, the priest in charge of Our Lady's Chapel of Walsingham, with certain seditious words. The main evidence was that of one Sutton, 'a sore and diseased person,' who would persist in coming to the door of the chapel annoying the pilgrims. When Manser rebuked him at the request of the pilgrims, he retorted with froward and naughty words. Thereupon Manser requested one of the constables to put Sutton in the stocks, and when there Sutton retaliated by charging Manser with using seditious words to certain pilgrims from Lincolnshire. Apparently this evidence was considered too tainted to lead to another execution.¹

On 31 August Sir Roger Townsend, writing to Cromwell, strongly commends Prior Vowell to his favour, saying that he had been the taker of one of the most rank traitors privy to the Walsingham conspiracy, probably referring to the sub-prior. There was then a matter at issue between the prior and the cellarer, and Townsend begged for Cromwell's support of the prior in his suits.²

On 14 July 1538, the obsequious Prior Vowell wrote to Cromwell, that, in accordance with his instructions, he had attended on the commissioners, who took away the image and all the gold and silver things from the chapel. As for the silver which still remained in the house, he begged that it might remain to sustain unavoidable charges in connexion with their suits for the translation of their house into a college.³

Richard Gresham, writing to Cromwell, on 25 July, acknowledging his letter to the effect that it was the king's pleasure to dissolve the house of Walsingham, stated that he had written about it to the prior, who, he doubted not, would raise no difficulty.⁴

On 4 August Prior Vowell duly surrendered his house and all its possessions to William Petre as royal commissioner.⁵ Eight days later Vowell wrote to Cromwell, regretting that the priory had not been turned into a college, and begging for the parsonage of Walsingham, so that he might not be his grace's chaplain in name only. He pleaded his age and impotency, had heard that the king had granted him a pension of £100, and hoped to have it confirmed.⁶

An unsigned communication to Cromwell of this date throws some light upon the mean way

the suppression commissioners behaved, and how ready folk were to curry favour with the Lord Privy Seal by reporting their conduct. This statement is to the effect that at the dissolution of Walsingham, a rich cope and a vestment were in the prior's chamber reserved for my Lord Privy Seal, but Mr. Southwell suddenly coming into the prior's chamber asked who it was for. Vowell replied, 'For you, if it be your pleasure,' and Southwell took it away. Cromwell has endorsed this communication, 'Touching Mr. Southwell.'⁷

Bishop Latimer wrote a jocular letter to Cromwell in June, 1538, suggesting the burning of the image of the virgin of Walsingham and others: 'they would make a joly mustere in Smythfeld.'⁸ John Husee, writing to Lord Lisle, on 18 June, also attempted to be witty on the same subject:

This day our late lady of Walsingham was brought to Lambithe (Lambeth), where was both my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Privy Seal with many virtuous prelates, but there was offered neither oblation nor candle. What shall become of her is not determined.⁹

Melancthon, on 1 November of the same year, exulted in the overthrow of the image of 'Mary by the Sea.'¹⁰

Among the Lady Day accounts of 1538 the usual payments were made for the king's candle, and to the king's priest who sang before Our Lady at Walsingham. But when the Michaelmas payments came round the entry runs:

'For the king's candle before Our Lady of Walsingham, and to the prior there for his salary, nil.'¹¹

On 20 October, 1539, the late prior received a grant of the exceedingly large pension of £100 in reward for his obsequiousness and considerable bribes to Cromwell. Fifteen of the canons at the same time received small pensions of about the usual rate, varying from £6 to £4.¹² Nine of them were living and in receipt of pensions in 1555.

Notwithstanding the destruction of the priory and its adjuncts, and the execution of its sub-prior, it was found impossible to eradicate at once all the belief in the minds of the common folk in the virtues of Our Lady of Walsingham. Small wonder, too, if such was the case; for the majority of the adults of the district could well remember the time when the very king who now dealt so cruelly with those who maintained their faith in it had walked many miles barefoot to the shrine, and they had seen the royal taper burning before the sacred image down to Lady

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (2), 9.

² *Ibid.* 223.

³ *Ibid.* xiii (1), 510.

⁴ *Ibid.* 536.

⁶ *Ibid.* 32.

⁵ *Ibid.* xiii (2), 11.

⁷ *Ibid.* xiii (2), 506.

⁸ *Ibid.* xiii (1), 437.

⁹ *Ibid.* 521.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* xiii (2), 287.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 529, 535, fols. 12, 39.

¹² Aug. Office Bks. ccxxxiii, fol. 13b.

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Day, 1538. Sir Roger Townsend, in 1564, wrote to Cromwell, telling him of a poor woman of Wells, who imagined a false tale of a miracle done by the image of Our Lady after it had been carried away to London. Sir Roger examined her, and as a result caused the poor old thing on a wintry market day in January to be set in the stocks very early in the morning. At nine o'clock, when the market was fullest of people, she was placed in a cart, with a paper set about her head on which was written 'A reporter of false tales,' and carried about the market place and other streets, tarrying wherever there was a crowd, 'young peoples and boyes of the town castyng snowballes at her.' Then the aged woman was again set in the stocks and kept there till the market closed. It is a sign of the times to find this worthy county justice and tool of Cromwell's concluding thus—

Thys was her penans ; for I knewe no lawe otherwyse to punyshe her butt by discretion ; trustyng itt shall be a warnyng to other lyght persons in such wyse to order their self. Howebeit, I cannot perceyve but the seyd Image is not yett out of sum of ther heddes.¹

An Elizabethan ballad entitled 'A Lament for Walsingham,' thus concludes :—

Levell, levell with the ground
The Towres doe lye,
Which with their golden glitt'ring tops
Pearsed oute to the skeye.

Where weare gates noe gates are new,
The waies unknown,
Where the presse of freares did passe,
While her fame far was blown.

Oules doe srike where the sweetest himenes
Lately wear songe,
Toades and serpents hold their dennes
Where the palmers did throng.

Weepe, weepe, O Walsingham,
Whose dayes are nightes,
Blessings turned to blasphemies,
Holy deeds to dispites.

Sinne is where our Lady sate,
Heaven turned is to helle ;
Sathan sitte where our Lord did swaye,
Walsingham, oh, farewell !

The site of the priory, with the churchyard and gardens, was granted by the crown to Thomas Sidney, master of the hospital of Little Walsingham, immediately after its dissolution, for the sum of £90. Sir Henry Spelman, in his *History of Sacrilege*, asserts that he was employed by the townsmen to buy the priory church and the site for the use of the town, but having obtained it he kept it for himself.

¹ Ellis, *Orig. Letters* (ser. 3), iii, 162.

PRIORS OF WALSHINGHAM²

Name	Length of Rule Years	Year of Appointment
Ralph	20	1153
Richard	13	1173
Alexander	21	1186
William	47	1207
Peter }	16	{ c. 1254
Alan }		
William	9	1270
John	20	1279
Philip	14	1299
Walter de Wyghtone	22	1313
Simon de Wineton	14	1335
Thomas Clare	10	1349
John Snoring	27	1359
John Harford ³ (?)	15	(?) 1387
Hugh Wells	35	1402
Thomas Hunt	37	1437
John Farewell	29	1474
William Lowth	10	1503
Richard Vowell	24	1514

Of the first seal, early thirteenth century, there is an indistinct impression attached to an undated charter, showing the priory church with central tower, &c.⁴

The second seal, late thirteenth century, is a circular seal (2¾ in.) of bold execution. *Obverse*: The priory church, from the south, with round-headed doorway containing the half-length figure of an old man; two round-headed windows, each containing the bust of a saint, or canon; a crested roof; and a central tower, with two towers at each end. *Legend* :—

SIGILLUM . ECCLIE : BEATE : MARIE : DE
WALSINGHAM

Reverse : The crowned Virgin, with nimbus, seated, has the Holy Child with nimbus, on left knee; and a fleur-de-lis sceptre in the right hand. Overhead and at the side are curtains. *Legend* :—

✠ AVE . MARIE : GRACIE : PLENA :
DOMINUS : TECUM⁵

² A list of priors, drawn up at the time when Prior Lowth was compelled to resign (1514), is given in the chartulary (Cott. MS. Nero, E. vii, fol. 149b). It is without dates, but gives the length of each rule; the year of Our Lord is supplied in some instances by calculation, and in others from the episcopal registers, &c.

³ A note at the end of the chartulary list states that John Harford, the fourteenth prior, bore the name and office of prior during part of the lifetime of John Snoring. A plea was made before the bishop that Harford had not received the major part of the votes of the convent; but though his election on that account was not episcopally ratified, he was accepted by the priory as their superior.

⁴ Add. Ch. 19275.

⁵ B.M. lxix, 31, 32; Ackn. of Supr. (P.R.O.), 112.*

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35. THE PRIORY OF WEST ACRE

Ralph de Toni, the great Norman baron, to whom were granted by the Conqueror twenty-two manors in Norfolk, in conjunction with his wife Alice and their sons Roger and Ralph, founded a priory at West Acre in the time of William Rufus, under Oliver the parish priest and his son Walter.¹

Blomefield, Dugdale, Taylor, and others have stated that this priory was originally assigned to the order of Cluni, but this is an error which probably arose from both Castle Acre and West Acre being known as Acre at an early date. The priory, dedicated to the honour of St. Mary and All Saints, was held by Austin canons. The founder gave them the manor and church of West Acre and the manor and church of Godwick.

Richard the prior of West Acre,² in 1198, obtained the church of Runhall.³ Gifts to this priory multiplied at a rapid rate in the thirteenth century. When the taxation roll of 1291 was drawn up, it was found that the canons of West Acre had property in seventy-four parishes, and that their annual income was £140 5s. 7½d.

In 1305 Alexander de Wallpoll of Wiggenhall gave to the priory a toft, 35 acres of land, and 10 acres of pasture in Wiggenhall and Tilney.⁴ In 1313 Constantine, son of Geoffrey de Sutton, made a benefaction of a messuage, 60 acres of land, 12 acres of meadow, 40 acres of pasture, 7 acres of heath, and 5s. of rent in West Acre, Walton, Tilney, &c., paying a fine of 5 marks for the licence.⁵

In 1315 the priory paid a fine of 10 marks for having appropriated the church of Rougham, in their patronage, without licence.⁶

Licence was granted in 1320 for the alienation to the priory by Maud de Tony of 3 messuages, 100 acres of land, 100 acres of pasture, and 10s. of rent in Grimston, Congham, Roydon, Weavling, Appleton, Marham, and West Acre, to find a chaplain to celebrate daily for the souls of Maud and Robert de Tony, her husband, and of all the faithful, in the chapel of St. Katharine, built by her in the churchyard of Appleton.⁷

In 1339 the priory of West Acre obtained licence to appropriate the church of Bodney of their advowson.⁸

Licence was granted in 1343, after inquest, for the prior to enclose for the enlargement of the priory buildings 2 acres of his own pasture, wherein the men of the town had common,

provided he find common in two other acres of his land.⁹ During the time that John de Westacre was prior (1417–50) the temporalities of the house were valued at £140 5s. 7½d. per annum, and the spiritualities at £115 5s. 5¼d., giving a total annual income of £256 11s. 0½d.¹⁰

Edward IV, on 7 July, 1479, granted the priory an annual fair at West Acre and Cuthorp, on the day of the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr (7 July).¹¹ Amongst the Cambridge University MSS. is a small paper book of forty-four pages containing an account of the property of West Acre Priory, taken in the reign of Henry VII.¹² The Valor of 1535 estimated the annual clear income of the priory at £260 13s. 7½d.

A great disaster befell the priory in September, 1286, when the church and the adjacent conventual buildings were destroyed by fire.¹³

Edward II, in 1310, sent Benedict de Walford, who had served the late and present kings, to this priory to receive in their house, for life, the necessary sustenance of food and clothing.¹⁴

Bishop Goldwell visited the priory on 11 August, 1494, when the prior, Richard Palle, then advanced in years, and nineteen canons were present. The report was to the effect that the commands are not observed or they are contradicted by Edmund Lichfield, the sub-prior, and by William Massingham, and that these two canons administered the temporalities of the house; that Robert Patrick and Geoffrey Blake take their ease, do not apply to any study, and are a cause of strife among their brethren; that Henry Tolle could not with a clear conscience live in peace with Geoffrey, though he could get on excellently with Patrick; that the sons of gentlemen (at school) in the house do not pay their expenses; that the sub-prior is not only insolent to his superior but is so given to temporal things that he forgets he is a religious, and gives his chief attention to farming a rabbit warren near the chapel of St. Thomas and to rearing swans on the water near the priory, which he sends as presents to gentlemen, and are therefore no profit to the priory. The bishop made several adjournments of this visitation, and the eventual result is not on record. Judging from the future of the sub-prior, Edmund Lichfield, who here seems so much to blame, it is probable that the prior was worn out and that his subordinate allowed his business capacities to run away with him. Lichfield became prior of Flitcham in 1498, and two years later he was consecrated titular bishop of Chalcedon to enable him to act as suffragan bishop in Norwich diocese.¹⁵

¹ The charter is given by Dugdale; it was then (1638) 'penes H. Spelman.'

² Anct. D. A 2907.

³ Fin. Rot. Norf. 10 Ric. I, 183.

⁴ Cal. of Pat. 34 Edw. I, m. 40.

⁵ Ibid. 6 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 15.

⁶ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 31.

⁷ Ibid. 13 Edw. II, m. 8.

⁸ Cal. of Pat. 12 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 3.

⁹ Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 5.

¹⁰ Blomefield, ix, 160.

¹¹ Pat. 19 Edw. IV, m. 23.

¹² Cam. Univ. Lib. Dd. viii, 42.

¹³ Cott. MS. Nero D. ii, fol. 232.

¹⁴ Cal. of Close, 4 Edw. II, m. 15 d.

¹⁵ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 49–51.

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Bishop Nicke visited West Acre in 1514. Richard Clarke, prior, was much embarrassed by lack of money. He was in debt £20, and was not able to pay the small stipends of the canons; the stock of sheep had considerably diminished, then numbering 3,000; the prior had sold nine score sheep at the last shearing; they had no grain except that which they bought; there had been no distribution made of the effects of the late prior, whose will ordered the distribution among the brethren. There were also complaints against William Smythe, the sub-prior. Some of the younger canons were pursuing their studies at Cambridge, but there were complaints that they had not received the full amount of the exhibition that had been granted. The visitation shows that there was a good deal of bickering in the convent, but apparently no grave evils. Some of the complaints testify to the strictness with which the services were kept up. For Robert Pepyr, the only canon who could play the organ, could never get the prior to grant him leave of absence. The principal injunction that followed this visitation was the bishop's order to elect a new sub-prior, for the four senior canons presented Spillman and Pallmer to the prior for him to choose one, and his choice fell on Canon Spillman.¹

During the next six years the debts and difficulties of the house had increased. William Lowthe was prior at the visitation of 4 July, 1520, having been appointed earlier in that year. There was no schoolmaster to teach the boys. The number of canons had diminished, but three were at their studies at the University. The prior was spoken of by three of the canons as a sensual person, but their meaning is difficult to understand. There was not a breath against him of any kind of scandal. Sixteen canons were examined at this visitation, but two of them belonged to the cell of Great Massingham. This visitation led to the deposing of the sub-prior and the appointing of Thomas Pallmer in his place.²

The priory was visited on 1 August, 1526, when William Wingfield was prior. Seven of the fourteen canons who were present agreed with the prior that all was going on well. But the debts were increasing and the number of canons decreasing; and a grievous scandal had to be reported of one of the canons.³

The last visitation was held in July, 1532. Several of the canons, as well as Prior Wingfield and Sub-Prior Stirtewhaite, were satisfied that there was nothing calling for reformation. All debts were paid, and the balance-sheet produced by the prior showed that the cellarer had £45 in hand. Among the complaints were the payment of an annuity of £4 to Anthony Calibut,

for which he returned no service; a diminution in the distribution of bread to the poor; and neglect to keep the lamp burning before the Sacrament according to custom.⁴

Prior William and sixteen of his canons subscribed in their chapter-house, on 31 August, 1534, to the king's supremacy.⁵

On 18 September, 1535, at the suggestion of Dr. Legh and John ap Rice, a notary public, two of the most subservient of Cromwell's tools, the monastic visiting jurisdiction of the bishops was suspended by the king. The two men who suggested this were at once made monastic visitors and speedily entered upon their work in Norfolk. On 11 November they wrote to Cromwell as to the progress they were making with their *comperta*.⁶

When these two men presented their report they actually asserted that the prior and sub-prior and eleven other of the canons of West-acre had confessed that they were guilty of foul sins.⁷ It is impossible for any fair-minded person to give credit to so monstrous and wholesale a supposition, especially in view of the recent searching and obviously truthful visitations of this priory by its diocesans.

At any rate no credence whatever could have been given to this particular charge made by these notorious 'visitors'; for although, according to them, West Acre was by far the foulest lived of all the Norfolk religious houses, in October of the very year when their report of the prior of Westacre's personal and conventual enormities had been rendered, William Wingfield was one of the fourteen Norfolk gentlemen specially appointed by the king to abide in their counties and act as justices to keep good order during the absence of the rest of the gentlemen and noblemen during the northern rebellion, the priors of West Acre and Castle Acre being the only two ecclesiastics of the county selected for this honour.⁸

On 15 January, 1538, West Acre Priory, with the dependent priory or cell of Great Massingham and all its possessions, was surrendered to Robert Southwell, attorney of the Augmentation Office, to be held by him for a year with remainder to the king. The surrender was signed by the prior and seven of the canons. This was the first of the monastic 'surrenders,' and its farcical character is clear; for a month earlier (16 December, 1537) Sir Roger Townsend wrote to Cromwell saying that all the goods of West Acre Priory had been sequestered according to order and inventories taken. On 9 December there had been some endeavour otherwise to dispose of the monastic property. Commissioner

⁴ Ibid. ⁵ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. 2, p. 304.

⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 808. The Norfolk *comperta* are in Ap Rice's handwriting.

⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 143.

⁸ Ibid. xi, 235 (4).

¹ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 101-6.

² Ibid. 164-6.

³ Ibid. 249-51.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

Layton waxed wroth on this subject, and in a letter to Cromwell from West Acre, three days after its 'surrender,' he wrote :—

As for Westacre, what falsehood in the prior and convent, what bribery, spoil, and ruin contrived by the inhabitants it were long to write; but their wrenches, wiles, and guiles shall nothing them prevail.¹

Prior Wingfield, notwithstanding his reputed sins and trickery, had the handsome pension granted him of £40 per annum, of which he was still in receipt in 1555; he also held the rectory of Burnham Thorpe.

The 'surrender' of West Acre was accompanied by a vaguely but extravagantly worded 'confession' of lax living. The better known and absurd so-called 'confession' of the monks of St. Andrew's, Northampton, has been dealt with in another volume of this series.² The private correspondence of the visitors with the Lord Privy Seal makes it quite clear that these two confessions (the only ones on record) were written by them; it is more than probable that neither the canons of the one house nor the monks of the other had any knowledge whatsoever of the documents in question. This is a grave charge to make against Ap Rice, Legh, and Layton; but those who have studied the Cromwell correspondence at the Public Record Office at first hand cease to be surprised at any depth of moral turpitude displayed by his active agents.³

PRIORS OF WEST ACRE

Oliver⁴
Richard,⁵ c. 1193
Hubert,⁶ c. 1200
Godwin,⁷ c. 1210
William,⁸ 1228
Robert de Alenzun,⁹ c. 1235
Simon,¹⁰ c. 1249
Robert,¹¹ c. 1257
John,¹² c. 1268

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii (i), 28, 29, 34, 35, 85, 86, 101, 102; Abbot Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and the Engl. Mon.* i, 349-52.

² *V. C. H. Northants.* ii.

³ Writers who have approached this subject from such different standpoints as Mr. James Gairdner, Canon Dixon, Abbot Gasquet, and Dr. Jessopp, are equally severe in their judgments on the compilers of the *compta* of 1535-6. Dr. Jessopp, in his preface to the *Norw. Visit.* of the Camd. Soc. (xii, xiii), writes :—'They called themselves visitors; they were in effect mere hired detectives of the very vilest stamp, who came to levy blackmail, and if possible find some excuse for their robbery by vilifying their victims. . . . The *compta* of 1535-6 can only be received as the horrible inventions of the miserable.'

⁴ Dugdale, *Bar.* vi, 576.

⁵ *Anct. D. (P.R.O.)*, A 2907.

⁶ Blomefield, *Hist. Norf.* ix, 160.

⁷ *Ibid.* ⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Anct. D. (P.R.O.)*, A 287.

¹⁰ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 160.

¹¹ *Ibid.* ¹² *Ibid.*

Hubert,¹³ occurs 1285

Richard,¹⁴ occurs 1288

Henry de Acra,¹⁵ elected 1300

William de Wesenham,¹⁶ elected 1323

William de Wapode,¹⁷ elected 1328

John de Swaffham,¹⁸ elected 1349

Geoffrey de Warham,¹⁹ elected 1367

Nicholas de Butle,²⁰ elected 1373

Peter Bisshop,²¹ resigned 1382

Nicholas de Buttele,²² elected 1382

John de Acre,²³ elected 1390

John de Watlyngton,²⁴ elected 1414

John de West Acre,²⁵ elected 1417

John Fakenham,²⁶ elected 1450

John Cosin,²⁷ elected 1460

Richard Palle,²⁸ elected 1466

Richard Clark,²⁹ elected 1491

William Sowthe,³⁰ elected 1520

William Wingfield,³¹ occurs 1526, last prior

Of the first seal, late eleventh century (2½ in. × 2½ in.), there is a very imperfect impression, showing the seated Virgin. Legend :—

. DE : WEST. ACRIA ³²

The second seal, thirteenth century (3½ in. × 2 in.), is a fine pointed oval example of a most unusual design.

Obverse.—The Holy Trinity, in a niche upheld between the emblems of the four evangelists; below is the Virgin seated with the Holy Child standing on a bench to her left, and her feet upon a dragon. On the left side, in a smaller niche, is a priest, and on the right side, in a like niche, an armed knight. Legend :—

s' CAPITULI . ECCLI' . BÈ . MARIE . ET .

OMMIUM . SÛR . DE WESTACRE

Reverse.—A small pointed oval counter-seal, with the impression of an antique intaglio of an imperial bust; above the gem, an estoile, below a crescent. Legend :—

+ MUNDUS ABIT : MUNDUM CONTERE :

MUNDUS ERIS ³³

36. THE PRIORY OF WEYBOURNE

The Austin priory of Weybourne, or Waburn, was founded in the reign of King John by Sir Ralph Mainwaring, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and All Saints. It was at first subordinate to the priory of West Acre.

¹³ Assize R. 580, m. 47.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 1282, m. 20.

¹⁵ *Norw. Epis. Reg.* i.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* i, 102.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* ii, 21.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* iv, 98.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* v, 74.

²⁰ *Ibid.* vi, 19.

²¹ *Ibid.* 87.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.* 151.

²⁴ *Ibid.* vii, 89.

²⁵ *Ibid.* viii, 24.

²⁶ *Ibid.* xi, 24.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 119.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 159.

²⁹ *Ibid.* xii, 149.

³⁰ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* 164.

³¹ *Ibid.* 249.

³² Add. MSS. 23021; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 160.

³³ B.M. lxix, 57, 58; *Vet. Mon.* i, pl. 60; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 576; Ackn. of Supr. (P.R.O.), 117.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

In 1228 a fine was levied between Rodland, prior of Weybourne and William Mainwaring (grandson of the founder), by which 30s. rent at Kessingland, Suffolk, was assigned to the former.¹

The king's escheator in 1275 distrained on the prior and canons of Weybourne on account of the 60 marks they had returned to the executors of John de Hedenham, which they had had of John during his life, and by virtue of his office recovered from them 5 marks.² The taxation of 1291 gave the annual value of this priory at £15 10s. 1½d. Its chief endowment was the manor and church of Weybourne, but it had small possessions in thirty Norfolk parishes.

Roger de Geistweyt, who was admitted prior on 1 December, 1334, obtained licence from Edward III in 1338 for the alienation in mortmain to the priory of Weybourne, by Adam de Shyringham and John atte Eshe, of the advowson and appropriation of the church of Calkirk.³ In 1346 licence was obtained for the appropriation of the church of East Beckham.⁴

Prior Roger de Hoxne occurs in 1309; on his death in 1314 a contest arose as to his successor between Henry the sub-prior and the canons of Weybourne and the prior and convent of West Acre. Weybourne claimed the right of choosing a prior out of their own canons, but the prior of West Acre asserted that the old use was for Weybourne to seek licence to elect from the superior house, and then to choose one of the West Acre canons. On the matter being left to arbitration, the right of choosing a prior out of their own canons or otherwise was granted to Weybourne for ever, but an annual pension of 7s. 6d. was assigned to the priory of West Acre. This covenant was confirmed by the bishop of Norwich in the early days of January, 1315, and was again confirmed by the pope in 1319.⁵

On the death of Prior Elyngham, in 1422, it was found that there were only two canons in the house, John Newbury and John de Laxfield. The number being insufficient for an election, the bishop collated the latter as prior.⁶

Bishop Goldwell visited Weybourne Priory on 25 August, 1494, and found there Prior Clement and three canons. One of the canons, Robert Coker, served the cure of East Beckham, and the church of Weybourne was sometimes served by the prior and sometimes by a canon. The

canons were wont to receive 20s. as salary, but the prior had not paid the salary of William Williamson. The bishop found nothing worthy of reformation, and so dissolved the visitation, reserving power to make injunctions if he should afterwards think it necessary.⁷

When the house was finally visited in July, 1514, by Bishop Meke, there was only a prior and one canon. Canon William Herley said that by the foundation there ought to be seven canons or at the least three, but that now it was scarcely possible to sustain these three through the poverty of the house. The bishop enjoined the prior to pay annually to his brother canon the salary of 33s. 4d.⁸

John Frost was admitted prior on 15 June, 1526. On 16 July, 1530, the prior and single canon changed places, Canon Thomas Bulman being made prior and John Frost resigning to become canon. On 11 August, 1534, both prior and canon subscribed to the king's supremacy.⁹

The Valor of 1535, when John (*sic*) Bulman is entered as prior, gave the clear annual value of this small house as £28 7s. 2d.

The suppression commissioners of 1536 reported that the clear annual value of Weybourne was £24 19s. 6½d., with £5 11s. 9d. for the demesne land. They found there two religious persons 'of slaunderous name as ytt ys sayde and they require thier dispensacion.'

There were three other persons who had their living in the house, two of them having corodies under the convent seal. The house was in decay, and the lead and bells worth £60. The movable goods were worth 57s. 2d.¹⁰ The same commissioners certified on 16 February, 1537, that the goods and chattels contained in the inventory were sold to Thomas Pygeon for 66s. 8d.¹¹

A full inventory taken later in the same year shows the poverty of the house. The chief ornament of the church was a copper-gilt cross with a silver crucifix. There was an old written missal, as well as 'a litill prynted masse boke.' Mention is made of three chambers, hall, buttery, parlour, kitchen, and brewhouse, all meagrely furnished. The live stock simply consisted of six swine.¹²

Immediately after its suppression, the priory, with the rectories of Weybourne and East Beckham, were granted to John Gresham, son of Richard Gresham, mercer of London.¹³

Thomas Bulman, the prior, obtained a pension of £4.¹⁴ He was presented to the Norfolk rectory of Egmore in 1543.

⁷ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 56.

⁸ *Ibid.* 123.

⁹ Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), xiv, 519.

¹⁰ Chant. Cert. Norf. No. 90.

¹¹ Suppression Papers, Exch. K. R. $\frac{8}{4} \frac{5}{5}$.

¹² P.R.O. Ch. Gds. R. Norfolk, $\frac{10}{23}$.

¹³ Aug. Off. Bks. ccix, fol. 110b.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* ccxxxii, fol. 48.

¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 450.

² *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 494.

³ Pat. 12 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 27.

⁴ *Ibid.* 20, Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 15. According to a return made to the crown in 1416 of the appropriated churches of this diocese, with the dates of their appropriation, the church of Weybourne was appropriated in 1106 at the time of the foundation, East Beckham in 1344, and Calkirk in 1411 (Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, 129).

⁵ *Cal. Bodl. Charters*, 226.

⁶ Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, 76.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

PRIORS OF WEYBOURNE¹

Roger de Hoxne,² occurs 1309, died 1314
 John de Frenes,³ elected 1315
 Roger de Geistweyt,⁴ elected 1334
 John de Elyngham,⁵ elected 1391
 John de Laxfield,⁶ elected 1422
 Andrew Burgate,⁷ resigned 1438
 Walter Marlowe,⁸ elected 1438
 Henry Clement,⁹ elected 1466
 John Frost,¹⁰ elected 1526
 Thomas Bulman,¹¹ elected 1530, last prior

A cast of a late twelfth-century seal of this house (2½ by 1¾ in.) shows the crowned Virgin standing, with book in right hand and fleur-de-lis in left. In the field on the left, a crescent. Legend:—

SIGILL' . . . E . . . BT . . DE WABURN . . .¹²

There is also another slightly different seal of thirteenth century date (2¼ in. by 1¾ in.), but very imperfect.¹³

37. THE PRIORY OF WEYBRIDGE¹⁴

Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, founded a small house for Austin Canons, dedicated to the honour of St. Mary, at Weybridge, in the parish of Acle, towards the close of the reign of Henry III. Robert was the first warden or keeper of this humble foundation, and, by an undated deed, the earl granted to Robert and his brethren of the church of St. Mary all his marsh in Acle, with all appurtenances, in free alms.

Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, son of Hugh, the patron and founder, granted to Robert the chaplain, the first warden of the house and the brethren of the same, power to elect, after the death of the said warden, one of the brethren in his place, provided that two or three be nominated by them from themselves, or from elsewhere if sufficient be not there found, to be presented to the earl and his heirs, by whom the one that should seem most fitting should be presented to the bishop. He further granted that, if the means of the house should so increase that the secular habit and life there is converted into the religious, and an order of religious there established with a prior or abbot, that then the

¹ In the tenth volume of *Norfolk Archaeology* (1888) are papers on this priory and its remains by Rev. C. R. Manning and Rev. Dr. Jessopp.

² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix. 451.

³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 161.

⁶ Ibid. viii, 76.

⁷ Ibid. x, 16.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid. xi, 159.

¹⁰ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 451. ¹¹ Ibid.

¹² B.M. lxix, 50; Ackn. of Supr. (P.R.O.), 112.

¹³ B.M. lxix, 51.

¹⁴ See Blomefield *Hist. of Norf.* xi, 92-4; the statements in this sketch—which are without other reference—are derived from this source.

religious of the house may elect from themselves or elsewhere their superior to be presented to the earl or his heirs and by him to the bishop; provided that no warden, prior, or abbot shall be ordained except upon presentation by the earl or his heirs.¹⁵ Small parcels of land in various parts of the county were bestowed on the priory soon after its foundation. At the taxation of 1291, Weybridge Priory had lands in fifteen Norfolk parishes, which were estimated at the annual value of £8 7s. 1¾d.

In 1318 the priory had patents for 3 acres of land in Felthorpe and the advowson of that church, and for 12 acres in Clippeby, Oby and Burgh.¹⁶ In 1320 the king sanctioned the alienation to the priory of a moiety of the church of Fishley and half an acre of land.¹⁷ The priory paid the king £10 in 1385 for licence to hold, by the gift of Margaret Mareschall, countess of Norfolk, and others, a messuage, 92 acres of land and 3s. rent in South Burlingham, Lingwood, and other townships, together with the advowson of Lingwood church, to pray for the soul of Anne, late countess of Pembroke and others.¹⁸

A commission was appointed in 1279 touching an appeal of robbery which Roger Grubbe brought before the king against the prior of Weybridge and eleven others.¹⁹

When the house was first vacant, early in 1308, John de Kayly, rector of Rollesby, was given the temporary custody, and removable at the bishop's will,²⁰ but on 10 November, 1308, the king notified to the bishop the presentation of Matthew de Horseye, a brother of the house of St. Mary, Weybridge, upon the death of Humphrey to be keeper or prior of that house. The house was at that time in the king's custody by reason of the lands of Roger Bigod, late earl of Norfolk, being in his hands.²¹

John Barnham, by his will of 1465, was buried in the priory church of Weybridge; he appointed his wife Katharine and Prior Robert Norwich as his executors.

The Valor of 1535 returned the clear annual value at the small sum of £7 13s. 4d.

After its suppression the site of the priory and all its possessions in Weybridge, Upton, South Burlingham, Billockby, Clippeby, Oby, Ashby, Burgh St. Margaret's, Acle, Harleston, and Redenhall, were granted in March, 1539, to Richard Fulmerston, of Thetford, the recipient of much monastic property.²²

'The site of it,' says Blomefield, 'was by Acle-Dam, near the bridge as you go to Yarmouth.' Taylor, in 1821, wrote: 'On or near

¹⁵ Close, 2 Edw. II, m. 18a.

¹⁶ Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 15, 14.

¹⁷ Ibid. 14 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 10.

¹⁸ *Cal. of Pat.* 8 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 25.

¹⁹ Pat. 7 Edw. I, m. 11 d.

²⁰ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 20.

²¹ Pat. 2 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 20.

²² Ibid. 30 Hen. VIII, pt. viii, m. 27.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

the site of this priory stands a public-house, which is still called the 'Hermitage.'¹

PRIORS OF WEYBRIDGE

Robert,² c. 1272
 Hugh,³ occurs 1286
 Humphrey,⁴ died 1308
 Matthew de Horsey,⁵ appointed 1308
 Nicholas,⁶ occurs 1321
 Matthew de Horsey,⁷ collated 1323
 Lawrence de Billockby,⁸ elected 1328
 Adam de Hykelyng,⁹ 13—
 Robert de Martham,¹⁰ elected 1333
 William de Acle,¹¹ elected 1340
 John de Bayton,¹² occurs 1379
 Robert de Reppes,¹³ elected 1396
 John Norwich (*alias* Boket),¹⁴ elected 1428
 Robert Norwich,¹⁵ elected 1452
 William Parker,¹⁶ occurs 1476
 Peter Clark,¹⁷ occurs 1486
 William Basset,¹⁸ 1492
 Robert Chambers,¹⁹ 1508
 John Bokenham,²⁰ 1509
 John Caune,²¹ resigned 1520
 Edmund Larke,²² elected 1520
 Andrew Waleys,²³ 1530
 Anthony Derby,²⁴ *alias* Bludde, 1532

38. THE PRIORY OF WORMEGAY

The Austin priory of Wormegay, dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, the Holy Cross, and St. John the Evangelist, was founded by William de Warenne in the reign of Richard I.

The prior and convent of the church of the Holy Cross, Wormegay, obtained licence for alienation in mortmain in 1355 of the manor of West Dereham from John de Houton, chaplain, of a messuage, 40 acres of land, 5 acres of pasture, and 5s. of rent in Fordamhithe, &c., from Gilbert de Hethill, parson of the church of Tottenhill; and of 10 acres of land and a moiety of a messuage in Great Sechithe,

from John Simand, chaplain, to find two of the canons as chaplains to celebrate daily mass in their church for the souls of Roger Carpel and his ancestors and heirs, and for the souls of the three donors.²⁵ In the same year the priory received a grant of 10 marks of rent from John Bardolf of Wormegay, on condition of finding three canons for daily mass for the souls of his ancestors.²⁶ In 1337 the priory had licence for the appropriation of a moiety of the church of Fordamhithe of their advowson.²⁷

A mandate was issued by Innocent VI, in 1355, to the prior of Pentney, and two others to cause the ordinances touching apostates to be observed in regard to John de Valington, canon of Wormegay, who had left his order to come to the Roman court; and now desired to be reconciled to it.²⁸

Licence was granted by Richard II, on 23 January, 1388, to the sub-prior and convent to hold a new election on the death of Prior Robert de Fordham; the patronage of the priory was at that time in the hands of the crown, owing to the minority of Thomas Bardolf, whose ancestor was the founder.²⁹ On 8 February the king intimated to the bishop his assent to the election of Hugh de Fyncham, one of the canons, as prior.³⁰ For another eighty years this poor house continued to struggle on, but in 1468 its poverty was such that the bishop of Norwich united it to the priory of Pentney, of which, from that date, it was reckoned a cell.

PRIORS OF WORMEGAY

Ralph,³¹ occurs before 1234
 Nicholas,³² occurs before 1286
 John de Boylound,³³ 1300
 Nicholas de Elme,³⁴ 1302
 Robert de Craneworth,³⁵ elected 1315
 John de Cauntley,³⁶ elected 1330
 Simon de Leverington,³⁷ elected 1349
 Michael de Thornham,³⁸ elected 1349
 Robert de Fordham,³⁹ elected 1370
 Hugh de Fincham,⁴⁰ elected 1388
 Hugh Watlington,⁴¹ elected 1416
 Robert Walsyngham,⁴² elected 1448
 John Methwold,⁴³ elected 1461

¹ R. Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 27.

² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* xi, 92.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Pat. 2 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 20.

⁵ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 29.

⁶ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* xi, 93.

⁷ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 101.

⁸ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* xi, 93.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Norw. Epis. Reg. ii, 64.

¹¹ Ibid. iii, 41.

¹² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* xi, 93.

¹³ Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 227.

¹⁴ Ibid. ix, 30.

¹⁵ Ibid. xi, 66.

¹⁶ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* xi, 93.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ *Cal. of Pat.* 9 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 6.

²⁶ Ibid. pt. ii, m. 27.

²⁷ Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 25. An irregularity as to this appropriation was condoned in 1347; Pat.

21 Edw. III, pt. iv, m. 9.

²⁸ *Cal. Papal Reg.* iii, 57.

²⁹ Pat. 11 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 3.

³⁰ Ibid. pt. ii, m. 36.

³¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 500.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 61.

³⁵ Ibid. ii, 237.

³⁶ Ibid. iv, 94.

³⁷ Ibid. 116.

³⁸ Ibid. vi, 2.

³⁹ Ibid. 128.

⁴⁰ Ibid. viii, 610.

⁴¹ Ibid. xi, 17.

⁴² Ibid. 128.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

HOUSE OF AUSTIN NUNS

39. THE PRIORY OF CRABHOUSE

In 1765 there was presented to the British Museum an interesting fourteenth-century MS. Register of Crabhouse Nunnery in French,¹ which escaped the attention of monastic and topographical writers until 1892, when it received full and competent treatment in the publication of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society.²

From this register and that of Castle Acre,³ it is established that Lena, the daughter of Godric de Lynne, 'a maiden whose heart the Holy Spirit moved to seek a desert place where she might serve God without disturbance of any earthly thing, found the place called Crabhouse (in Wiggenhall parish) all wild, and far around on every side was no human habitation.' This site was granted about 1181 to the maiden by Roger, the prior of Ranham and his canons, with the consent of William de Lesewis, lord of the site and founder of Normansburgh Priory. 'In this place,' continues the register, 'there assembled along with Lena other maidens, and there they caused a chapel to be reared in honour of God, and of His dear Mother the Virgin Mary, and of St. John the Evangelist, in which place for many a day they served God.'

Godfrey de Lesewis (William's son) granted the cell in Normansburgh to the monks of Castle Acre, and included amongst its lands the hermitage of Wiggenhall used by the hermit Joan.⁴ This hermit Joan is mentioned, though not by name, in the Crabhouse register, wherein the overwhelming of the nuns' original habitation by a flood is described, and all save one, 'who made herself a recluse in the cemetery of Mary Magdalene of Wigenhall,' departed. It is difficult, however, to reconcile the picturesque narrative of the French register with the documents of the Castle Acre chartulary,⁵ but it was definitely established as an Austin nunnery early in the thirteenth century.

The register contains particulars of a great variety of small undated bequests made to the priory in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and similar entries are to be found from time to time in the patent rolls. Incidental mention is made of the building of the church, frater, dorter, and farmery; and there are frequent

references to the conventual mill. Most of its property was in the same marshy situation as the actual site of the house, which was on the banks of the tidal Ouse; the boundaries named are frequently dykes, and it is evident that the priory took its full share in the draining of the fens.⁶ There is no record of this house in the taxation roll of 1291.

Licence was obtained in 1328 by the priory, at the request of John de Ros, steward of the household, to appropriate that moiety of the church of St. Peter, Wiggenhall, which was of their advowson.⁷ This appropriation was chiefly brought about, as we learn from the register, by Robert Welle, a great benefactor of the nuns. He pardoned them a debt of £100 in return for a field in Setchey; but he eventually restored the land to provide the habits of the ten nuns of the house who had been the longest professed.

Agnes de Methelwold, prioress from 1315 until her death in 1344, seems to have been a good administrator, as well as a bringer of comparative wealth to the convent. We are told that she spent over one hundred pounds of silver in building a hall, a grange, a stable, a bakery, and a noble room (*une chambre nobeles*). Under her rule particular rents were assigned for providing the house with bread, ale, flesh, fish, and red herrings; others for iron and nails for repairs; and others for dress and shoes, and for towels and linen. Further sums were set aside for the repairs of the house and church, the sea and marsh dykes, the wages of the household servants, the feeding of the cattle, and for fuel.

Margaret de Hattisle and Cicely de Beauprey, nuns of Crabhouse, obtained indulgences in 1352, to choose confessors for plenary remission at the hour of death.⁸

Joan Wiggenhall, a famous prioress, was elected on 28 October, 1420, and confirmed and installed on 25 November.⁹ In the year of her election Prioress Joan took down the great barn by the convent gatehouse, and rebuilt it in time for the next harvest, at a cost of £45 9s. 6d., exclusive of the timber that was felled on their own lands, and of the tiles that were re-used from the old barn. To this barn-making Sir John Inglethorpe, the convent's patron, bequeathed £20, and the archdeacon of Lincoln gave ten marks. In 1421 Joan extended the prioress's lodgings at a cost of ten marks, and spent twenty marks for the rebuilding of the convent's moiety of the chancel of

¹ Add. MS. 4731.

² *Norf. Arch.* xi, 1-71. The original MS. has been carefully consulted for the purposes of this sketch, but the descriptive article and excerpts by Miss Mary Bateson have proved most helpful.

³ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 69-70.

⁴ *Ibid.* 69.

⁵ See Dr. Jessopp's explanation in Miss Bateson's article, *Norf. Arch.* xi, 5.

⁶ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 459.

⁷ *Cal. of Pat.* 2 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 25.

⁸ *Cal. Papal Reg.* iii, 474.

⁹ Reg. p. 151. The account of the works of this prioress are added to the register in English.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

St. Peter's, Wiggenhall. In 1422 the prioress spent twenty marks on the precinct walls, and forty marks on the cloister. Taking advice in 1423 as to the bad condition of the conventual church, Joan decided to take it down and rebuild it: 'Trostynge to the helpe of oure Lorde and to the grete charite of goode cristen men.' The one who came chiefly to her assistance in this and other good works was her cousin Edmund Perys or Pery, rector of Watlington, who by his will of 1427 desired to be buried in the conventual church of Crabhouse. The nuns' new church was over three years in building, and cost 400 marks, 'whereof William Harold that lithe in the chapel of our Lady payde for the ledyinge of the chirche vij skore mark,' Richard Steymour, citizen of Norwich, paid £40 for the roof, and he also gave them the stalls and reredos at a cost of £20, and two antiphoners of the great value of twenty-six marks, 'whiche lygen in the queer.' Among other contributions were twenty-one marks from 'the gylde of the Trinite whiche Naybores helde in this same chirche.' During the time the work of the church was in progress the prioress also built 'the longe chaumber on the este syde of the halle whiche costes xxiiij mark.'

Edmund Perys, the prioress's chief supporter, 'passed to God on the Wednesday next after the concepcon of Oure Lady,' 1427; and then another good friend came to her help, who was also her cousin, Dr. John Wiggenhall, at that time rector of Oxborough. In 1429 he was abbot of West Dereham, and subsequently held many important offices. His father and mother were buried at Crabhouse. In 1429 he helped the prioress to complete and furnish the church, setting up the images, paving both nave and quire, providing stalls and doors for the quire, and cloths for the altars. The barn at Wiggenhall St. Peter was repaired in 1430 at a charge of £5, and a new malt-house rebuilt at Crabhouse for ten marks. In 1431 the hall or frater was taken down and built anew at a cost of seventy marks. That same year the new malt-house and an old one, with all the malt, were burnt in a fire caused by a careless woman; but the prioress, nothing daunted, with the help of Dr. Wiggenhall and others, set to work, and in the course of two years built a new malt-house, with a dovecot over the kiln, of better worth than the two that were burnt, at a cost of £50. In 1434 Joan repaired and heightened the bakehouse, raised the steeple and re-roofed it with lead at a cost of £10, and spent £8 on rebuilding and slating the north side of the cloister. In 1435 the dorter (the first set up in the place) was in such grievous decay that the prioress, 'dredyinge the perischynge of her sisters whiche lay thereine,' took it down, but was too busy in the other works, such as the cart-house, turf-house and stables, that cost eighty marks, to

do more to it that year. In 1436, 'in the xvij yere of the same prioress, be the help of God and of goode cristen men sche began the grounde of the same dortoure that now standith, and wrought thereupon fulli vij yere betynes as God wolde send hir good.' There was a great dearth of corn in 1438, and Joan must needs have suspended all further work, if it had not been for the generosity of Dr. Wiggenhall, who sent her 100 combs of malt and 200 combs of barley, in addition to 20 marks, 'For the soule of my lord of Exetyr.' £40 and 5 marks were at the same time provided. The dorter, and a house at Lynn called Corner Bothe, which had long been ruinous, were completed in the winter of 1444. After an energetic rule of twenty-four years, just when all the work on which she had been so long engaged was accomplished, Joan Wiggenhall died, and was succeeded, early in 1445, by Margaret Dawbeny.

In 1461 Master Stephen Bole, rector of Eccles, built a good house at the west end of the conventual church of Crabhouse, at a cost of £45, also in the time of Prioress Margaret; the same Stephen made other gifts to the convent, particularly in helping with the wall of the porch, to the extent of £47 10s., and after Etheldreda Wolmer was appointed prioress in 1469, on the death of Margaret, Master Stephen continued his charitable gifts to the priory, particularly in the making of a new well.

On 9 September, 1476, there was an unusual ceremony in the nuns' church at Crabhouse, which was doubtless celebrated in the nave. By special licence of the bishop of Norwich, Thomas Hunston and Margaret Keroyle were married in the monastery. The vicar of St. Mary Magdalene, Wiggenhall, received a composition in lieu of his fees.¹

The convent was visited on 10 July, 1514, by Master Thomas as commissary for the bishop. Elizabeth Bredon, the prioress, testified to the general obedience and religious life of the sisters, save one, and to the good repair of the buildings. The house was in debt 10 marks, but was owed 5 marks. Different nuns mentioned the bad condition of the roof of the Lady Chapel, and the disobedience and quarrelsome character of others, and of the infrequency of confession. A painful scandal of the previous year came to light with respect to one of the sisters.² The bishop enjoined obedience on the sisters, and on the prioress the granting greater facilities for confession. Agnes Smyth, the penitent offender, was ordered to take the lowest seat for a month, and to say in cloister seven times during that period the whole psalter.

¹ Reg. fol. 1.

² This is absolutely the one solitary instance of immorality which comes before us in all these visitations of the Norfolk (Norwich diocese) nunneries, which cover a period of just forty years; Dr. Jessopp's *Introd. to Norw. Visit.* xlii.

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The visitation of six years later, when Margaret Studefeld was prioress, was in every way satisfactory; there was nothing to report.¹

The Valor of 1535 gave the clear annual value of the house at £30 6s. 2d. A stipend of £5 6s. 8d. was paid to the chaplain for officiating in the church.

In the winter of 1535-6 the religious houses of Norfolk were exposed to the visitors of Cromwell's appointment, John ap Rice and Dr. Legh. It is fortunate, so far as this small nunnery is concerned, that by all the laws of evidence and of ordinary probability, there is not the slightest reason to give credence to their astounding charges. They actually wrote down that the prioress had given birth to one child, two of the other nuns had children by single men, and another two children, one by a priest and one by a layman!² But on the heels of these vile informers came the county commissioners, who made a long and thorough inquiry into the conditions of this house. These gentlemen had no object whatever in anything but a truthful report; they did not hesitate to give credence to scandal in three out of all the many religious houses of the diocese. Of this priory, however, they reported of the four religious persons found there that 'ther name is goode,' and still more definitely, on the actual deposition of the prioress they wrote, *Bona fama et conversatio*. They reported that there were four women servants and two hinds that had their living at the house; that the lead and bells were worth £40 4s., and the house in requisite repair; and that the goods

were worth £15 5s. 8d.; and that the house was not in debt, and had no debts owing to it.⁴

On the day of the suppression the three nuns received 26s. 8d. each as 'rewards,' that is, sums of ready money until pensions were arranged, Margaret Studefeld, the prioress, had no reward assigned her.⁵

The commissioners certified on 16 February, 1537, to the sale to Henry Webbe of all the goods and chattels of this house, except the plate, for £9. The plate in Richard Southwell's keeping was valued at 115s.

PRIORESSES OF CRABHOUSE

Catherine⁶
Cecilia,⁷ 1249
Christian de Tilney,⁸ c. 1270
Agnes de Methelwold,⁹ elected 1315
Margaret Costayn de Lenn,¹⁰ elected 1342
Olive de Swaffham,¹¹ elected 1344
Cecilia de Welle,¹² elected 1351
Cecilia Beaupre,¹³ elected and died 1395
Matilda Talbot,¹⁴ elected 1395
Joan Wiggenhall,¹⁵ elected 1420
Margaret Dawbeny,¹⁶ elected 1445
Etheldreda Wolmer,¹⁷ elected 1469.
Elizabeth Bredon,¹⁸ occurs c. 1500, 1514
Margaret Studefeld, occurs 1520, last prioress

There is a cast of an imperfect impression of a thirteenth-century seal of this nunnery at the British Museum. It is a pointed oval ($2 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ in.) of an eagle displayed. Legend:—

✠ S' SANCTI . IOHANNIS . EWANGELISTE¹⁹

HOUSE OF TRINITARIAN CANONS

40. THE PRIORY OF INGHAM

A small priory of the Order of the Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives was founded at Ingham by Sir Miles Stapleton of Bedale, Yorkshire, in the reign of Edward III. The founder was lord of this town through marriage with Joan daughter and heiress of Sir Oliver de Ingham. This Order of Trinitarians, as they were usually termed, was founded in 1198. Their possessions were to be divided into three parts: one portion for the redemption of captives, according to the rule of St. Victor; another part for the relief of the poor; and the remaining third for their own subsistence. There were twelve houses of the order in England, of which Ingham was the last to be founded.³

¹ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 108-10, 168.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* x, 144.

³ The Trinitarians had at one time upwards of 250 houses throughout Christendom. It was estimated in the seventeenth century that since its foundation the order had rescued 30,720 Christian captives from the infidels.

In March, 1355, Innocent VI issued his mandate to the bishop of Norwich to grant licence to Miles de Stapleton, knight, lord of the town of Ingham, to rebuild and enlarge the church of Ingham, of the value of 26 marks, in his patronage, and to elect therein a college, in honour of the Holy Trinity and All Saints, of thirteen religious, one of whom was to be the prior or warden and another the sacrist, making it a conventual church with due statutes and ordinances, the rights of the bishop and archdeacon being preserved.²⁰

⁴ Chant. Cert. Norf. No. 90.

⁵ Suppression Papers (P.R.O.) $\frac{83}{1}$

⁶ Add. MS. 4731.

⁷ *Ibid.*; occurs same year in Assize R. 560, m. 30 d., where Catherine is called her predecessor.

⁸ Add. MS. 4731.

⁹ *Norw. Epis. Reg.* i, 63.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* iii, 61.

¹¹ *Ibid.* iv, 101.

¹² *Ibid.* 133.

¹³ *Ibid.* vi, 219.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Add. MS. 4731, fol. 51.

¹⁶ *Norw. Epis. Reg.* x, 60.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* xi, 172.

¹⁸ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 108.

¹⁹ B.M. lxix, 15.

²⁰ *Cal. Papal Reg.* iii, 56.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Richard Marleburgh was the first prior, and John de Pevesey the first sacrist. The sacrist had charge of the parish part of the manor and of the parishioners, and lived in the two-storied parvise over the south porch. His office was a benefice, and there are two instances of sacrists being instituted in the diocesan registers, namely, in 1387 and 1426. On 2 July, 1360, the bishop licensed the appropriation of the church of Ingham to the priory; at that date there were only a prior and two brethren or chaplains.¹ In 1362 the priory was beginning to flourish, for in that year they obtained letters patent for the enlargement of their house, and three years later leave to divert a road for the same object.²

In July, 1379, Roger de Boys, John de Boys, and Reginald de Eccles granted to the priory property in Worstead and Scottow.³ In 1384 the priory received from John de Saxham the advowson of the church of All Saints, Cley, and lands and tenements in 'Treston' and Little Soxham; in 1389 the manor of Thorney; and in 1392 the manor of Cockley Cley, and eight messuages, 211 acres of land, 22 of meadow, 4 of moor, and 11s. 11d. rents in Ingham, Hickling, Worstead, and divers other townships, together with the advowson of the church of Walcott.⁴

In 1401 Boniface IX sanctioned the appropriation to this priory of the churches of Walcott and Cockley Cley, value not exceeding 90 marks; each church might be served by one of their canons, or by a secular priest removable at the prior's wish.⁵

The Valor of 1535 gave the clear annual value of the priory at £61 9s. 7½d.; their most valuable possessions were the appropriations of the churches of Ingham and Walcott, which brought in an income of £20 17s.

Thomas Catfield *alias* Godrede occurs as prior in 1492. In that year, on 23 October, Archdeacon Goldwell, acting as commissary of the bishop, visited the house. The prior and his brethren were severally and privately examined, with the result that nothing was found that required reformation. There were four professed brethren, John Ludham, sacrist; William Norwich, Robert Fryston, and John Ingham; and two who were not professed.

Prior Catfield was still in office when the house was again visited by commission on 18 July, 1520. The prior and four brethren testified *omnia bene*, but Brother John Saye complained that the prior did not present an annual statement of accounts. As a result of the visitation

the prior was required to exhibit, at the next Michaelmas synod, an inventory of all valuables and movables, and to render an annual account before the senior brethren.

The same prior also received a visitation, by commission, on 18 June, 1526. Prior Catfield gave a good report, save that the house was in debt 26s. 8d. John Saye, licensed by the bishop to the cure of the parish church of Walcott, Richard Fox, serving in a similar way the church of Ingham, three other brethren, and two novices, all agreed that *omnia bene*.

John Saye was prior on 12 June, 1532, when Bishop Nicke visited Ingham in person. The prior and four brethren united in testifying that there was nothing worthy of reformation, and the bishop took a like view.⁶

On 5 August, 1534, Prior Saye, with six of his brethren, signed their acknowledgement of the king's supremacy.⁷

The visitors of 1535 alleged in their secret *comperta* that the prior and one of the brethren were guilty of incontinence.

On 7 November, 1535, Cromwell received information from Richard Wharton that the prior and convent of Ingham had sold their house and lands to one William Woodhouse without the knowledge of their founder (patron) Sir Francis Calthrope, and contrary to their promise to Edward Calthrope, nephew and heir to Sir Francis, who had married a near kinswoman of the writer, to give him the first offer of it. The letter curtly offered Cromwell £100 for his favour. But on 19 November Dr. Legh wrote to Cromwell from Norwich, saying that the prior of Ingham had made no sale to Woodhouse as reported, but only conditionally in the event of his procuring the king's licence. However, another correspondent, on 15 December, reaffirmed what Wharton had stated.⁸

The four county commissioners for the Norfolk suppression wrote to Cromwell on 10 August, 1536, saying that during their survey they sent to the house of Ingham to put their books and necessities in due order before their coming; but on their arrival they found no religious person there, because of their bargain, dated 24 December, 1534, with William Woodhouse. Woodhouse had appeared before the commissioners at Coxford, and alleged that Ingham was outside the statute, for it was a house of Crossed Friars and not of monks or canons. The commissioners had perused the statute and thought that it was so.⁹

⁶ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 27, 173, 210, 276. ⁷ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. 2, 67.

⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 264, 284, 328.

⁹ *Ibid.* xi, 110. Woodhouse had evidently fallen into a not uncommon mistake of confusing the Trinitarians (who followed the Austin rule, with certain special statutes) and the Crossed or Crutched Friars, who were a distinct order founded in 1169; their first English house was at Colchester.

¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 326-7; Pat. 33 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 30; 34 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 26.

² Pat. 36 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 30; 39 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 29.

³ *Cal. of Pat.* 3 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 37.

⁴ Tanner, *Notitia*, xxxvi; Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 16. ⁵ *Cal. Papal Reg.* v, 416.

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In the commissioners' formal report they say :—

The Priory of Ingham ys solde to one William Woodehowse and the Religious persones in the same Dispersid and gone and the goodes and catalles wasted and spoyle; the circumstances of whiche matter we have advertysed and sygnified unto you by our letters.¹

Sir William Woodhouse seems to have been allowed to retain his purchase; he exchanged it for the priory of Hickling in 1544, and it thus became part of the estate of the bishopric of Norwich.

PRIORS OF INGHAM

Richard Marleburgh,² 1360

John de Trowse,³ 1383

John Trows,⁴ 1420

Thomas Netesherd,⁵ elected 1429

John Blakeney,⁶ elected 1439

John Norwich,⁹ elected 1447

Thomas Ranworth,¹⁰ elected 1476

Thomas Catfield *alias* Godrede,¹¹ occurs 1492, 1526

John Saye,¹² occurs 1532, last prior

SACRISTS OF INGHAM

John de Pevesey

John de Catefeld,¹³ admitted 1387

Thomas Netesherd,¹⁴ admitted 1426

There is a cast of an imperfect impression of the fourteenth-century seal of this priory (2½ in. by 1½ in.) at the British Museum. Within a pointed oval is a representation of the Trinity within a triple-arched niche. In the base is a shield charged with a lion rampant, for Sir Miles Stapleton, the founder. Legend :—

• • • SANCTE TRINITATIS • • • • • 15

HOUSE OF GILBERTINES

41. THE PRIORY OF SHOULDHAM

This Gilbertine priory, dedicated conjointly to the Holy Cross and the Blessed Virgin, was founded by Geoffrey FitzPiers, earl of Essex, in the reign of Richard I, for canons and nuns of the order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham.

The foundation charter is cited in confirmation grants of both Edward III and Henry IV, and has been printed in the *Monasticon*.⁷ The founder granted to the house his manor of Shouldham, with its members, the churches of All Saints and St. Margaret's in Shouldham, and those of Carbaysthorp, Stoke Ferry, and Wereham.

Geoffrey FitzPiers was chief justiciary of England. On the foundation of the priory he removed the body of his first wife, Beatrice, eldest daughter and co-heir of William de Say, to this church from the Gilbertine priory of Chicksands, Bedfordshire, in which chapter-house she had been originally buried. He died on 2 October, 1212, and was buried by his first wife.

By a further charter, *temp.* John, Geoffrey bestowed on this priory twelve shops, with the rooms over them, in the parish of St. Mary's Colechurch, London, for the purpose of sustaining the lights of the church and of providing the sacramental wine.⁸

William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, second son of the founder, not only confirmed his father's gifts but gave to the priory the messuage

and demesne lands, &c., which the founder had reserved for his own use; he was buried at the priory in 1227. His widow Christiana made further bequests.¹⁶

In 1248 Henry III granted the priory a Friday weekly market at Stoke Ferry, and a yearly fair there on the morrow and feast of St. Nicholas.¹⁷

The jury of the hundred of Clakelose found, in 1275, that the prior of Shouldham had had grant of free warren from Henry III, and also that the tenants, by another charter of the same king, need not answer for their lands in any court save that of the king before his chief justice.¹⁸ About the same time the prior's right to the advowson of All Saints, Shouldham, and 20s. rent there was called in question, and referred for judgement to the next Hilary term at Westminster.¹⁹ His rights were eventually maintained.

The taxation roll of 1291 showed that this priory had an annual income of £207 7s. 9½d., holding property in twenty-six Norfolk parishes, in addition to the shops in the city of London.

Licence to appropriate the church of Fincham, by gift of John Bardolf, was also granted in 1344.²⁰

Gervase de Willeford, rector of Burwash, and Roger de Dersingham obtained licence for alienation to this priory, in 1344, of 40s. rent in

¹ Chant. Cert. Norf. No. 90.

² Norw. Epis. Reg. v, 43.

³ Ibid. vi, 93.

⁴ Ibid. viii, 59.

⁵ Ibid. ix, 35.

⁶ Ibid. x, 31.

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 974-5.

⁸ *Duodecim soppas cum soliis.* (Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 418-19.)

⁹ Norw. Epis. Reg. xi, 10.

¹⁰ Ibid. xii, 53.

¹¹ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* 27.

¹² Ibid. 210.

¹³ Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 126.

¹⁴ Ibid. ix, 19.

¹⁵ B.M. lxix, 26; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1,458; Ackn. of Supr. (P.R.O.), 67.

¹⁶ *Duodecim soppas cum soliis.* (Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 418-19.)

¹⁷ Chart. R. 32 Hen. III, m. 6.

¹⁸ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 458, 519, 532, 538.

¹⁹ Quo Warranto Rolls, 489.

²⁰ Pat. 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 5.

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Shouldham, &c., to maintain a lamp to burn daily in the church and to say a collect at masses for their souls and their parents' souls.¹

Pardon was granted to the priory in 1313 on payment of the heavy fine of 40 marks for appropriating in mortmain without licence the church of Stanford, which was of their patronage.² It had been appropriated in 1301, and was the gift of William Martimer of Attleborough. The ordination of the vicarage and leave to appropriate were duly granted and registered by the bishop, but civil sanction had either been forgotten or deliberately overlooked on account of the attendant expense.

The rectory of Fincham St. Martin was appropriated to the priory and a vicarage ordained in 1350. For obtaining the bishop's assent a pension of 26s. 8d. was assigned to him and his successors.³ The priory paid 100s. to the king in 1380 for licence to hold considerable lands in Shouldham for celebrating yearly in their priory church the obits of Guy de Beauchamp, knight, and Philippa his wife, deceased, and of Katharine their daughter when she had departed this life.⁴

Robert de Syvington occurs as prior on 10 July, 1387, when his signature was appended to a deed securing a pension of 23s. 2d. to the bishop of Norwich on the appropriation of the church of Holy Trinity, Caister, which had been granted to the priory by Lord Bardolf.⁵ Pope Boniface in 1392 confirmed the appropriation of Caister church, valued at 40 marks, the priory being valued at 200 marks. The confirmation states that the other priory buildings had been recently overthrown, almost from their foundations, by floods of river and sea (*aquarum et maritimorum fluctuum*), by fires, and a great gale, and its possessions in great part destroyed. A fitting portion was to be assigned for a vicar, who was to be a secular clerk.⁶

A return made to the crown of the appropriated churches of this diocese in 1416 names three churches appropriated to Shouldham Priory, viz. Stanford, Fincham St. Martin (1350), and Holy Trinity, Caister (1387); the priory held also at that date the advowson of the churches of Carleton St. Peter, Stoke All Saints, Wereham, Shouldham, and Wiggenhall St. Peter.

John Edmund, he being then prior, was instituted to the rectory of Fincham St. Michael on 18 February, 1502, on the presentation of Castle Acre Priory; he died in 1502.

Robert Swift was prior in 1535 when the Valor Ecclesiasticus was drawn up; the clear annual value of the priory was then declared at £138 18s. 1d.

A commission was granted in 1281 to inquire

into the complaint of Richard Maline, who alleged that he was assaulted at the door of the church of Northwold, married and imprisoned by Benedict, prior of Shouldham, Brother John de Shouldham, and ten others, who are named; and that afterwards the same persons came to his house at Stoke Ferry, broke open the doors, and carried away his goods.⁷ In 1304 there was a renewed charge by the same complainant for trespass at Stoke Ferry against Nicholas, prior of Shouldham, and others.⁸

William Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, married Maud, eldest sister and co-heir of Richard, Lord FitzJohn, who was great-grandson of the founder of the priory. By this marriage the patronage of Shouldham remained with the earls of Warwick until the time of Henry VII. This William, who died in 1298, had two daughters, nuns at Shouldham, to whom (or rather to the convent) he left by his will 50 marks.⁹

Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who died in 1302, left to Margaret, his daughter, widow of Guy de Montfort, and then a nun at Shouldham, a ring, a covered cup, and 20 marks. He also bequeathed to Katharine, daughter of his son Guy (who had pre-deceased him), a nun of Shouldham, a gold ring and £20.¹⁰ This Guy Beauchamp, who made his will before going to the wars, and died in France in 1351, left his fourth best ring to his daughter the nun Katharine, and the church of Necton to the priory to serve for the maintenance of Katharine and Elizabeth his two daughters, and after their death as stipend for a priest to say daily mass for the souls of his father and mother, himself, and his wife and his daughters.¹¹

Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who succeeded his father of the same name, incurred the displeasure of Richard II in 1397-8, was banished to the Isle of Man and forfeited his estates; whereupon his niece Katharine, the nun of Shouldham, petitioned the king in her own behalf, as having had no share in her father's inheritance, with the result that an annuity of 40 marks was granted her from the exchequer, which, of course, went to the convent. Her uncle, the earl, died in 1400, and instructed his executors to bestow some suitable gift upon Katharine.¹²

In 1321 a strange and fatal accident occurred at this Gilbertine house. One of the canons, William de Spalding by name, was playing at football; during the game a lay friend of his, also called William, ran against him and wounded himself on a sheathed knife carried by the canon, with the result that he died within six days. No blame was attached to the canon, who felt

¹ Pat. 18 Edw. III. pt. i. m. 2.

² Cal. of Pat. - Edw. II. pt. i. m. 3.

³ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vol. 424.

⁴ Pat. 10 Ric. II. pt. i. m. 23.

⁵ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vol. 424-5.

⁶ Cal. Papal Reg. iv. 438.

⁷ Pat. 2 Edw. I. m. 12. This cause was still pending in 1292 (Pat. 20 Edw. I. m. 13).

⁸ Cal. of Pat. 20 Edw. I. m. 12 &

⁹ Dugdale, *Barnage*, i. 226, 227.

¹⁰ Ibid. 233, 235.

¹¹ Ibid. 235.

¹² Ibid. 237-8.

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deeply the death of his friend, and on appeal to the pope a dispensation was granted.¹

On 7 April, 1324, the sheriff of Hampshire was ordered to cause Margaret, the eldest daughter of Sir Roger de Mortimer of Wilmore, to be conducted to the priory of Shouldham. At the same time the sheriff ordered the convent to receive and keep her safely amongst the nuns, informing them that they would receive from the king's treasure 15*d.* weekly for her maintenance and a mark yearly for her robe. Margaret's younger sisters, Joan and Isabella, were in like manner severally despatched to the Gilbertine houses of Sempringham and Cockersand, 12*d.* a week being paid for their maintenance.²

The untrustworthy *comperta* of Ap Rice and Legh, presented in 1536, alleged confessions of incontinence by two nuns and three canons of this house.³

The house was surrendered on 15 October, 1538; it was signed by Robert Swift, prior, Richard Foster, sub-prior, and eight other canons, and also by Elizabeth Fincham, prioress, Joan Plomstede, sub-prioress, and five other nuns.⁴

On 24 November the prior obtained a pension of £20, and eight canons smaller amounts; at the same time a pension of £5 was assigned to the prioress, and smaller sums to eight nuns.⁵

After the dissolution this priory and its possessions remained in the hands of the crown until

1553, when it was sold to Thomas Mildmay for £1,049 9*s.* 4½*d.*

PRIORS OF SHOULDHAM

William,⁷ occurs 1250
 Richard,⁸ occurs *c.* 1270
 Benedict,⁹ occurs 1281
 Nicholas,¹⁰ occurs 1294
 Thomas de Carmirton *alias* Carmelton,¹¹ resigned before 1305
 Robert de Syvington,¹² occurs 1387
 Robert,¹³ occurs 1404
 Nicholas Feriby,¹⁴ occurs 1413
 Hugh Hull,¹⁵ occurs 1435
 Thomas,¹⁶ 1439
 John Wenham,¹⁷ 1455
 Thomas Stanton,¹⁸ occurs 1479
 Thomas,¹⁹ 1493
 John Edmund,²⁰ occurs 1502
 John Bray,²¹ occurs 1517
 Robert Swift,²² occurs 1534

PRIORESSES OF SHOULDHAM

Margaret } occurs 1404²³
 Cecily }
 Anna,²⁴ 1453
 Joan,²⁵ 1465
 Elizabeth Fincham,²⁶ 1531

HOUSES OF PREMONSTRATENSIAN CANONS

42. THE ABBEY OF WEST DEREHAM

Hubert Walter, dean of York, who afterwards became successively bishop of Salisbury and archbishop of Canterbury, founded at his birthplace of West Dereham, in the year 1188, an abbey for Premonstratensian canons, which was colonized from Welbeck. The canons were to pray for the souls of the founder and his parents, his brothers and sisters and all his relatives and friends, as well as for the souls of Ralph de Glanville, justiciary of England, and Bertha his wife.⁶

King John, on 7 September, 1199, confirmed all the grants made to the abbey by the founder and by other early benefactors; at the same time, at the request of the founder, who was then archbishop of Canterbury, he conferred on the abbey and its tenants exemption from all

kinds of service, tolls and dues.²⁷ In the same year John granted to the abbey a weekly Wednesday market, and an annual fair of four days, namely on the festival of St. Matthew and the three following days,²⁸ and in 1201, the king confirmed to them the grants of half the church of Holkham and of the church of Ringland.²⁹

⁷ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 424.

⁸ Ibid. ⁹ Pat. 9 Edw. I, m. 12.

¹⁰ Pat. 22 Edw. I, m. 12 *d.*

¹¹ He essoins as 'formerly prior' in this year; Assize R. 1235, m. 38 *d.* 45.

¹² Pat. 10 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 23.

¹³ Memo. R.K.R. Trin. 5 Hen. IV, m. 5.

¹⁴ Norw. Epis. Reg. vii, 60.

¹⁵ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 424.

¹⁶ Norw. Epis. Reg. x, 27.

¹⁷ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 424.

¹⁸ Ibid. ¹⁹ Norw. Epis. Reg. xii, 175.

²⁰ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 424.

²¹ Ibid. ²² Ibid.

²³ They are named jointly as prioresses; Memos. R.K.R. Trin. 5 Hen. IV, m. 5.

²⁴ Tanner, Norw. MSS. i, 579.

²⁵ Ibid. ²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Chart. R. 1 John, m. 10.

²⁸ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 331.

²⁹ Chart. R. 2 John, 18 April.

¹ *Cal. Papal Reg.* ii, 214.

² *Cal. of Close*, 17 Edw. II, m. 15. Sir Roger de Mortimer had escaped out of the Tower of London. *Chron. de Sempringham*, fol. 351.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 143.

⁴ Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), xiv, 620.

⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 600.

⁶ Foundation Charter (Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 899-900).

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Peter, son of Peter de Nerford, granted in 1280, to the abbot and canons of St. Mary of Dereham, Richard de Ayssepele, Simon le Wodewide, and Simon the carter of Saham, with their tenements, belongings, and services, and 12*d.* of rents; to hold the same in free alms for the sustentation of one canon to celebrate in the abbey of Dereham for the souls of the faithful departed.¹

The abbot and convent obtained leave in 1285 to enclose eight acres of land in West Dereham, adjoining the abbey on the west side, to wit from the stone bridge of West Dereham to the end of their close called Fishercroft, for the enlargement of their site.² Other grants of lands and rents were made by various benefactors so that by 1291, when the ecclesiastical taxation roll was drawn up, the endowments of this abbey were considerable, being of the clear annual value of £169 3*s.* 8½*d.* Their chief possessions were in Norfolk, scattered over thirty-three parishes, but they had also property in the dioceses of York, Ely, and Lincoln.

Elizabeth de Burgo, the king's kinswoman, had licence in 1336 for alienation in mortmain of 7 messuages, 112 acres of land, 8 acres of meadow, 10 acres of pasture, and 10*s.* 8½*d.* of rent in West Dereham and adjacent towns of Norfolk, together with the fair of Wynwale, to the abbey of Dereham, to find a chaplain to celebrate daily in the chapel of St. Wynwale for the soul of Gilbert de Clare, late earl of Gloucester, and for the souls of herself, her ancestors, and heirs.³

Boniface IX, in 1399, sanctioned the appropriation to this abbey of the church of Grimston, value not exceeding 90 marks, and that of the monastery, not exceeding 400 marks. On the resignation of the rector the church might be served by one of their canons.⁴ In the same year the pope confirmed the decision made by the late bishop of Ely with regard to a dispute between the abbey and the priory of Barnwell as to the tithes of the sheaves of 'Nunne Court fee' pertaining to the church of Holy Trinity, Cambridge. The decree ordered the priory to pay 30*s.* yearly to the abbey for these tithes. The pope completed the ordinance by enjoining the priory to keep the chancel of Holy Trinity in repair and to pay synodals.⁵ Two years later, September, 1401, this Cambridge church was fully appropriated to the abbey, by sanction of Boniface. At the same time the two parishes of St. Peter and St. Andrew, West Dereham, situate close together in one churchyard, were united. It was stated that St. Peter's was so diminished in income that a priest could not be maintained. The convent and the parishioners

of St. Peter's were freed from the repair of the church and chancel, and considered parishioners of St. Andrew's.⁶

Another church about the possession of which the abbey had some little trouble and litigation at an earlier period, was that of Holkham, which had been given them by Aymer de Valence, who had made good his claim to it against the abbot of Viterbo. In 1341 the latter abbot endeavoured to reclaim it from the abbot of West Dereham, and the king ordered the prior of Walsingham to do justice in the case,⁷ which was evidently decided in favour of the Norfolk house as they are found in possession of the rectory in 1535.

When the abbey was visited in 1478 by Richard Redman, bishop of St. Asaph and abbot of Shap, and by Hubert, commissary-general of the abbot of Prémontré, it was reported that the abbey held five churches, the cures of which were sometimes held by canons in perpetuity, sometimes by seculars, and sometimes by canons removable at pleasure.⁸

When the Valor Ecclesiasticus was taken in 1535 the clear annual value was declared to be £228 0*s.* 0¾*d.*

On 20 September, 1323, Canon Geoffrey de Driffild, from the abbey of Egleston, was sent to Dereham by the king, with the request that he might stay with them for a time, as the house of Egleston had been so destroyed by the Scotch rebels that the canons could no longer live there. At the same time, seven other canons of Egleston were distributed among the like number of Premonstratensian houses, including the Norfolk abbey of Langley.⁹

In May, 1325, the county escheator was ordered not to further intermeddle with this abbey, which he had taken into the king's hands on the death of the last abbot on the plea that the lands that belonged to Aymer de Valence, late earl of Pembroke, were in the king's hands. The king had learnt by inquisition that the abbey was of the advowson of the earl as of the inheritance of Monchesney, and that from the time of its foundation until then the patrons of the abbey, when it was vacant, had no custody there, and that the convent did not seek licence to elect from any patron, and did not present him whom they had elected to the patron before the installation. It was further ascertained that the patron did not receive any profit at the time of voidance, but that whenever a patron died, the abbot and convent celebrated mass and distributed alms for his soul on the same scale as at the death of an abbot, namely each canon-priest of the house celebrated three masses, and each canon not a priest said a psalter, and each lay

¹ Bodl. Chart. 169.

² *Cal. of Pat.* 13 Edw. I, m. 25.

³ *Ibid.* 10 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 22.

⁴ *Cal. Papal Reg.* v, 196.

⁵ *Ibid.* 197.

⁶ *Cal. Papal Reg.* v, 197.

⁷ *Chanc. Misc. bdle.* 18, file 4, No. 7.

⁸ *Stowe MS.* 4935, fol. 9.

⁹ *Cal. of Close*, 17 Edw. II, m. 37*d.*

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brother (*conversus*) said 150 Our Fathers and as many Hail Marys, and they distributed to the poor daily for thirty days after his death a loaf, a gallon of ale, and a dish of meat or fish, such as a canon is wont to receive daily.¹ In 1328 protection was granted for the abbey of Dereham, which was of the advowson of the heir of John de Hastings, deceased, a minor in the king's custody, in consequence of its being impoverished and in debt through injudicious management. Richard Coppe, a parson of the church of Oxborough, and Richard de Depham were appointed custodians, under whose direction the abbot was to apply the revenues to the payment of the debts, saving a reasonable sustenance for himself and the canons and their servants.²

In 1325 the abbot of Dereham was prohibited by the king from leaving the kingdom to attend the general chapter at Prémontré,³ but in September, 1327, Bartholomew de Burghersh, constable of Dover Castle, was directed to permit the abbot of Dereham to cross the seas from that port to attend the chapter general at Prémontré, and to allow him 20 marks for the expenses of himself and attendants.⁴ On 26 June, 1328, an exactly similar order was made for a like purpose, save that £20 instead of 20 marks was contributed for expenses.⁵

On 15 May, 1325, John, abbot of Welbeck, as father abbot of Dereham, wrote to the bishop of Norwich to inform him of the death of the late abbot, Paul de Tilney, and of the election of John de Rutham, in his presence and that of the abbots of Seiston and Wendling, and to ask for his episcopal benediction.⁶ Although the White Canons were specially exempt from diocesan visitation, and their elections were held independently of the bishop, it was usual for the abbot-elect, after he had been chosen by his convent and installed by the father abbot of the house, to promise canonical obedience to his diocesan, saving all rights of his order, and to ask for episcopal benediction. In the case of John de Rutham, the bishop's blessing was given on 21 May.

In 1344, Mary de Sancto Paulo, countess of Pembroke, obtained the sanction of Clement III, on behalf of the Premonstratensian abbot of West Dereham, for faculty to confer the office of notary public on six persons to be nominated by the countess.⁷ Pope Urban V, in 1366, granted, during ten years, an indulgence of a year and 160 days to penitents visiting the chapel of the Holy Trinity in this monastery on the principal feasts.⁸

William de Holt received the episcopal benediction as abbot on 6 April, 1368, in the manor chapel of Heningham, and promised canonical obedience, saving the rights of his order.⁹ His obedience, however, seems to have been somewhat incomplete if he is the person referred to in 1387, when the crown appointed seven officials to arrest William Holt, an 'apostate vagabond canon' of Dereham Abbey, signified as such to the king by John, abbot of Barlings, and George, abbot of Welbeck, visitors of the English Premonstratensian houses. If arrested, he was to be delivered to his abbot, or to one of the visitors or their attorney.¹⁰

Abbot John Sareson *alias* Wygenhale acted as vicar-general to the bishop in 1436, as well as on many later occasions. In 1444 he was collated to the deanery of the college of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, Norwich, as well as to the rectory of St. Mary's, Great Massingham; which preferments he held in conjunction with the rule of the abbey. He died about 1455, and is particularly memorable on account of the survival of the precatory or mortuary roll that was issued by his convent at the time of his death. It is a class of documents of which very few examples are extant. On the death of a religious, and more especially of a religious superior, a roll was prepared on which was written a statement of the death, together with some eulogy or description of the deceased, with religious reflections, and a request for the prayers by other houses. The roll was then carried round, sometimes only to neighbouring houses, or those of the same order, but in the cases of superiors or distinguished personages these brevia or briefs were multiplied, and sent about throughout the kingdom at large. The monk or canon who carried the brief was termed a breviator, and on its reaching each monastery it was inscribed with the *titulus* or description of the house, accompanied by a promise of their prayers for the departed. On Abbot Wygenhale's death a beautiful roll was prepared. That which now remains (but it was doubtless originally longer) is 4 ft. 5½ in. long by about 12 in. wide, formed of two membranes. On the upper membrane is an illuminated architectural design divided into three compartments. At the top is the Eternal Father supporting a crucifix, and at the right side is the small figure of an abbot kneeling, with a scroll asking the divine protection and guidance for John Lynn, who was the abbot that succeeded the deceased. In the centre is the Blessed Virgin. At the base is the scene of the interment of John Wygenhale, most interestingly portrayed.¹¹

¹ *Cal. of Close*, 18 Edw. II, m. 6.

² *Cal. of Pat.* 2 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 12.

³ *Ibid.* 19 Edw. II, m. 30 d.

⁴ *Cal. of Close*, 1 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 16.

⁵ *Ibid.* 21 d.

⁶ Add MS. 4935, fol. 7.

⁷ *Cal. Papal Pet.* i, 155; *Cal. Papal Reg.* iii, 275.

⁸ *Cal. Pap. Reg.* iv, 56.

⁹ Norw. Epis. Reg. v, 80.

¹⁰ *Cal. of Pat.* 10 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 20 d.

¹¹ This roll was illustrated and described by the late J. Gough Nichols in the Norfolk volume of the *Arch. Inst.* (1851), 99-114. It was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in Jan. 1861, by Rev. G. H. Dashwood, F.S.A. (*Proceedings* (ser. 2), i, 289-90).

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The encyclical letter from the abbey of West Dereham, which follows the illumination, is a warm eulogy of the deceased. The terms were probably not entirely complimentary, or as a matter of course, for Abbot Wygenhale was evidently highly esteemed outside his convent. When he attended the bishop in 1449 as vicar-general, at the ceremony of making the priory of Wymondham into an abbey, he is described by John of Whethamstede, the chronicler of St. Albans, as *vir altae discrecionis et suorum gravitate pollens*.¹

The *tituli* or descriptive endorsements that can now be traced on the back of the roll are those of the Austin house of Christ Church, Hampshire; of the Premonstratensian abbey of Titchfield, Hampshire; of the great abbey of Bury St. Edmunds; of the Cistercian monastery of Lowth Park, Lincoln; of the Benedictine abbey of the cathedral church of Worcester; and of the Austin house of St. James, Northampton.

Bishop Redman's first visitation of West Dereham occurred in June, 1475; he arrived at the abbey at the dinner hour on the 26th, and left for Wendling on the 28th.² The visitation of 1478 extended from 28 to 30 June, when he found everything in good order. The visitor enjoined the presence of a deacon at the high altar daily; also that on recreation days the brethren were to go out and return unless otherwise ordered by the abbot: anyone leaving the precincts without permission was to be punished the same as an apostate.

There was an abundant supply of all necessities, and the debt was but slight. In addition to John Lynn, the abbot, and John Harnes, the sub-prior, thirteen other canons were present at the visitation.³

On 23 July, 1482, William abbot of Welbeck wrote to Bishop Redman to tell him of the death of John Lynn *alias* Clerk, abbot of Dereham, in which he pleaded the poverty of his daughter-house of Dereham as a reason for pressing on with the new election with all possible speed, and asking that on this occasion only he might proceed without delay in ordering a new election, and in admitting and installing the abbot elect.⁴ Accordingly at the next visitation in August, 1482, the election of William Maxey as abbot took place in the bishop's presence.

At this time he ordered that silence was to be better observed. Nineteen canons, including the abbot and prior, were present on this occasion.⁵

The bishop's next visit was on 22 June, 1486, when he arrived at West Dereham at supper-time. The house was formally visited on the

morrow, and he tarried there quietly over 24 June for the solemn observance of the feast of St. John Baptist, supping at Walsingham on the 25th.⁶

At a visitation just two years later, John Martyn, abbot, William Maxey, the late abbot, eleven other priests, and three deacons were present. The visitor reported that the abbot was provident and circumspect; that the debt of £200 at the time of his election had been reduced to £100; and that there was a good supply of stores and cattle.

George Lytylport, priest, was found in prison for theft and other sins; he was penitent, but ordered to remain in prison until next general chapter.⁷

The next visitation was on 22 September, 1491, when John Wysbech, abbot, William Maxey, late abbot, nine other canons, and a novice were present. The novice, William Faryeley, had struck a brother and flung him into the grate; the visitor ordered him forty days of bread and water, and then to be sent to Halesowen; but at the unanimous prayer of the abbot and convent the last part of the sentence was revoked.⁸

In 1494 the house was again visited, when John Martyn (an *alias* of Wysbech), the ex-abbot, and ten others attended. The visitor reported well of the house.⁹ Again, in October, 1500, the visitor was at this house, when John Wysbech is entered as the abbot. The report was quite excellent.

The last recorded visitation took place 10 August, 1503; the same abbot and ex-abbot were present, and fourteen other canons. Bishop Redman found several insufficiently taught; therefore he recalled Brother Robert Watton from the university, to be joined in office with the prior, and diligently to teach his brethren. Thomas Fychele was removed from the sub-priorship for his negligence in his duty; otherwise the condition and discipline of the house were good.¹⁰

Legh and Ap Rice, Cromwell's tools and visitors, surpassed themselves in their *comperta* as to this abbey, on which they reported in 1536; according to their preposterous return the canons were all incontinent, and were ready to confess themselves as such, longing to marry, and believing that the king had been divinely sent on earth to bring this about.¹¹ John Ap Rice, in whose handwriting these *comperta* were drawn up, made earnest suit for a grant of this house, which it was thus his interest to vilify. In 1538 he petitioned Cromwell for the lands. He pleaded that there was no fee attached to his

¹ *Reg. Whethamstede*, 151.

² Redman, *Visit.* (Bodl.), fol. 5.

³ Ibid. fols. 13, 21.

⁴ Stowe MS. 4935, fol. 9.

⁵ Redman, *Visit.* (Bodl.), fols. 33, 34.

⁶ Ibid. fol. 64b.

⁷ Ibid. fol. 72.

⁸ Ibid. fols. 99, 100.

⁹ Ibid. fols. 118, 124.

¹⁰ Ibid. fol. 110.

¹¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 144.

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office; that he had been concerned in drawing up divers great instruments in the process of divorce of Queen Anne; and that he wrote to the king the abridgements of the *comperta* of the late visitation. He stated that the manor of West Dereham was worth £52 12s. 8d., and the residue of the rent was £200, and the movables worth £600. He promised if his petition was granted to retain only £50, giving Cromwell the other £200 a year, and movables to the value of £400 or £500. It is scarcely necessary to say that the chance of so great a share of the spoils was accepted by Cromwell, and the slanderous visitor obtained his grant.¹

It is not in any way credible, if the visitors' report of the condition of this house had been true or credited, that Abbot Roger, who presided over a convent charged with these outrageous offences, would have been assigned the unusually large pension of £66 13s. 4d. This pension, as well as smaller sums to five of his canons, was granted on 6 November, 1539.²

ABBOTS OF WEST DEREHAM

Augustine,³ appointed 1188
 Ralph,⁴ occurs *temp.* Richard I, John, Henry III
 Remigius,⁵ occurs 1231
 Angerius,⁶ occurs 1232
 Roger,⁷ occurs 1268
 Denis Walter,⁸ occurs 1286
 Simon,⁹ occurs 1304
 Walter de Donton,¹⁰ elected 1306
 Paul de Tilney,¹¹ elected 1313
 Bartholomew,¹² occurs 1316
 John de Rutham,¹³ elected 1325
 Nicholas de Dereham,¹⁴ elected 1339
 William de Holt,¹⁵ elected 1368
 Constantine,¹⁶ occurs 1393
 John Flete,¹⁷ occurs 1398
 John,¹⁸ elected 1412
 Robert,¹⁹ occurs 1428
 John Wygenhall *alias* Sareson,²⁰ elected 1429
 John Lynn,²¹ elected 1455

¹ *L. and. P. Hen. VIII.* xiii (2), 512.

² *Ibid.* xiv (1), 598.

³ Stowe MSS. 929.

⁴ *Ibid.* Bodl. Chart. 306.

⁵ *Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A.3074.*

⁶ Tanner, *Norf. MSS.* i, 565.

⁷ *Ibid.* ⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸ Close, 10 Edw. II, m. 28 d. As, however, Paul de Tilney was abbot in 1325, when he died (Stowe MS. 4935 fol. 7), this name must be a mistake, unless Abbot Paul temporarily vacated the office.

¹³ *Norf. Epis. Reg.* i, 117; Add. MS. 4935, i. 7.

¹⁴ *Norf. Epis. Reg.* iii, 52.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* v, 80.

¹⁶ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 335-6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Norf. Epis. Reg.* vii, 52.

¹⁹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 335-6. ²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Norf. vol. Arch. Inst.* (1851), 99-114.

William Maxey,²² elected 1482

John Martyn²³ *alias* Wysbech,²⁴ occurs 1488

William Norwich,²⁵ elected 1511

Roger Forman,²⁶ elected 1522, last abbot

43. THE ABBEY OF LANGLEY

The founder of the Premonstratensian abbey of Langley, dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin in 1195, was Sir Robert Fitz-Roger Helke, who was lord of Langley by marriage with Margaret, daughter and co-heir of William de Cheney, and relict of Sir Hugh de Cressi. The founder was sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk 1192-3. His descendants, with whom the patronage of the abbey rested, assumed the name of de Clavering from their lordship of that name in Essex.

The house was colonized by brethren from Alnwick, the abbot of Alnwick thus becoming the father abbot to Langley.

Pope Innocent's bull of confirmation names amongst the abbey endowments the churches of St. Michael, Langley; St. Helen, Ranworth; the Holy Trinity, Loddon; St. Margaret, Trickley; St. Mary, Rushall; St. Mary, Kirkby; and St. Mary, Ewra.²⁷

In the first year of his reign King John confirmed the grants of the founder and all other benefactions with full exemptions from every manner of toll and custom. He also granted to the abbots and canons, in the same year, a fair of two days on the vigil and the feast of Saints Philip and James, and a Tuesday market.²⁸

In 1235 Abbot Hugh obtained the appropriation to the convent of the church of St. Mary, Kirkby, from Thomas, bishop of Norwich, a stipend of eight marks being assigned to the vicar.²⁹

A letter of Richard (or Rycher) the abbot, dated 21 January, 1276, recites the confirmation by Roger, bishop of Norwich, of the appropriation and patronage of the churches of the Holy Trinity, Loddon; St. Gregory, Heckingham; St. Mary, Rushall; St. Mary, Kirkby; St. Helen, Ranworth; St. Botolph, Limpenhoe; and St. Margaret, Trickley; to the uses of the abbot and convent of Langley, excepting the collation to the church at Ranworth, which belonged to the bishopric of Norwich.³⁰ Three years later, in 1279, Walter de Turkeley gave

²² Redman, *Visit. (Bodl.)*, fols. 9, 33.

²³ *Ibid.* fol. 72.

²⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 99.

²⁵ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 336.

²⁶ Add. MS. 5948, pp. 12, 12b. ²⁷ *Ibid.*

The bull is imperfect and lacks the date. This MS. is a thirteenth-century chartulary of the abbey of 58 folios, but is imperfect in several places.

²⁸ Chart. R. 1 John, m. 8.

²⁹ *Cal. of Bodl. Chart.* 192.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

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to the abbot and canons the advowson of the church of Bodham, with two acres of land.¹

Anthony, bishop of Norwich, and the prior and convent of Norwich, gave their sanction to the appropriation of the church of Bodham in August 1330² but the crown licence for the same was not granted until 1332.³ In 1338 licence was also given to appropriate the church of Thurton of their advowson,⁴ but apparently advantage was not immediately taken of this, as in 1343 the abbot and convent of St. Mary's, Langley, signified to the pope that their income from the market had been much reduced by floods both of river and sea, as well as by the number of people asking hospitality, and therefore prayed that the parish church of Thurton, in their patronage, value not exceeding twelve marks might be appropriated to the monastery, notwithstanding that of custom the bishop takes the fruits of the first year, they being ready to come to terms with him. As the church was only half a mile distant from the monastery, they also prayed that it might be served by one of their own canons. The diocesan was instructed by the pope to arrange for this appropriation, but to reserve a fitting vicar's portion.⁵

The taxation of 1291 shows that the abbey had much prospered in the first century of its existence. It had at that date possessions in sixty-two Norfolk and thirteen Suffolk parishes, and its annual income was estimated at £178 5s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

Further additions continued to be made to the abbey's endowment in rents and lands; thus Edward I, in 1302, inspected and confirmed a quit claim made by Roger le Bygod, earl of Norfolk, to the Premonstratensian church and canons of St. Mary, Langley, of 6s. rent and suit at the earl's hundred of Ersham from three weeks to three weeks, for lands which they hold of the earl's fee in Riverhale, Brokedys Redenhall, Poringland, Yelverton &c.⁶

Abbot Richard and his canons acknowledged by an undated deed that they owed Sir William Monchesney homage and relief on the appointment of each abbot of their house for a certain tenement, and an aid to knight his son and marry his daughter, as they did in the time of Sir Warin Monchesney.⁷

The abbot of Langley was the collector for the diocese of Norwich of the crusade tenth imposed for three years by Boniface VIII; the amount, £200, was handed in to the king's clerk and a receipt obtained on 10 February 1304.⁸ The like sum was forwarded by the abbot from

Norwich diocese in the following year, and £229 11s. 6d. in the third year. In discharging this onerous office the abbot of Langley did not give satisfaction, and on 10 December 1306, Walter de Norwich was appointed by the king to examine, in the presence of the abbot, the acquittances given by him to the various contributors. The abbot and his fellow canon, Thomas de Jernemuta, had been lately presented at Westminster for entering as arrears divers sums which certain defaulting clerks and religious asserted that they had fully paid. Walter was instructed to enrol all the sums received by the abbot during the whole time he was engaged in the collection, with the names of those who paid, and those to whom he had failed to give acquittances, and to certify to the auditors. The bishop of Norwich was ordered to give notice to all aggrieved persons to be present.⁹

Robert de Kendall, constable of Dover Castle, and warden of the Cinque Ports was ordered, on 8 August 1316, to permit Geoffrey, abbot of Langley, Bartholomew, abbot of Dereham, and two other abbots of the Premonstratensian order, to pass the sea from the port of Dover to attend their chapter general at Prémontré, provided that they carried with them no money in the name of apport, 'census,' or imposition, contrary to the late king's statutes.¹⁰

Robert de Maners, an old soldier, who served the late king in his wars in Scotland and was then too infirm for further service, was sent to the abbey of Langley, in 1317, there to receive his life maintenance.¹¹

On Ascension Day 1345, William, abbot of Langdon (Kent) as commissary for the abbot of Prémontré, sent John de B. and Thomas de C., canons of Wendling, to the abbot of Langley with a letter of request that they might be admitted to the house of Langley, as the abbey of Wendling was in such very straitened circumstances, mainly owing to the war, that it could not support its own canons. In the spring of that year, when Langley was formally visited by the abbot of Langdon, as Premonstratensian commissary, with the help of the abbots of Alnwick (as father abbot), Dereham, and Leyton, canons John de London, John de Binham, and Thomas de T., were sent away to other houses of the order in consequence of their faults. But on 6 May of the same year, the abbot of Langley was instructed by the abbot of Langdon to receive the temporarily banished brothers back again.¹²

Licence was granted by the crown in 1346, to the abbot and convent of Langley to build a belfry within the abbey and crenellate the same.¹³

¹ Add. MS. 5948, fol. 55b.

² *Cal. of Bodl. Chart.* 171.

³ Pat. 6 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 3.

⁴ Ibid. 12 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 23.

⁵ *Cal. Papal Pet.* i, 29; *Cal. Papal Reg.* iii, 138.

⁶ *Cal. of Pat.* 30 Edw. I m. 19.

⁷ Anct. D. (P.R.O.) A. 2978.

⁸ *Cal. of Pat.* 32 Edw. I, m. 25.

⁹ Ibid. 35 Edw. I, m. 43.

¹⁰ Close, 10 Edw. II, m. 28 d.

¹¹ Ibid. m. 14 d.

¹² Add. MS. 4935, fol. 40.

¹³ Pat. 20 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 4.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

Sir James de Audeley, councillor of the Prince of Aquitaine and Wales, petitioned Urban V in 1366, for an indulgence to those who visited on Trinity Sunday and during the Octave of the chapel of the Holy Trinity in the Premonstratensian monastery of Langley, wherein his ancestors are buried, and where three priests celebrate the divine offices. In response to this petition the pope granted an indulgence of a year and forty days.¹

Bishop Redman's first visit was paid on 1 July, 1475; he left on 3 July, dining at Beccles at the expense of Langley Abbey.² The abbey was again visited by this bishop as commissary-general, on the same day of the month in 1478. In answer to the visitation questions the precise date of the foundation was returned as 19 February, 1195, and the dedication as the Assumption of the Virgin. The abbot of Alnwick was named as their father abbot, and Wendling as their daughter house. They had fourteen churches of moderate value; in some of them the canons served the cure, but not as perpetual curates. Nicholas was the name of their abbot, and Richard Fynes (who died in 1486) their patron.³

The visitor found the abbot bowed down by age and sickness, and hence the discipline was bad. Prior John Bristow was remiss in correction. Two of the canons were appointed to look after the spiritualities and temporalities of the house. Thomas Russell, for evil living, was sentenced to forty days bread and water, and to be banished to another house for three years. Two others were apostate, going out without leave, and were also sentenced to forty days of penance. The fastening of any room so as to prevent the entrance of the superior was forbidden. All recreation outside the precincts was stopped until the next general chapter. The prior was to attend that chapter and report as to observance of injunctions.⁴

Redman's next visit to Langley was on 20 August, 1482; John Myntyng the abbot, John Bristow the prior, and fifteen others (including a novice and an apostate) were in attendance. There was again much scandal. The abbot was accused of some incontinence and waste; and his powers were temporarily transferred to two of the canons under the abbot of Wendling. Common taverns near the monastery were not to be visited. No one was to leave the precincts save those responsible for services in churches. The injunctions also included a variety of minor and usual orders.⁵

During his tour in the early summer of 1486, Bishop Redman reached Langley at supper time on 27 June.⁶ Two years later, when Walter

Alpe the abbot, John Shelton the prior, and thirteen other canons were present, he found matters going on excellently, and the debt reduced from £200 to £100.

There must, however, have been some irregularities, for he left behind him injunctions against hunting or fishing by night, against illicit desertion under pain of the greater excommunication.

At the visitation of 1491 the grave case of Canon Thomas Ludham came before the visitor. In a quarrel he had cut off a man's right hand; he was sentenced to forty days penance and to perpetual imprisonment.⁷ The visitation of 1494 was attended by the same abbot and prior as in 1482, but there were only eight other canons.⁸ The discipline of the house was bad, and the abbot was threatened with punishment and deprivation.⁹ During his tour in 1497 the bishop reached Langley at supper time on 20 June; he held his visitation the next day, but did not leave until the 23rd, when he slept at Norwich at the expense of Langley. This unusually long stay of the bishop and his retinue was probably intended as a kind of punishment for the laxity he had found at this abbey.¹⁰ At the visitation made in October, 1500, attended by Abbot Alpe, Prior Shelton, and eleven other canons, a scandal about the prior was repeated, but the visitor does not seem to have considered it serious.¹¹

In the year 1500 William Curlew was elected abbot; but in 1502, for some delinquencies which are not named, he was obliged to resign, and on 10 December, 1502, Robert abbot of Alnwick, as father-abbot of Langley, being too aged and infirm to ride or in any way visit his daughter church personally, wrote to Richard the bishop of Ely, giving him full authority to act in his name, and to conduct an election of a new abbot. He told the bishop in his letter that the house of Langley was in sore financial straits, being much in debt, and not having sufficient for its domestic needs, or for the spiritual benefices that it held. He also anticipated certain difficulties or discord as to the election, and authorized the bishop as his representative to excommunicate any who might be rebellious.¹² Richard Redman, abbot of Shap, was consecrated bishop of St. Asaph in 1471; in 1495 he was translated to Exeter, and in 1501 to Ely.

On 9 April,¹³ Thomas abbot of Welbeck, as commissary general of the abbot of Prémontré, instructed John Maxe, abbot of Langley, and

⁷ Redman, Visit (Bodl.), fol. 99. Thomas Ludham seems to have escaped. He was summoned to appear before the General Chapter at Grantham in 1492; not appearing he was excommunicated. About ten years later he was again cited to appear before Redman, when he was bishop of Ely. Gasquet, *Collectanea Anglo Premonstratensia*, i, 172, 249.

⁸ Redman, Visit. (Bodl.), fol. 118.

⁹ Ibid. fol. 124.

¹⁰ Ibid. fol. 141.

¹¹ Ibid. fol. 151.

¹² Ibid. fol. 42.

¹³ No year is given, but it is probably 1503.

¹ *Cal. Papal Pet.* i, 519.

² Redman, Visit. (Bodleian), fol. 5.

³ Add. MS. 4935, fol. 41.

⁴ Redman, Visit. (Bodl.), fols. 13, 21.

⁵ Ibid. fols. 34 and 44b.

⁶ Ibid. fol. 71.

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William and Thomas Garrad, canons of the same house, to peremptorily cite William Curlew, the late abbot, under pain of suspension and excommunication, to appear personally at the provincial chapter in the town of Nottingham on 9 April, in certain causes and articles concerning his soul's health and reformation. In case the said William showed contumacy or rebellion they were to deal with him after the full rigour of their statutes, according to their rule and judicial process.¹

In 1513, John, abbot of Langley, was collated by the bishop of Norwich to the rectory of Chedgrave. Robert Walkington occurs as abbot in 1517, in which year Pope Leo gave him permission to hold another abbey and two ecclesiastical benefices, or three ecclesiastical benefices without another abbey.² In 1523 he was rector of Carleton, and in 1529 of Claxton.

Thomas Kerdeston, archdeacon of Norfolk, was buried in the church of this abbey before the altar of the holy rood in 1276. Margaret, wife of Sir William Kerdeston, was buried near the archdeacon in 1328, and Sir Roger Kerdeston in 1337. Other burials in this conventual church were John de Clavering (patron of the house), Sir Robert Grey, Sir Robert Hodington, Sir Robert Ufford, Sir Thomas Ufford, Sir Hugh Gurney, Sir Robert de Vallibus, Sir Simon Grey, Sir James Bradley, Sir William Poole, and several of their wives.³

The clear annual value of the abbey in 1534, according to the Valor Ecclesiasticus, was only £104 16s. 5½d.

The county commissioners for suppression reported in 1536 that there were at Langley of religious persons 'vj alle prystes whereof one desyrethe to contynue in Religione and the rest require capasaties, they been of goode name.' There were also twenty-one servants who had their living there, namely two priests, seven waiting servants, and twelve hinds. The lead and bells were estimated at £160, and the goods at £36 14s. 3d. The house was in debt to the extent of £120 16s. 8d.⁴

An inventory of the abbey's possessions taken this year shows that there were in the church and vestry a cross of copper, three chalices and patens, a crozier staff, six pewter cruets, twelve copes, ten vestments, and ten albs.

Abbot Robert Walkington obtained a pension of £13 6s. 8d.⁵

ABBOTS OF LANGLEY

Gilbert,⁶ temp. John

Hugh,⁷ occurs 1233, 1249

¹ Redman, Visit. (Bodl.), fol. 43.

² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* x, 150.

³ Harl. MS. 972, fol. 79.

⁴ Chant. Cert. Norf. No. 90.

⁵ Aug. Off. Bss. cccxxii, 316.

⁶ Chart. R. i John, m. 8.

⁷ Add. MS. 5948, fols. 36, 5.

Richard,⁸ occurs 1276

Simon,⁹ occurs 1251, 1267

Geoffrey,¹⁰ occurs 1316

John de Strumpeshagh,¹¹ elected 1340

William,¹² occurs 1350

Geoffrey,¹³ elected 1368

Peter,¹⁴ elected 1375

John de Norwich,¹⁵ elected 1392

John Walsham,¹⁶ elected 1399

John Waterden,¹⁷ occurs 1422

Nicholas de Wenynghon,¹⁸ occurs 1428 and 1463

Nicholas Wamerton,¹⁹ occurs 1467 and 1478

John Myntyng, ²⁰ occurs 1482

Walter Alpe,²¹ occurs 1488

William Curlew,²² elected 1500

John Maxe,²³ elected 1503

Robert Walkington,²⁴ elected 1516, last abbot

An imperfect impression of the first seal of this abbey is attached to a charter of 1267. *Obverse*, the abbot seated has a crozier in right hand and a book in the left; on each side a hand and arm issuing and holding a candle in a candlestick. *Reverse*, the Virgin seated with Holy Child on left knee; candles in candlesticks the same as the obverse.²⁵ A cast in the British Museum from a fine impression gives the legend on the obverse:

S' ABBATIS ET CONVENTUS ECCLESIE SCE MARIE DE LANGELE²⁶

Of a second fourteenth-century seal there is also a cast at the British Museum. The crowned Virgin, seated in a tabernacled niche, has the Holy Child on left knee, and in the right hand a fleur-de-lis sceptre.²⁷

44. THE ABBEY OF WENDLING

The abbey of Wendling, dedicated to St. Mary, was founded about 1265 by William de Wendling, one of the king's justices, for canons of the Premonstratensian order. By the foundation charter, the abbey was endowed with William's messuage at Wendling, and three carucates of land in the towns of Wendling, Scarning, Great and Little Fransham, with all appurtenances and services, also with all his houses, buildings, services,

⁸ *Cal. of Bedl. Chart.* 192.

⁹ Add. MS. 5948, fols. 5, 56.

¹⁰ Close, 10 Edw. II, m. 29 d.

¹¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* x, 150.

¹² Add. MS. 6275, fol. 126.

¹³ Norw. Epis. Reg. v, fol. 80.

¹⁴ Ibid. vi, fol. 43.

¹⁵ Ibid. fol. 170.

¹⁶ Ibid. fol. 246.

¹⁷ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* x, 150.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Redman, Visit (Bodl.), fol. 44b.

²¹ Ibid. fol. 72.

²² Ibid.

²³ Add. MS. 4935, fol. 43.

²⁴ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* x, 150.

²⁵ Add. Ch. 19291; Dugdale, *Mov.* vi, 930; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 1137.

²⁶ B.M. lxix, 28.

²⁷ B.M. xlvi, 612.

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&c., at Feltwell, in order to sustain the lights and ornaments of the abbey church, and for the dress and shoes of the canons and lay brethren. By other charters William de Wendling conveyed to the canons all his possessions or rents in Langham, Yaxham, Reymerston, Cranworth, Letton, Shipdham, Rising Crethemere, Tilney, Wiggenhall, Saddlebow, Clenchwarton, North Lynn, Walpole, Elmham, Oxborough, Brandon, Thetford, Dunham, and Kempstone.

Reyner de Gimmingham granted to Nicholas, the first abbot, and his convent the advowson of the church of All Saints, Burnham Ulph, with two and a half acres of land, and the advowson of a moiety of Burnham St. Margaret with three and a half acres of land.

Robert de Stoteville granted to the same abbot, in 1273, his lordship in Wendling and the advowson of the church, and all the church and chapels of Weasenham, together with forty acres at a place called Merledelond.¹

At the compiling of the Valor of 1291, this abbey had possessions in twenty-nine Norfolk parishes, and its annual value was £39 19s. 7½d. This total was slightly augmented in succeeding years by occasional gifts of lands and rents; thus in 1306, the abbot and convent were licensed to accept the gift, by Nicholas de Stokesley, of a messuage, a mill, three acres of land, three acres of meadow, and 26s. 8d. rents in Yaxham.² A considerable number of deeds relating to grants and leases made by or to the abbey in Scarning and the neighbourhood are preserved at the Record Office.³

The abbey obtained the royal licence to appropriate the church of Langham⁴ in 1329, and that of Yaxham in 1363.⁵

The clear annual value of the abbey was declared to be £55 18s. 4¼d. by the Valor of 1535, when Thomas Ellington was abbot.

In September, 1291, the abbot of Wendling received the papal mandate to grant a dispensation to John de Scippedaham, priest of his monastery, of illegitimate birth, to minister in orders received, and to be promoted to dignities of his order.⁶

In September, 1327, the constable of Dover Castle was ordered to permit the abbot of Wendling to cross the fens from that part to attend the general chapter at Prémontré, and to supply him with twenty marks towards his expenses.⁷

In 1330 Lady Margaret Foliot, as patroness of the abbey, was buried before the high altar of the conventual church on the north side.

Pope John XXIII, in 1411, granted an indulgence during ten years, of one hundred days

to penitents who, on certain specified feasts, should visit and give alms for the repair of the monastic church of Wendling, where were preserved certain pieces of the true cross, a foot of St. Lucy the Virgin, and other relics.⁸

On the death of Abbot John de Norwich in 1339, the canons proceeded at once to the election of a successor, without waiting for the necessary formalities. Thereupon the abbot of Langdon, who was acting as visitor and commissary for the abbot of Prémontré, wrote to the abbot of Dereham, styling the late John of Norwich an unworthy man who had assumed the position of abbot, and pointing out the irregularities of the canons who had proceeded to make another unworthy election. He ordered the abbot of Dereham to cite before him, as commissary, in the church of St. Rade-gund, on Monday after the Exaltation of the Cross, the new abbot, (if he could be called so) and two proctors to represent the convent, to show cause why this uncanonical election should not be annulled.⁹

The result is not known, but John de Tytle-shalle eventually succeeded as superior.

At his first visitation tour as commissary of the abbot of Prémontré, in 1475, Bishop Redman tarried at Wendling from 28 to 30 June.¹⁰ Three years later he was again at Wendling, on 30 June, when the abbot was ordered to see to the observance of the day and night hours, which was imperilled through paucity of numbers, and to rebuild the church, which had been destroyed by fire, as soon as possible. The debt of £60 noted in 1475 had been reduced by the abbot's care to £13.

In addition to John Skerning, abbot, and John Grey, sub-prior, there were only four other canons. They had three churches in their charge, which were served either by secular curates, or by canons who could be recalled at will.¹¹

When Bishop Redman reached Wendling on his visitation tour of 1482, he praised the general condition of the house. Considerable progress had been made with the new buildings, but he urged greater speed with the church. He gave some attention to the smaller details of worship (*in minutis observanciis*) such as directing that the antiphons of the canticles should be sung only by the priests. Richard Fenwick, contumacious and rebellious, was sentenced to forty days of severe penance, and to banishment to Leicester Abbey for three years. In addition to abbot and prior, there were but four other canons, two of whom were novices.¹² The numbers were the same at the visitation made on the 27 June, 1488, when two of the inmates were sentenced by the bishop. In one case there had been rebellion (disobedience) but the offender promised obedience

¹ The whole of the above grants are cited in a royal confirmation grant of 1332. Pat. 6 Edw. III pt. i, m. 25.

² Pat. 34 Edw. I, m. 17.

³ *Cal. of Anct. D.* vol. v.

⁴ Pat. 3 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* 37 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 17.

⁶ *Cal. Papal Reg.* i, 541.

⁷ Close, 1, Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 12 d.

⁸ *Cal. of Papal Reg.* vi, 308.

⁹ Sloane MS. 4935, fol. 83.

¹⁰ Redman, Visit. (Bodl.) fol. 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.* fols. 13, 21.

¹² *Ibid.* fols. 33, 44.

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and was ordered to be castigated, otherwise to appear before the provincial chapter. The other offender was brought before the visitor for defects in singing the collects; but he refused to ask pardon, and was ordered to say the nocturn of the psalter in cloister the same day after dinner, as discipline.

The bishop entered that everything else was excellent, that there had been much progress in the building of the church and conventual houses, and that there was no debt.¹

At the visitation of September, 1491, there were six canons in addition to Abbot Skerning, but one was a rebel. Thomas Milham, the rebel of the last visitation, had not improved, but the contrary; he was sentenced to forty days of penance and to three years' absence at Sulby. The abbot was ordered to raise the number of canons to at least eight.² There was, however, no improvement in numbers when the bishop again visited in 1494; the canons, including the abbot, numbered six. On this occasion there were various ritual injunctions, and John Barlyng, for incontinency, was condemned to forty days' penance and two years at some other house.³

At the visitation of 1497, there were five canons and two novices. On this occasion the bishop found nothing worthy of correction; the house was not in debt, and was abundantly supplied. The abbot was ordered to repair the dormitory. *Ave Maria Stella* was to be sung daily at evensong.

The last recorded visitation of Bishop Redman was in 1500, when there were six canons and two novices. The visitor found that all was delightful.⁴ In 1536 the secret *comperta* of Legh and Leyton allege incontinency against the abbot.⁵

Later in the same year the county commissioners reported that the abbot and convent had leased, on 1 November, 1534, a large portion of their lands and possessions for ninety-nine years to Richard Southwell (one of the commissioners)

and Robert Logan. They found at the house 'religious persones and all prystes who done Require Capasities; Ther name ys nott goode.' There were also two hinds and ten servants at the abbey. The lead and bells were worth £100, but the house was in much decay. The goods were worth £12 8s. 9d. but the house owed £66 17s. 11d.⁶ According to the same commissioners' certificate, dated 27 January, 1537, the 'stuff' of this house contained in the inventory was sold to Robert Logan for £13 6s. 8d.; the plate, valued at 41s. 8d., was reserved in the charge of Richard Southwell.

On 6 February, 1537, ex-Abbot Thomas Ellington was assigned a pension of 100s. in spite of the charge of incontinency.⁷

This small abbey was one of those whose dissolution was permitted by Clement VII's bull of 1528, and whose possessions were granted to Cardinal Wolsey for the erection of his two colleges. But Wolsey's fall prevented that dissolution being carried out. Eventually, in 1546, Henry VIII granted it to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, on its own foundation.

ABBOTS OF WENDLING

Nicholas,⁸ appointed 1265,⁸ occurs 1273
Robert,¹⁰ occurs 1286
John,¹¹ resigned 1329
William de Saxlingham,¹² elected 1329
John de Norwich,¹³ died 1339
John de Tytleshalle,¹⁴ elected 1339
Thomas, occurs 1352¹⁵
John,¹⁶ occurs 1377, 1398
Ralph,¹⁷ 1425
Edmund,¹⁸ 1432
John Skerning,¹⁹ elected 1474
Thomas Walsoken,²⁰ elected 1503
Richard Rolston,²¹ elected 1504
John York,²² elected 1509
George,²³ occurs 1529
Thomas Ellington,²⁴ occurs 1535, last abbot

HOUSE OF KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS

45. THE PRECEPTORY OF CARBROOKE

In the time of Henry II, Maud, countess of Clare, gave the church of St. Peter, Great Carbrooke, and of St. John Baptist, Little Carbrooke, to the Knights Hospitallers, together with the manor and other endowments. The house itself of the preceptory was dedicated to St. John Baptist, with a chapel attached. The sixteen stalls in the parish church of Great Carbrooke were supposed by Blomefield to indicate the

number of Knights of the Order there resident; but this was an error, for the house was far smaller, accommodating one knight or preceptor,

⁶ *Chant. Cert. Norf.* No. 90.

⁷ Aug. O. Bks. ccxxxii, 4 b.

⁸ Pat. 6 Edw. III. pt. i, m. 25.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Tanner, Norw. MSS. i, 25

¹¹ Norw. Epis. Reg. ii, 38.

¹² Ibid. ¹³ Ibid. iii, 27.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Assize R. 1450, m. 15.

¹⁶ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* x, 90.

¹⁷ Norw. Epis. Reg. ix, 4.

¹⁸ Ibid. 58.

¹⁹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* x, 90.

²⁰ Tanner, Norw. MSS. i, 136.

²¹ Ibid. ²² Ibid.

²³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv, (3), 2699.

²⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.)

¹ Redman, Visit. (Bodl.) fol. 72.

² Ibid. fols. 99, 100. ³ Ibid. fols. 118, 124.

⁴ Ibid. fol. 152.

⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* x, 143.

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and two brethren, who would all worship in their own chapel.¹

The preceptories of this order were occasionally called Hospitals, in cases where the inmates had no other hospitality to discharge than that of relieving wayfarers or cases of special distress; but the foundation of Carbrooke specially entitled them to the name hospital, as they had the charge of twelve poor persons.

Blomefield states that Sir Alexander de Mitham was master or preceptor from 1307 to 1315, and he occurs in 1308 as witness to a grant by Richard de Carbrook.² The only other preceptors he names are Elias, 1256; Robert de Heugham, 1285; and John Halligate, 1424.

The general return of the Knights Hospitalers in England made by Philip de Thame, the English prior, in 1338, gives £192 2s. 4½d. as the annual value of Carbrooke Preceptory. In addition to many acres of land and pasture at Carbrooke, Costessy, and Bamburgh, which they farmed themselves, the preceptory had large rents both in money and kind, the latter being paid in barley, oats, or poultry, as well as autumn services from villeins. The court fees and perquisites averaged £4; two windmills brought in 40s., and the dovecote 6s. 8d. The rectories of the churches of Great and Little Carbrooke produced an annual income of £40, whilst the free-will offering collected in the neighbourhood, possibly throughout the whole county, averaged 130 marks.

The list of expenses (which amounted to £71 12s. 7½d.) shows that those who had their daily board in the house were the preceptor, two brethren, the vicar of Great Carbrooke and his servant, two secular chaplains, who celebrated for the soul of the founder, four clerks who collected the offerings of the district, twelve poor persons, one of whom had a loaf of bread weighing sixty ounces, eight servants of the houses, and also those who were occasionally hospitably entertained. The stipends of the two chaplains celebrating in the chapel were 40s. A robe for the steward of their courts and his fee amounted to 46s. 8d., the robe and stipend of the preceptor's squire 20s., and those of the chamberlain, bailiff, cook, baker, porter, warrener, carpenter, and gardener, 6s. 8d. each. Two boys of the preceptor had 3s. 4d. each, and the stable boy and kitchen boy 5s. each. The washerwoman was paid 4s. a year, and the prior's three days' visitation cost them 60s. The handsome balance of about £120, after paying all expenses, went to the English Prior-General at Clerkenwell. Sir Alan Macy was at this time preceptor; the two brethren were Thomas de Hinton (chaplain) and William de Boyton.³

The most distinguishing feature of the accounts of Carbrooke is the large sum of £86 13s. 4d. entered under *fraria ad voluntatem contribuentium*. The *confraria*, *fraria*, or *collecta*, as it was diversely termed, was a highly important item of the accounts of the commanderies or preceptories of the Knights Hospitalers. Voluntary collections were made by clerks specially deputed for the purpose from churches and the faithful in general. The total collected in England and Wales in this way, in the year 1338, was £888 4s. 3d. Carbrooke Preceptory actually contributed nearly a tenth of the whole amount. There can be little doubt that they gathered from the whole county of Norfolk, as theirs was the only preceptory within its bounds; and this would account for their keeping the exceptional number of four clerks for the purpose.

Innocent VI issued his mandate in 1353 to the prior and archdeacon of Norwich and to the precentor of Hereford to carry out the ordinances touching apostates in regard to William de Boyton, Hospitaller, who left the hospital of Carbrooke, in the diocese of Norwich, and then desired to be reconciled to it.⁴

At some time before the Valor of 1535 was taken this preceptory had become amalgamated with that of Chippenham, Cambridge; they were both under the same preceptor, Sir Thomas Copleyke. The rectory of Carbrooke then produced £6 10s. The vicar had a pension of £4, which was probably in addition to his board at the preceptory. Two priests had £5 each for celebrating. The temporalities of Carbrooke (without Chippenham) realized £36 1s. 1½d. Six boys are entered as maintained according to the foundation charter at a cost of £12, but this apparently refers to Chippenham: there is no reference to the twelve poor persons sustained at Carbrooke in the fourteenth century.

An inventory was made of the goods and chattels of the late commandery of Carbrooke on 21 November, 1541, by Sir Richard Southwell and Thomas Mildmay, as King's commissioners. The contents of the chapel were poor, namely, a chalice, a mass-book, two cruets, a sacring bell, an old surplice, two corporas-cases, two old rent altar-cloths, a covering on the altar of black buckram, 'a cloth before the altar with the picture of seynt Ihu olde,' an old psalter, two latten candlesticks, and a bell weighing 20 lb.

The total value of the goods and chattels, including corn in the barn, corn and hay in stacks, and ten acres of sown wheat, was estimated at £46 19s. 4d., exclusive of the silver chalice. There was allowed to Sir Thomas Copleyke, as preceptor, 'accordynge to the statut' a sixth part of this value. The annual value of the vicarage of Carbrooke is stated to be £8,⁵ but a much corrected Valor of the possessions of this

¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 335.

² Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 2964.

³ *The Knights Hospitalers in Engl.* (Camd. Soc. 1857).

⁴ *Cal. Papal Reg.* iii, 515.

⁵ Ch. Gds. L.R. Norf. ¼.

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preceptory, *temp.* Henry VIII, probably of the year of its suppression, gives the value of the rectory of Carbrooke at 10s. 10d.; the rents of assize, £15 3s. 5½d.; the manor farm, £15 4s. 8d.; the foldcourse for 200 sheep, 30s.; and the court perquisites 20s.¹

The site of the house, the manor and the rectory were granted in 1543 to Sir Richard Gresham and Sir Richard Southwell.

SISTERS HOSPITALLERS OF LITTLE CARBROOKE

Maud, countess of Clare, at the same time that she established the preceptory of Knights

Hospitallers at Great Carbrooke, placed some sisters of their Order in a hospital near the church of Little Carbrooke. But very soon after their foundation, namely, in 1180, Henry II gave the order the monastery of Buckland, Somerset, on the condition that they should there place all the English Sisters Hospitallers, who had previously lived in several preceptories. Henceforth Buckland was the only English house for these sisters, those of Little Carbrooke being at once transferred there. From Little Carbrooke 13s. 4d. was paid as an annual pension to the Somerset nunnery; that sum appears in the Valor of 1535.⁸

FRIARIES

46. THE CARMELITE FRIARS OF BLAKENEY

At Blakeney *alias* Sniterley, a house of White Friars, dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, was established in 1296, when John and Michael Storm and John and Thomas Thobury, copyhold tenants of Sir William Roos, lord of the town, gave 13½ acres of land to the Carmelities, with the consent of the king and the lord. The friars were to build a chapel and necessary buildings on the site, and to pray for Sir William Roos and Lady Maud his wife, as their principal founders. Sir William gave them 100 marks towards building their church and houses, and promised to build their hall and kitchen, as well as proper chambers suitable for him and his heirs whenever they should think proper to stay there.² The church and all the offices were not completed until 1321.³

Pardon was granted to the Carmelites of Blakeney, in 1316, for acquiring in mortmain without licence, 1½ acres of land from Michael Bret, with leave to extend their dwellings and build thereon.⁴

These friars were evidently prospering, for there were several other enlargements of their site. Thus in 1331 licence was granted to the prior and convent to receive in mortmain from John Tolour the younger and Richard Storm 4 acres adjoining their house.⁵

In 1337 John Storm granted to the prior and Carmelite Friars of Sniterley 4 acres of land for the enlargement of their house,⁶ and fifteen years later there was yet another extension.⁷

This house was suppressed towards the close

of 1538.⁹ In February, 1542, the king granted the house and site to William Rede, mercer of London, and Anne his wife; but in the following month Rede transferred it to Sir Richard Gresham.¹⁰

Among the spoils of church plate from the suppressed Norfolk houses were '100 oz. gilt and 54 oz. white, with two paxes of ivory' from the White Friars of Blakeney.¹¹

47. THE CARMELITE FRIARS OF BURNHAM NORTON

A house of Carmelite or White Friars was founded in 1241 by Sir William Calthorp and Sir Ralph Hemenhale in the parish of Burnham Norton.¹² In 1298 the prior and convent of Carmelite Friars of Burnham had licence for the alienation to them by Walter de Calthorp (son of one of the founders) of a rood of meadow for the enlargement of their house.¹³ In 1353, they obtained another licence for further enlargement.¹⁴

Thomas Gigges, of Burnham St. Clement, by will of 11 March, 1467, left a small bequest in money to the Carmelite priory of Burnham,¹⁵ and other members of his family followed his example, another Thomas Gigges in 1505 leaving to the friars of Burnham 6s. 8d., 'that is to say, to the prior 12d., and to every friar being a priest 4d., and to every novice 2d., and to their pittance 12d., they to keep a solemn dirige and a mass for my soul and all my friends' souls at my burying.'¹⁶ The will of Olive Gigges, widow, made in 1510 mentions a bequest of 6 combs of barley to 'the whight friers of

¹ Rentals and Surv. (P.R.O.), Portf. 1½.

² Tanner, *Notitia*, Norf. viii; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 365.

³ Steven, *Continuation of Mon.* vol. ii, App. 454.

⁴ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 25.

⁵ Ibid. 5 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 23.

⁶ Ibid. 11 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 23.

⁷ Ibid. 26 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 6.

⁸ Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 34.

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 508.

¹⁰ Ibid. xvii, 104 (69).

¹¹ Ibid. 139.

¹² *Brit. Antig. at Forw.* v, 406.

¹³ Pat. 26 Edw. I, m. 13.

¹⁴ Ibid. 27 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 2.

¹⁵ Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 5971.

¹⁶ Ibid. 12778.

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Burnham,¹ who also received a legacy of 26s. 8d. from Nicholas Esthawe in 1457.²

Robert Bale, the most distinguished literary Carmelite of the English province, was a friar of this house. He used to pass a part of every year at the Carmelite houses of Oxford and Cambridge for the purposes of study. His chief work was the annals of his own order. He died prior of this house in 1503 and was here buried.³

When rumours of the approaching dissolution of the friars were rife, Jane Calthorp wrote to Cromwell, on 17 May, 1538, asking him to obtain the king's leave for her to purchase the White Friars, Burnham, as it was near Polsted Hall, which manor had been granted to her and her heirs male. In the letter she stated that she had only one poor house to dwell in at Norwich, where she was often driven by the plague. The letter also stated that there were only four friars left at Burnham, and as they were too poor to sustain the charge and repairs of the house they were willing to part with it.⁴

A paper drawn up towards the end of 1538 enumerating the friaries that had not been 'defasede ne rasede,' states that the houses of the White Friars, Burnham, were not sold, but remained as left by the visitor (Richard Ingworth), on account of an order not to meddle as Sir Richard Gresham had the preferment of the house at the king's hands.⁵

Among the spoils of church plate from the religious houses of Norfolk were '3 oz. gilt, 58 oz. white and a nutt garnished with silver,' from the White Friars of Burnham.⁶

48. THE DOMINICAN FRIARS OF LYNN

The priory of Friars Preachers was founded at Lynn, towards the end of Henry III's reign, by Thomas Gedney, on the east side of the town, between Clow Lane and Skinner Lane. The church was dedicated to St. Dominic, and the house was large enough to accommodate forty religious as early as the beginning of the reign of Edward I.⁷

The priory site was enlarged in the fourteenth century.⁸ The house was supplied with fresh water from a spring called Brookwell, at Middleton, nearly four miles distant; the site of the well being the gift of William Berdolf.⁹

¹ Anct. D. A. 12352.

² Ibid. 13389.

³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* vol. iii.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii (1), 374.

⁵ Ibid. (2), 508.

⁶ Ibid. xvii, 139.

⁷ *Reliquary* (new ser.), vol. ii, p. 1. This article, pp. 1-8, is by the late Father Palmer.

⁸ *Cal. Inq. a.q.d.* 3 Edw. II, No. 57; Pat 30 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 9.

⁹ *Cal. Inq. a.q.d.* 21 Edw. I, No. 71.

When Edward I was at Gaywood in 1277 he sent these friars 13s. 4d. for a day's food, and also 12s. for another day. John de St. Omer, mayor of Lynn, in 1285, gave them wine to the value of 11s. for the feast of St. Dominic. When Edward I passed through Lynn in 1300 he sent an alms of 15s. for a day's food. Edward II on arriving at Lynn in 1326 gave a like sum for the day's food of forty-five friars; and Edward III, when passing through the town in 1328, sent 14s. 8d. to the forty-five friars who were then in the house. Father Palmer also sets forth at length numerous bequests to the four orders of friars of this town, and to the Black Friars in particular up to the year 1505.

Provincial chapters of the Dominicans are known to have been held here at this house in 1304, 1344, and 1365; on the first occasion Edward I gave 20 marks towards the expenses, whilst Edward III gave £15 on the second occasion, and £10 on the last.¹⁰

About the year 1486 the priory suffered severely from fire. Twenty years later the buildings were not fully restored, and the master-general, on 24 June, 1476, empowered the prior for five years to admit as many as he would to the benefits and suffrages of the order, provided their alms were applied to the repair of the convent.¹¹

When the Valor of 1535 was drawn up there was but rare mention of friars, as their only property was, as a rule, the land on which their house and church stood. In this case, Thomas Lovell being prior, the Dominicans held a tenement in Lynn let at 10s. a year and a parcel of meadow at 8s.¹²

This community was destroyed in 1538. The day and month are left blank on the surrender, which is signed by Thomas Lovell, prior, Robert Skott, bachelor, and trustees of the order.¹³

PRIORS

(Mentioned by Father Palmer)

William de Bagthorpe, 1393

John Braynes, 1488

William Videnhus, 1497

Thomas Lovell, 1535

The site of this house, as well as of the other three friaries of Lynn, was granted by the king to John Eyre, who was one of the king's auditors or receivers. Eyre obtained a large share of monastic lands, including much of the great abbey of Bury St. Edmunds; but he did not prosper and died childless.¹⁴

¹⁰ *Reliquary* (new ser.), ii, 4.

¹¹ *Reg. Mag. Gen. Ord.* cited by Father Palmer. Various minor particulars as to fifteenth-century friars of this house are also given from this source from the same chronicle.

¹² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 397.

¹³ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. 2, 30.

¹⁴ Spelman, *Hist. of Sacrilege*, 247.

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49. THE FRANCISCAN FRIARS OF LYNN

The house of the Grey Friars was founded at Lynn by Thomas Feltham in the latter part of the reign of Henry III.¹

John Stanford, provincial of his order, who died in 1264, was buried at the Franciscan house of Lynn.²

Licence was obtained in 1314 for the warden and Friars Minor of Lynn to retain a mill in North Runcton, called 'Bukenwelle,' which they had acquired without the leave of the late king, from Thomas Bardolf and Robert de Scales, and to lead the water from the well by an underground conduit to their house in Lynn.³

In 1365 the friars obtained a patent to add two messuages to their sites.⁴

The house was surrendered on 1 October, 1538; the surrender was signed by Edmund Brygat, warden, and nine others.⁵

50. THE CARMELITE FRIARS OF LYNN

The house of the White Friars or Carmelites stood on the south side of the town, close to the River Lynn. According to Blomefield it was founded by Lord Bardolph towards the close of the reign of Henry III.⁶

The earliest record mention of it occurs in 1261 in a document relative to the obstruction of a lane.⁷

In 1277 Edward I gave the Carmelite Friars of Lynn six oaks for timber from the forest of Sapley, for the works of their church in that town. The order for these trees was dated 17 March, and addressed to Roger de Clifford, justice of the forest on this side Trent. However, Roger reported that there were no trees fit for timber for such a purpose in the Sapley forest. Whereupon, on 17 April, the king ordered Richard de Holebrok, his steward, to let the Carmelites have six suitable trees from the king's woods in his bailiwick, wherever it might be done with least damage to the king and greatest convenience to the friars.⁸

Licence was granted in 1285 to the Carmelites of Lynn to close a lane adjoining the churchyard of their church on the north, and to enclose the

same with a wall for the enlargement of the churchyard; on condition that they make another lane of the same length and breadth over their own land adjoining the wall.⁹

In the 9 Richard II, William Lord Bardolph died and was buried in the church of the Carmelites of Lynn.¹⁰

From a deposition made by Friar Peter of Lynn, sub-prior of the Carmelites, it appears that the family of Hastings were benefactors of the house. He swore, at a trial begun 9 Henry IV, that the arms of Hastings were painted in the priory for forty years past, and that they had a banner of the arms forty-eight years before; Friar Alleyn, aged fifty-nine, deposed to the like effect.¹¹

The Valor of 1535 gives 33s. as the annual value of the parcel of land within the precinct wall, whilst a plot without it was worth 2s. 4d.¹²

The house surrendered on 30 September, 1538. The surrender was signed by Robert Newman, prior, and ten others.¹³

The fourteenth-century circular seal (1 in.) of this house has two canopied niches; on the left is the standing Virgin and Holy Child; on the right is the standing figure of St. Margaret trampling on the dragon, piercing his head with a long cross held in the right hand and holding a book in the left. Legend:—

S' COMMUN' FRUM D' CARMELO LEN

51. THE AUSTIN FRIARS OF LYNN

The Austin Friars settled at Lynn early in the reign of Edward I, on the north side of the town. They were well established by 1295, for in that year Margaret de Suthmere obtained licence to alienate a messuage in Lynn to the Austin Friars of that town, containing 100 ft. by 80 ft. of land.¹⁴

In 1306 Thomas de Lexham obtained licence to alienate to the friars a messuage adjoining their site.¹⁵ There was a further licence to the same benefactor, for a like purpose, in 1311,¹⁶ and in 1329 Humphrey de Wykene gave the Austin Friars a plot of land adjoining their house for its enlargement.¹⁷

Soon after this there was evidently a considerable extension of their premises, followed probably by a rebuilding of their house and church; for in 1338 licence was granted to Robert de Wykene to add to their premises a plot

¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* viii, 526.

² *Collect. Angl. Min.* cited by Tanner; *Notitia*, Norf. xli, 8.

³ Pat. 7 Edw. II, pt. ii, No. 3.

⁴ Ibid. 38 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 16, 8.

⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xliii (2), 196.

⁶ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* viii, 525.

⁷ *Escaet Norf.* 45 Hen. III, n. 31, cited in Tanner, *Notitia*. A document of the same year quoted by Blomefield, making a benefactor give these friars lands in six different parishes, must be a blunder; none of the mendicants could accept such a gift.

⁸ *Cal. of Close*, 5 Edw. I, m. 10.

⁹ *Cal. of Pat.* 13 Edw. I, m. 1.

¹⁰ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* viii, 523.

¹¹ Le Neve MS. cited by Blomefield.

¹² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 297.

¹³ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. 2, 3.

¹⁴ Pat. 23 Edw. I, m. 12.

¹⁵ Ibid. 34 Edw. I, m. 34.

¹⁶ Ibid. 4 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 14.

¹⁷ Ibid. 3 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 27.

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100 ft. by 60 ft., and there were other extensions about the same date.¹

In 1364 the friars were permitted to add five tenements to their site, the gift of Thomas Drewe and others.² The bishop of Norwich, in 1383, granted the friars a plot of land in Gaywood, 24 ft. by 16 ft., of the yearly value of 1*d.*, for making a subterranean conduit from a spring in that plot through the bishop's demesnes to their house.³

There were further extensions of their premises in the reigns of Henry IV⁴ and V.⁵

In 1535, when Thomas Potter was prior, this house had three tenements in Lynn of the annual value of 26*s.* 8*d.*⁶

The surrender of the house, dated 30 September, 1538, was signed by William Wilson, prior, and ten others.⁷

52. THE FRIARS OF THE SACK, LYNN

The Friars of the Sack, or De Penitentia, had a house at Lynn in the thirteenth century. This order, which never attained to much prosperity, was suppressed in France in 1293, the members being obliged to join the Austin Friars in consequence of the smallness of their numbers. In England they came to an end in 1317, when the members were obliged to join one or other of the four chief orders of the mendicants. At the time of their suppression Robert Flegg, the prior of the house at Lynn, was superior of the whole order in England.⁸

There is a reference in the Norfolk Fines of 1277 to the right of the prior 'de Penitentia Jesu Christi in Lenn' to certain messuages.⁹

53. THE DOMINICAN FRIARS OF NORWICH

The Friars Preachers first took up their abode in the city of Norwich in the year 1226. The Norwich house was the third founded in England after their arrival on our shores in 1221, and ranked as one of the most important of the Dominican priories.¹⁰

The old parish church of 'St. John Baptist over-the-Water' was assigned to them at an early date by Sir Thomas Gelham. It stood on

the north side of Black Boy Street, and by its side they created their first dwellings.¹¹ Their rule prohibited them from accepting any parochial charge, so that the parish of St. John Baptist must have been united to that of St. George before the gift was made.

After another Dominican house had been founded within the diocese at Dunwich, it became necessary to assign limits for their ministrations. Accordingly on 10 January, 1259, two representatives of each house, elected by their respective convents, met at the house of the Austin Canons at Herringfleet and appointed an arbitrator. His decision was in favour of the river that divided Norfolk from Suffolk being the boundary between the two houses, save that the friars of Dunwich should have a right to visit the parishes of Mundham and Rushford (?), which lay in both counties.¹²

When Henry III was at Norwich in October, 1272, he ordered the sheriff to bestow 10 marks on the Dominicans.¹³ Edward I, at a visit in September, 1289, gave them 40*s.* for three days' food,¹⁴ and two years later, the executors of Queen Eleanor of Castile gave 100*s.* to this house.¹⁵

In 1280 they enclosed their site within a precinct wall, and between that date and the end of the century, several extensions were granted them for enlarging their plot.¹⁶

Meanwhile a new but short-lived order of friars appeared in the city. The Friars of Penance of Jesus Christ, commonly known from their rough brown habit as the Friars of the Sack, or Sackites, had their origin at Marseilles in 1251, and first appeared in London in 1257. In the next year a party of them arrived in Norwich, and a site was secured in the parish of St. Peter of Hungate. Notwithstanding various small benefactions enlarging their site, and such occasional windfalls as the 6*d.* bequeathed them in 1272 by Thomas son of Peter of Aldburgh,¹⁷ these Friars of the Sack never flourished, and at last there was only left the prior, William de Hoo, 'broken with old age and nearly blind.' In 1307 the end came, for Clement V suppressed the whole order.¹⁸

The site of the Dominicans had become too confined for their increasing numbers, and the approach was very narrow and subject to overflow of the waters. Accordingly they negotiated with success to acquire the abandoned plot of the Sackites, licence being granted by Edward II in October, 1307, to the Friars Preachers of Norwich to hold that plot of land in the city which the Friars 'de Penitentia' formerly held in chief by

¹¹ Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Ord. of Norw.* 17.

¹² Cited by Kirkpatrick (7, 8) from the original in the Guildhall.

¹³ Liberate R. 56 Hen. III, m. 2.

¹⁴ Rot. Elem. Reg. 17 & 18 Edw. I.

¹⁵ Liberate R. pro regina, 19 & 20 Edw. I.

¹⁶ *Reliquary* (new ser.), vol. iii, 164.

¹⁷ Anct. D. A 11569.

¹⁸ Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Ord. of Norw.* 96-104.

¹ Pat. 12 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 15.

² Ibid. 38 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 16.

³ Ibid. 6 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 23.

⁴ Ibid. 7 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 31.

⁵ Ibid. 1 Hen. V, pt. i, m. 17.

⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 398.

⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii (2) 182.

⁸ MS. Coll. Wren, fol. 125, cited in Tanner's *Notitia*.

⁹ Tanner, *Notitia*, Norf. xli, 10.

¹⁰ The late Father Palmer devoted three of his learned articles on the Dominican houses to the Norwich priory. They appeared in the *Reliquary*.

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the service of $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ yearly, subject to providing reasonable sustenance for William de Hoo, a friar of the latter order.¹ Hence the king was acknowledged as the founder of the second Norwich house, his successors as royal patrons. Sanction for this new foundation was speedily forthcoming from Clement V.

In 1317 Pope John XXII confirmed to the Friars Preachers of Norwich the grant made to them by Clement V (1306-14) of the place formerly occupied by the Friars of the Sack (*Saccitarum*), according to the ordinance of Thomas, cardinal of St. Sabina's.²

The Friars Preachers obtained in 1310 licence to acquire land adjoining their dwelling, whereon to erect a church and other buildings, and also to enlarge their cemetery and cloister.³ Fortified by this grant and by various benefactions of small plots of contiguous lands, the friars proceeded to erect a large church, dedicated to the honour of St. John Baptist, on the site of the smaller one pertaining to the Sackites, and to provide conventual buildings for the accommodation of sixty religious. To house and provide for so large a number required yet further extensions, and further donations of adjoining houses were made by the faithful. The friars also strained their rules by purchasing others at some little distance. The citizens took alarm at this appropriation of so many houses in their midst, and urged that the king should not permit this without the usual inquisition and royal licence. Therefore the crown seized the distant messuages, and returned the purchase money of £60 to the friars. In 1345 an inquest was held at Norwich as to any damage that might accrue from the friars holding the lands in their custody. A verdict favourable to the Dominicans was returned, and a royal pardon was therefore granted for all contraventions of mortmain, with licence to retain all they then held.⁴

In the course of the next few years they built another and yet larger church. 'In all likelihood, the old church was then or soon afterwards converted into the library, leaving, however, intact the large groined-roof crypt, which was the chapel of St. Thomas à Becket, with its altar.'⁵

During a royal visit to Norwich in January, 1325-6, there was a pleasant interchange of gifts. Edward II gave an alms of 17s. 8d. for a day's food for the fifty-three friars then in residence, and on the morrow they presented him with fifty-three apples. Edward III when passing through Norwich in 1328, repeated the same alms for a like number of religious.

On 4 May, 1413, a grievous fire broke out at

Norwich, and consumed the greater part of the city. The house and church of the Dominicans, with all their contents, were destroyed, and two of the friars perished in the flames.⁶ The friars were now thankful that they had retained their old house and church across the water, known as the Black Hall. There they continued until 1449, when they returned to their newly built convent and church.⁷

The church was restored on a magnificent scale between 1440 and 1470, mayors and other leading citizens vying with one another in the generosity of their gifts. There were two gilds attached to this church, the gild of St. William mentioned in 1251, and the gild of the Holy Rood in 1527.⁸

Edmund Hacock, one of the last of a long series of Dominican priors of this house, preached a long sermon on Easter Monday, 1534, before the mayor and aldermen of the city, taking for his text the words from the Psalms, *Obscurentur oculi eorum, ne videant*. The mayor, on his coming down from the pulpit, took him to task for alleged political allusion, and afterwards sent for him, to which summons there was no response. Thereupon the ex-Friar Richard Ingworth, who was then at Norwich on his visitation for reducing all friars to the royal supremacy, arrested Hacock, and made him write out an abstract. This abstract was sent to Cromwell on 1 May, with a request to know what was to be done with the prisoner; Hacock, who had already accepted the supremacy, was alarmed, and offered to submit himself to correction. Sir Roger Townsend was ordered by Cromwell to arrest the prior and bring him before the council.⁹ Apparently he made good his case, for he returned as prior to Norwich. About a year later Hacock was again in trouble. When preaching at St. Leonard's-without-Norwich, on Ascension Eve, 1535, he said in his prayer, 'Ye shall pray for our Sovereign Lord King Harry, of the Church of England chief head so called.' This sentence, together with an equivocally worded extract from his sermon, was sent up to London to the council.¹⁰ What was his fate cannot now be discovered, but at all events, he ceased to be prior.

The priory was suppressed by Ingworth in November, 1538. On 5 September the mayor and council foreseeing the suppression of the friars, begged Cromwell to secure for their use the Black Friars, which was in the midst of the city.¹¹ A fortnight later the Duke of Norfolk wrote to

⁶ Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* 385.

⁷ Blomefield, misunderstanding the terms of the royal licence of 1449, wrongly concludes that they had been again driven out by fire from their old site.

⁸ Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Ord. of Norw.* 39.

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 237, 270. The abstract of the sermon is extant (Misc. Bks. [Exch. T.R.], fol. 23).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* viii, 254.

¹¹ *Ibid.* xiii (2), 144.

¹ *Cal. of Pat.* 1 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 14. Inq. a.q.d. fol. 66, No. 9.

² *Cal. Papal Reg.* ii, 162.

³ *Cal. of Pat.* 4 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 25.

⁴ Inq. a.q.d. 19 Edw. III, No. 17; Pat. 19 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 3.

⁵ *Reliquary* (new ser.), vol. iii, 169.

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Cromwell telling him that the Dominicans had sold their great bell.¹ On 7 October the duke again wrote to Cromwell enclosing a petition from the unhappy priors and convents of the Black and White Friars of the city begging that the surrender of their houses might be taken. 'The old and small charity in these days is insufficient to live on, and they have been fain to sell their goods; have made no waste, but are slandered and inquired by light persons breaking their glass windows.' The duke told Cromwell that they were 'very poor wretches'—a distinct compliment to those of mendicant orders—and that as he had already given the worst of the Grey Friars 20s. for a raiment, it was a pity if these should have less.²

The eventual disposal of the house and church of the Black Friars will be treated of elsewhere.

The appreciation generally entertained for these friars in the city where they were established, is shown by the very long list of gifts and bequests from 1355 to 1529 given by Father Palmer.³

PRIORS OF THE DOMINICAN FRIARS OF NORWICH⁴

Nicholas de Edenham, 1290
Geoffrey de Derham, 1305
Adam de Halesworth, 1374
Robert de Fretone, 1381
John Pynnesthorp, 1451
Roger de Wichingham, 1470
Simon Curteys, 1483
Roger Bernude, 1501
Thomas Bekylls, 1505
William Brygges, 1507
Penyman
Edmund Harcock, 1534
Thomas Briggs, 1535

An imperfect impression of the circular *ad causas* seal (2½ in.) of this house shows the Baptism of Our Lord by St. John Baptist, with dove descending; in the field a sun on the left and crescent moon on the right. Legend:—

+ SIG CONVEN RIVICO . AD CAS⁵

A later fifteenth-century pointed oval seal (2¼ in. by 1½ in.) bears St. Dominic working a miracle under a canopied niche. Legend:—

SIGILLUM . COMUNE . . . P̄DICATORU . . .⁶

There is an indistinct impression of the thirteenth-century seal of the prior of the Sackites (1¼ in. by 1 in.), with St. Edmund bound to a tree and pierced with arrows.⁷

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii (2), 154. ² *Ibid.* 216.

³ *Reliquary* (new ser.), vol. iii, 42–9.

⁴ See lists in Blomefield (iv, 339–40), Kirkpatrick (40), and Palmer (*Reliquary* [new ser.], vol. iii, 213–14).

⁵ B.M. xxxv, 7.

⁶ *Ibid.* 236.

⁷ *Ibid.* 237; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 578.

54. THE FRANCISCAN FRIARS OF NORWICH

The Franciscan or Grey Friars arrived at Norwich in 1226, and were established on a site given them by John de Hastingford, between the churches of St. Cuthbert and St. Vedast in Conisford. They gradually increased in numbers, until, sixty years after their arrival, it was decided to build a large church with suitable conventual buildings. As their rule prohibited them accepting any fresh grants of lands or tenements save those that adjoined their house for purposes of extension, it became necessary, in this as in so many other cases, to obtain sanction for closing intervening thoroughfares.⁸

The Friars Minor of Norwich therefore obtained leave in 1285 to close a lane, 211 feet by 12 feet, adjoining their area on the south side, for the enlargement of their close.⁹ In 1292 the Franciscans received numerous grants of small parcels of land in the city from no fewer than nineteen benefactors, among whom were included the prior and convent of Norwich, the prior of St. Faith's, and the abbot and convent of Holm.¹⁰ In 1297, they obtained leave to close a lane on the north side of their plot, 100½ feet long by 10 feet broad, for the enlargement of their dwelling.¹¹ Three Norwich messuages, the respective gifts of the prior of Walsingham, Hugh de Rokeland, and Roger le Mareschal, were bestowed on the friars in 1299.¹²

Having secured these considerable extensions, the Franciscans set about building a new church on a grand scale. The dimensions, as given in two places by William of Worcester, are somewhat contradictory; but it is clear that the nave was 105 feet in length, and that the cloister on the north side of the nave was a square of its full length.¹³

There were three gilds in connexion with this church, namely, those of Our Lady, of St. John the Evangelist, and of St. Barbara.¹⁴

Kirkpatrick and Blomefield give long lists extending from 1330 to 1529 of those who made small bequests to this house, and who were buried in the church. As an example of the more important of these testamentary gifts, that of Roger Aylmer, esquire, in 1492, may be cited: 'To the Warden and Convent of the Fryers

⁸ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 106–16; Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Order of Norw.* 104–29; Dugdale, *Mon. vi*, 1522–3.

⁹ Pat. 13 Edw. I, m. 27.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 20 Edw. I, m. 11. The city of Norwich petitioned the king at this time to allow a messuage to be acquired by the Friars Minor (City Book of Pleas, fol. 46).

¹¹ *Ibid.* 25 Edw. I, pt. i, m. 1.

¹² *Ibid.* 27 Edw. I, m. 27.

¹³ W. de Worcester, *Itin.* (Rolls Ser.), 306, 308.

¹⁴ Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Order of Norw.* 126.

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Mynors, to the amending of their bokys and vestiments, 46s. 8d.; and I will that iche of the four fryers that shall bere my body to the church of the said Fryers Minors have for his labor 20d.; also to the repair of the said church, to praye for my sowle and say a solempn mass yearly for four yeres 8 li; and that Fryer John Fyssher, of the said convent, be my prest, and go to the court of Rome on pilgrimage, and say mass for my sowle at *Scala Celi*, and to have 10 marks when he goeth forth, and when he cometh home 40s.¹

When arrangements were in active progress in the latter half of the year 1538 for the suppression of the friars, the Duke of Norfolk interceded with Cromwell to obtain the king's sanction for the securing to him of the Grey Friars. Writing to Cromwell on 21 September, the duke stated he had intended to ride into Norwich on the previous day to take the surrender of the Grey Friars, but was ill, and so sent his son Surrey and others to act for him. In a later letter the duke describes these friars as 'very poor wretches,' and stated that he gave them 40s. apiece to procure secular dress.²

The site, church, house, and all the possessions of the Grey Friars of Norwich were formally granted to the Duke of Norfolk by the crown on 12 March, 1539.³

WARDENS OF THE FRANCISCAN FRIARS OF NORWICH⁴

Thomas de Docking, 1260
Peter Queswell, 1299
Richard le Poringland
Roger de Merston, 1303
Walter Catton, 1343
John de Wiclingham, 1362
Simon de Tunsted, 1369
Geoffrey de Ling, 1390
Reginald de Langham, 1410
Robert de Carlton, 1432
Robert de Frisingham, 1460
Dr. Bernard
Richard de Colby, 1468
William Rokewode, 1469
John Morote, 1470
John Sparke, 1485
Thomas Thornham, 1494
Thomas Glanvyle, 1496
Dr. Shenkwyn
Dr. Call

¹ Reg. Multone, fol. 49, cited by Kirkpatrick.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 142, 154, 216.

³ *Ibid.* vol. xiv (1), 651.

⁴ The list of wardens of the Grey Friars is taken from Blomefield, compared in the latter part with Kirkpatrick. The dates, save the first, are those of the deaths of the wardens (Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 111-14; Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Ord. of Norw.* 127).

55. THE CARMELITE FRIARS OF NORWICH⁵

The Carmelite or White Friars settled in this city in 1256 on a site between the river and St. James's Church on the east side of a street called Cowgate. The donor of the site and the founder of the house was Philip son of Warin, a Norwich merchant, who from the place of his residence assumed the name of Cowgate. Additional gifts enabled these friars to erect dwellings and a fine church dedicated to the honour of St. Mary. Philip, the founder, in his old age took upon him the Carmelite habit, and entered the house of his own foundation, where he died in 1283.⁶ Among the muniments of the city of Norwich are copies of early grants to the Carmelite Friars.⁷

Thomas Butetorte, rector of Tivetshall, and Richard de Hedersete, rector of Beighton, obtained licence to alienate to the Carmelite Friars of Norwich a certain messuage adjoining their residence.⁸ In 1332 Richard de Hedersete, chaplain, and Adam de Shotesham, chaplain, gave the Carmelites small lots of land for the enlargement of their dwelling.⁹

Licence was further granted in 1345 for the alienation by Richard Kyng and two others to the Carmelite Friars, for the extension of their house, of two more small lots of land.¹⁰ In the same year the bailiffs and commonalty of the city granted to the friars a lane called St. James's Wente, on the west of their priory, 20 perches long and 10 ft. wide. This was done, however, without royal licence, but in the following year Edward III pardoned their defect and allowed the retention of the grant.¹¹ The royal licence was duly obtained four years later for the enclosing of another lane of like dimensions on the east side of their house.¹²

It was about this time that the friars were occupied in building their new and capacious church. It was ready for use in 1343, and the new churchyard was dedicated by John Paschal, bishop of Llandaff, acting as suffragan for Norwich, in the following year. It was not, however, until 1382 that the whole church was finished, when it was dedicated by Thomas, bishop of Sentari, another diocesan suffragan.¹³ The dimensions of the church are given by William of Worcester.¹⁴

⁵ Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Ord. of Norw.* 150-84; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 414-23; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1573-4.

⁶ Weever, *Fun. Mon.* 805, 807.

⁷ Book of Pleas, fol. 50.

⁸ Pat. 16 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 30.

⁹ *Ibid.* 6 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 23.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 19 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 29.

¹² *Ibid.* 15 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 9.

¹³ These dates are cited by Kirkpatrick (156) from MS. of Bale's in the Bodleian Library.

¹⁴ *Itin.* (Rolls Ser.), 306.

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Richard II allowed the alienation to these Carmelities of another messuage adjoining their house and churchyard, the gift of Adam Pope, rector of Southrepps, and others.¹

During the early part of the fifteenth century a certain Thomas Taverner of Walsingham petitioned the Chancellor to compel John Thorp, prior of the Carmelites of Norwich, to give up his son Alexander, aged 13, whom he was detaining contrary to the wishes alike of Thomas and his said son.²

In 1486 Thomas Waterpytte, the prior, and his convent petitioned the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs and citizens of Norwich to become their patrons, as their founder was a merchant and citizen. The petition was granted, and at the general chapter of the order, held at Burnham in 1488, the position of the mayor and corporation as patrons was formally ratified, with a perpetual participation in all masses, prayers, labours, &c.³ The city authorities were evidently not ungrateful for these spiritual benefits, as at an assembly held on 3 May, 1498, the valuable privilege was granted by the city to the Carmelites of being henceforth quit of all city toll and custom of their own property, whether carried by land or by water.⁴

Bale, Weever, Kirkpatrick, and Blomefield give long lists of persons buried in the church of these once popular friars. Sir William Calthorpe, knt., by will proved in 1494, desired that he might be buried in this church :—

Also I wyll that the Whyte Fryerys aforesaid have ten marks for the repair of their churche and place, and they to pray for may sowle and frendys sowlys. Item I wyll that Fryer Thomas Waterpepe synge for my sowle and my wyfe's and frendys sowlys, by the space of three years, at the auter where my sepulture is; and that, after the gospels, he seye opynly at every masse *De profundis* for my sowle; and he to have six marks per annum for his labour.⁵

Bale gives lists of many of the books contained in 'the noble and very fair library' of the Carmelites of Norwich.⁶

The joint petition of the priors and convents of the Black and the White friars of Norwich to the Duke of Norfolk, early in October, 1538, asking him to take the surrender of their houses in their sore distress, has been already cited.⁷ A few days later an impostor, one John Pratte a servant of Ralph Salter of Harpley, came to the White Friars, when the prior and his brethren were at dinner, asserting that he was the Lord Privy Seal's (Cromwell's) servant, and had a commission from him to suppress the house.

The prior desired sight of the commission, which was not forthcoming, and being convinced he was a cheat, brought him before the mayoralty court. Whereupon John Pratte confessed to the fraud which he had committed, expecting the prior would offer him money. He was sentenced to be taken about the market on the following Saturday, with the words on paper, 'For false feynging to be the kynge's comysioner,' and then to have both ears nailed to the pillory, and then cut off.⁸

The site of the White Friars was granted by the king, in 1542, to Richard Andrews and Leonard Chamberlain.⁹

PRIORS OF THE CARMELITE FRIARS OF NORWICH¹⁰

Philip de Cowgate (founder, died prior), 1283

Thomas de Salthouse, 1334

John de Folsham, died 1348

Walter de Dyse, 1376

Richard Wichingham, 1381

Robert Ivory, 1386

John Tacesphalus, 1404

John Thorp, occurs after 1413¹¹

Robert Rose, 1420

John de Kenyngghale, 1451

Thomas Waterpytte, 1488

Robert, 1517

Thomas, 1533

56. THE AUSTIN FRIARS OF NORWICH¹²

The Austin Friars came to Norwich about the beginning of the reign of Edward I, when they settled in a messuage provided for them by Roger Mingot, who was hence esteemed their founder.¹³

In 1293 they had so far prospered as to obtain licence from Edward I to accept five separate tenements adjoining their original site, which they proceeded to demolish in order to enlarge their own house.¹⁴ Licence for the alienation by the abbot and convent of Langley to the Austin Friars of Norwich of a messuage in Norwich for the extension of their dwelling was granted by Edward II in 1325,¹⁵ and ten years later pardon was granted by Edward III to the Austin Friars of Norwich for acquiring from Andrew le Barker

⁸ Ibid. xvii, 443 (39).

⁹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 422.

¹⁰ From Blomefield.

¹¹ Early Chanc. Proc. bde. 4, No. 104.

¹² Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Ord. of Norw.*, 129-50; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 85-91; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1595.

¹³ Harl. MS. 2386, fol. 67.

¹⁴ This instrument is cited in full by Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Ord. of Norw.* 133-4.

¹⁵ Pat. 19 Edw. II. pt. i, m. 32.

¹ Pat. 3 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 11.

² Early Chanc. Proc. bde. 4, No. 104.

³ Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Ord. of Norw.* 161-3.

⁴ City Assembly Book, fol. 30.

⁵ Reg. Wolman, 1494; cited by Kirkpatrick.

⁶ Bale, *Cent.* i, 74; iv, 70; vi, 25, 66; vii, 54.

⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 216.

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a plot of land 100 ft. by 60 ft. for the enlargement of their house without royal licence.¹

In 1348 they obtained the grant of the church of St. Michael Conesford from Sir Edmund de Thorp, knt. The friars were permitted to include the church within their precincts on undertaking to have there a chapel in honour of St. Michael, to the reverence of the saint and for the devotion of the faithful, who were frequently to make mention in their prayers of the deceased whose bodies rested in the churchyard. The friars further undertook never to apply the churchyard to any other use than for preaching, for sepulture, or for the building of a church, and to have three masses celebrated in the chapel every week by one of their own priests, in especial remembrance of the Thorp family.²

On their much enlarged site these friars proceeded to build a fine church, with cloister on the south side, of which William of Worcester gives the dimensions.³

One of the most interesting of the numerous bequests made to these Austin Friars, as cited by Kirkpatrick and Blomefield, is that of Margaret Wetherbey, 1457, late wife of Thomas Wetherbey, esq., who willed to be buried in the friary church by the side of her husband. She left 100 marks for building a new library, on condition that the names of her husband and herself were inscribed on the glass of the windows and on each of the book-rests.

Weever gives an account of various distinguished persons who obtained sepulture in this conventual church. His list includes such names as Bigot, Ufford, Hastings, Clifton, Morley, and Wyndham.⁴

Various gilds held their services in the nave of this church, namely, the gilds of St. Christopher, of St. Margaret, of the Holy Cross, and of St. Austin pertaining to the shoemakers.⁵

Several of the bequests refer to masses at *Scala Celi* in connexion with this conventual church. The *Scala Celi* or Ladder of Heaven was the name of a celebrated chapel and altar at Rome, to which special indulgences were granted. The Lady chapel of the Austin church at Norwich was permitted to bear this name, and a like privilege was granted to chapels at Westminster and Boston. To each of these English *Scalae Celi* indulgences were assigned almost as great as those at their Roman counterpart. This Austin *Scala Celi* was a great attraction to the devout of East Anglia.⁶

The house of the Austin Friars was dissolved on 29 August, 1538.⁷ It eventually came into

the hands of the Duke of Norfolk, and the site was known as 'My Lord's Garden.'

'These friars,' says Blomefield, 'to do them justice, were always reckoned a society of learned men, good disputants, and eloquent preachers, and were truly industrious in propagating literature; the most remarkable men among them were priors thereof.'

PRIORS OF THE AUSTIN FRIARS OF NORWICH⁸

Benedict, Janus, or Bennet of Norfolk (titular Bishop of Sardis), and suffragan to Bishop Bek, died 1340

Richard Cheffer, died c. 1354

Richard de Lammesse, 1367

Roger Twyford, 1390

John de Sloley, 1420

John Tony, 1478

John de Langham

Hugh Lovemere, 1501

Dr. Stokes

A cast of the oval thirteenth-century seal (1½ in. by 1 in.) of this house shows a finely-cut St. Michael in combat with the dragon. Legend:

S' PRIORIS . ET . FRATRŪ . ORDINIS . SĀI .
AUGUSTINI . NORWICI⁹

57-59. FRIARS OF THE LESSER ORDERS, NORWICH

The short-lived sojourn of the Friars of the Sack at Norwich has been mentioned under the account of the Black Friars.

The Friars of St. Mary, or 'De Domina,' were in Norwich as early as 1290, for in that year Roger de Tybenham gave them a legacy. Their house stood on the south side of the churchyard of St. Julian, with the east end abutting on the street. They continued here till the Black Death of 1349, which so grievously afflicted Norwich, when they perished, and their house became private property.¹⁰

The Friars 'de Pica,' or Pied Friars, are said by Blomefield to have had a house at the north-east corner of the churchyard of St. Peter Mountergate. At the time when they were obliged to join one of the four principal orders their house became the property of the hospital of Bek. The master of Bek made it his city house, and their various chanting priests and others lived after a collegiate fashion.¹¹

60. THE DOMINICAN FRIARS OF THETFORD

The Friar Preachers were not established at Thetford until the year 1335, an unusually late

¹ Pat. 9 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 37.

² Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Ord. of Norw.* 136-8.

³ *Itin.* (Rolls Ser.), 307.

⁴ Weever, *Fun. Mon.* 804.

⁵ Toulmin Smith, *Gilds*, 22; Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Ord. of Norw.* 147.

⁶ Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Ord. of Norw.* 145; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 90.

⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 114.

⁸ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 90, 91.

⁹ B.M. lviii, 17.

¹⁰ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 83; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1611; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 45.

¹¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 96; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1611; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 46.

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date for the founding of a house of any of the mendicant orders. The church of St. Mary-the-Great of Thetford, on the Suffolk side of the town, which was for a time the cathedral church of East Anglia, had remained desolate, with its unfinished Cluniac cloister, for two centuries, when Henry earl of Lancaster gave the site of the church and convent to the Dominicans. The king confirmed this grant to the friars on 20 July, 1335.¹ Three years later the Earl of Surrey gave them a plot of land 300 ft. by 30 ft. to enlarge their homestead.² In 1347 Henry earl of Lancaster, the son of the founder, granted the site of the *Domus Dei*, which stood between their cloister and the High Street, which they were to maintain, and hence this friars' house was often termed the priory of the *Maison-Dieu* or God's House, or else the priory of the Old House.³

By an exceptional arrangement the priors of the Thetford Dominicans were always nominated by the lords of Thetford; in 1359 the advowson was definitely settled by fine thus to pass with the domain.⁴

A plot of land 300 ft. by 16 ft. was given to the friars by Thomas Franceys for the further extension of their premises, and on his death in 1369 they were called to account for having occupied it without licence; however, the royal pardon for this irregularity was soon forthcoming.⁵

A fire in this house, in the year 1410, destroyed the original deed of grant of Henry earl of Lancaster, but the grant was renewed by his grandson, Henry IV.⁶

On 6 November, 1386, Richard II granted royal confirmation of the privilege that no other order of mendicant friars should have houses founded or built within 300 *cannae* (about a third of a mile) of their house.⁷ The reason of the Dominicans moving in this matter was the knowledge that John of Gaunt, their own patron, was a great friend of the Austin Friars, and they dreaded lest he should establish them near by and thus interfere with the alms of passengers entering the town by the London road.⁸ In the following year the duke did introduce the Augustinians, but placed them as far as possible from the Dominicans on the opposite side of the town.

Boniface IX, on 4 February, 1393, granted to all devout visitors to the Friars Preachers of the Holy Trinity, Thetford, on the principal feasts,

¹ Pat. 9 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 26.

² Ibid. 12 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 7.

³ Ibid. 22 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 33. See the subsequent account under the hospitals of Thetford.

⁴ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 84.

⁵ Pat. 43 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 17.

⁶ Grants of Duchy of Lanc. xiv, fol. 45.

⁷ Pat. 10 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 3; *canna* is a cloth-yard.

⁸ *Reliquary* (new. ser.), i, 199; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 85.

who assisted in its maintenance, an indulgence of two years and two quarantines.⁹

In 1424 the friars granted to William Curteys, prior of Bury St. Edmunds, and his brethren the use of the best chamber of this house, called the 'common recreatory,' which was henceforth to be termed St. Edmund's House; they were to occupy it as they liked, but not to grant or alienate it without the consent of the friars. This must have been a great convenience to the abbey of St. Edmunds, as it held the patronage and was responsible for the lands of the adjacent nunnery of St. George.¹⁰

Father Palmer gives a long list of bequests to these Dominicans, and of those who found burial within its church, extending from 1347 to 1553.¹¹

This religious house was destroyed in 1538, but the month and the day in the deed of surrender are left blank. The surrender was signed by Richard Cley, prior, and five other friars.¹²

PRIORS OF THE DOMINICAN FRIARS OF THETFORD¹³

Robert de Berton, occurs 1371

John Wauney, occurs 1386

Peter Oldman, occurs 1475

Master Dryver, occurs 1505

Richard Cley, occurs 1535

61. THE AUSTIN FRIARS OF THETFORD

The Austin Friars were brought to Thetford about 1387 by John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who was a great patron of the order. The founder built for them, on Castle Hill, at the entrance to the town, a church with conventual buildings on the south side. In addition to the site he gave them the old church or chapel of St. John on the western side of the town, which they repaired and used as a chapel for the leper hospital there, under the rule of one of their brethren. They also held, by the founder's gift, thirty-six acres of land in Thetford and Barsham, and the profit of the fair of St. John Baptist.¹⁴

They had a small grant of lands and tenements in Hengham, Aldeby, and other Norfolk townships, in 1389, from Sir Thomas de Morle and other donors. In 1392 a tenement in Thetford that paid 12*d.* a year to the gild of St. Mary's was annexed to the friars.¹⁵

⁹ *Cal. Papal Reg.* iv, 450.

¹⁰ Cott. MS. Claud. A. 12.

¹¹ *Reliquary* (new ser.), 200-2.

¹² *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. 2, 34.

¹³ *Reliquary* (new ser.), 203-4.

¹⁴ Martin, *Hist. of Thetford* (1779), 195-202; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 87; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1595.

¹⁵ Pat. 13 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 16.

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There was a house standing between their priory and the street, and in 1408 they obtained the crown licence to pull it down and enlarge the site of their church and cloister, and to build a hermitage at the west end of the church, adjoining the street, where they received alms.¹

In 1413 Henry V granted licence to hold in mortmain a messuage chapel and hermitage, with a fair on the west or St. John's side of Thetford.²

Margaret, wife of Sir John Puddenham, was buried in the church of the Austin Friars in 1411, by the tomb of her daughter, Elizabeth Hengrave; she left 40s. to the priory.

John Potche was prior of this house, and English provincial of the order in the time of Edward IV. In 1469 he admitted Thomas Hurton and his wife Margaret to be full partakers of all the masses and other devotions of the order throughout England, and that at their deaths the same offices should be performed for them as for their deceased brethren.

Martin enumerated several small bequests made by will to the Austin Friars during the last part of the sixteenth century.

On 26 September, 1538, Thetford was visited by John Hilsey, the ex-Dominican friar whom Henry VIII had made bishop of Rochester, and in whom he found a ready tool for the suppression of the friars. In a letter to Cromwell from Thetford on the following day he stated that he had found 'the Austin friars so bare that there was no earthly thing at all but trash and baggage.' He therefore at once proceeded to discharge them from their house and take their surrender. He apologised to the Lord Privy Seal for meddling with this house and that of the Dominicans without express order, 'but they were so far gone that if they had continued all had been spoiled.'³ The house was afterwards named in a list of those friaries which had no lead on the roofs, save the gutters.⁴

The surrender into the king's hand of their house, church, hermitage, and chapel of St. John, was signed by Nicholas Pratt, prior, and Thomas Parmynter and Roger Shyrwodd, two of the brethren.⁵ This was always a small house, the full complement of friars being only six.

The site of their house and their poor possessions were granted to Sir Richard Fulmerston.⁶

62. THE FRANCISCAN FRIARS OF WALSINGHAM

Licence was granted by Edward III on 1 February, 1347, to Elizabeth de Burgh, coun-

tes of Clare, to found a house of Friars Minor in Walsingham.⁷

The celebrated Austin priory of the same town did their best to stop the countess, who was their patroness, from carrying out her intention, dreading no doubt that the poorer pilgrims to Our Lady of Walsingham would find gratis accommodation with the friars. The soundest, perhaps, of the many arguments that they addressed to the countess was that the friars had already sufficient habitations in the district; for there was Burnham, four miles on one side, and Snitterley not much farther off on the other; but they omitted to state that these were Carmelite and not Franciscan settlements.

But their opposition was futile, for both royal and papal sanction was obtained. Clement VI granted to the provincial of the Friars Minor of England licence, in 1347, at the request of King Edward and Queen Philippa, to acquire a site for a house in Little Walsingham, to accommodate twelve friars.⁸

Four years later, the friars obtained licence to enclose a road in Little Walsingham, leading from North Barsham to the chapel of St. Mary, Little Walsingham, below their house. This licence was inspected and confirmed in 1384.⁹

In 1440 Richard, duke of York, their patron, alienated to the friars a messuage, three acres of land, a garden, and four tenements adjoining their house.¹⁰

This house, with the other friaries of the county was suppressed and surrendered to Richard Ingworth, the ex-prior, towards the close of 1538.¹¹

63. THE DOMINICAN FRIARS OF YARMOUTH¹²

The Dominican friars were first established at Yarmouth in 1267, where they had a house by the South Gate. Henry III gave them in 1271 a plot of land 500 ft. square, called *la Strande*, and confirmed the previous gift to them of their site by William Charles.¹³ Thomas Fastolf was a special benefactor to their house, which was finished in 1278; and Godfrey Pilgrim, another burgess of Yarmouth, erected their church, dedicated to the honour of St. Dominic, in 1280, at his sole cost.¹⁴ Pilgrim, who died in 1304, was therefore esteemed joint founder with Henry III and Fastolf.

⁷ Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. i. m. 28; 22 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 48.

⁸ *Cal. Papal Reg.* iii, 252.

⁹ Pat. 8 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 19 Hen. VI, pt. iii, m. 32.

¹¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 1021.

¹² *Reliquary* (new ser.), i, 139-48; article by late Father Palmer.

¹³ Pat. 53 Hen. III, m. 5.

¹⁴ Speed, *Chron.*

¹ Pat. 9 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 24.

² *Ibid.* 1 Hen. V, pt. i, m. 19.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 167.

⁴ *Ibid.* 480.

⁵ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. 2, 44.

⁶ *Mins. Accts.* 32 Hen. VIII, pt. ii, Norf.

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When Edward I was at Yarmouth, in 1277, he gave the friars on Low Sunday an alms of 23s. 10d. to find the food for two days.¹ From this it may be estimated that there were about thirty-five inmates.

In 1287 the east coast of England was ravaged by a severe storm, and Yarmouth suffered grievously. Much of the town walls were destroyed, and the house of the Dominicans was covered by the waves.²

Thereupon the friars, with the idea of escaping like misfortune in the future, began to fill up a deep place between their house and that of Simon Salle, beyond which the sea often flowed, with stones and rubbish, and proceeded to build on this small piece of reclaimed land, which measured 130 ft. by 115 ft. Early in 1290 a royal writ was issued to the sheriff of Norfolk to hold an inquiry whether this alteration, which involved the removal of a part of the town wall, might be licensed. The jurors, one of whom was Thomas Fastolf, held that the proceedings of the friars were calculated to jeopardize the town wall, and the scheme was consequently abandoned.³

The executors of Queen Eleanor, about Michaelmas, 1291, gave an alms of 100s. to William de Hotham, provincial for this convent.⁴

Each of the three orders of friars at Yarmouth, and in several cases the Friars Preachers alone, had many small bequests made to them, by burghesses and others who prudently made their wills at the time of the Great Pestilence of 1349. Simon de Ormesly, smith, by will of 26 January, 1350, directed his body to be buried in the church of the Friars Preachers, to whom he left 10s. as well as 12d. to two particular friars. The wills of this county show that bequests to this and the other two houses of friars at Yarmouth were fairly frequent up to the time of their dissolution.⁵

In the year 1525 the church of this convent was burnt down and never restored.⁶

Richard Ingworth, the ex-friar, and special instrument of the king for the suppression of the mendicant orders, wrote to Cromwell in November, 1538, naming nineteen houses of friars whose surrender he had accepted, the Black Friars of Yarmouth being among the number.⁷

The fourteenth-century seal of this house ($1\frac{7}{8}$ in. \times $1\frac{1}{4}$) is an elaborate composition for its size. In three niches stand the Virgin and Child, St. Dominic with a cross, and a bishop

with crozier. In the base are two fishes naiaint, for the ancient arms of Yarmouth. Legend :—

S'. CONVENTS FRUM. PREDIC. GERNEMUTE⁸

64. THE FRANCISCAN FRIARS OF YARMOUTH

The Franciscan or Grey Friars probably came to Yarmouth soon after 1226, which was the year of their arrival at Norwich. Their founder is said to have been Sir William Gerbrigge, knt.⁹ The site originally granted them was about the centre of the town, on ground now occupied by Queen Street; their precincts gradually extended from the river on the west to Middlegate Street on the east, and from Row 83 on the north to Row 96 on the south.¹⁰

Leave was given in 1285, after an inquisition *ad quod damnum*, by the bailiffs of Yarmouth for the Friars Minor to hold that rengiate of land, with buildings and appurtenances, contiguous to their area, which the king held of the grant of John son of William Gerbrigge, the younger, for the enlargement of their site, provided that the lane between the said rengiate and the rengiate of Thomas Gerbrigge remain open and common for the easement of both rengiates, and of the neighbours and others of the said town as heretofore.¹¹ In May 1290, confirmation was granted of a quitclaim by John de Bromholm to the Friars Minor of his right in a plot of land lying between the dwelling-house of the friars on the north side and the common lane on the south side.¹²

A commission of oyer and terminer was appointed in 1302 touching the petition of the Friars Minors of Yarmouth, who complained that some malefactors of the town had broken the pavement near the wall, whereby rainwater ran under it to the destruction of the pavement, and that some of the townsmen, with strangers, threw down and broke to pieces their fence, which they made for the defence of their dwelling-place against the flow and violence of the sea, by putting timber and other heavy weights upon it.¹³

Wills of the thirteenth century downwards show frequent small bequests to the Grey Friars by the townfolk of Yarmouth, often accompanied by a request for interment in the church or churchyard. Many of the once powerful family of Fastolf were buried there. No men-

¹ Rot. Gard. 5 Edw. I, cited by Palmer.

² T. Wykes, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.).

³ Inq. p.m. 18 Edw. I, No. 140.

⁴ Rot. gard. 69-70 Edw. I, No. 140.

⁵ Palmer, *Reliquary* (new ser.), i, 141-4, gives about four closely-printed pages of these bequests, chiefly taken from Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* and Swinden, *Hist. of Yarmouth*.

⁶ Manship, *Hist. of Yarmouth*.

⁷ L. and P. Hen. VIII, viii (2), 117.

⁸ B. M. xxxv, 70; *Gent. Mag.* lxi, 513, 632.

⁹ Speed, *Hist.* 1066. William Gerbrigge was one of the Yarmouth bailiffs in 1271 (Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* xi, 322); he was probably a son of the founder.

¹⁰ Palmer, *Hist. of Yarmouth*, i, 419.

¹¹ *Cal. Pat.* 13 Edw. I, m. 18. 'Rengiate' is apparently a local term for a plot of ground.

¹² *Ibid.* 18 Edw. I, m. 28.

¹³ *Ibid.* 30 Edw. I, m. 16d.



LANGLEY ABBEY



CARMELITE FRIARS OF LYNN



AUSTIN FRIARS OF NORWICH



DOMINICAN FRIARS OF YARMOUTH



HOSPITAL OF ST. GILES, NORWICH



COLLEGE OF THOMPSON

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

tion has been found of the name of any warden of this house, nor even of any friar save one, John Rokeby, who was living in 1492, and who must have been a typical 'jolly friar,' as he weighed twenty-four stone, a fact that was considered sufficiently noteworthy to obtain an entry on the Borough Roll.¹

The house was suppressed in the autumn of 1538 by Richard Ingworth, and possession was given to Mr. Millesent, a servant of Cromwell's.² Cromwell obtained a grant of it in the following year and transferred it to his nephew, Sir Richard Williams.

65. THE CARMELITE FRIARS OF YARMOUTH

The house of White Friars of Yarmouth was founded in 1276 in the north part of the town, Edward I being regarded as their founder. It was dedicated to St. Mary.

In 1276, an inquisition *ad quod damnum* was held at Yarmouth, touching the petition of the Carmelite Friars for licence to inhabit a void place in Great Yarmouth called 'Le Denne'; containing 500 ft. by 400 ft., and there to build a church for themselves.³

On 26 June 1291, Oliver Wych obtained licence to alienate in mortmain a messuage to the Carmelites of Yarmouth.⁴

Whilst the dread of the Black Death hung over the land, bequests to friars were common throughout England. William Hutte, in 1349, gave to the Carmelite Friars of Yarmouth two coverlets and a silver cup with a pelican; and to John de Yarmouth, his nephew, a friar of the order, a feather bed and other furniture. In the same year, Simon atte Crosse left them 20s. for masses for his soul; and Agnes his wife 6s. 8d.

Licence was given in 1378, on payment of 20s., to the Carmelites of Great Yarmouth to enclose a lane adjoining their dwelling on the south side for the enlargement of their house, provided they made another lane as good for passers-by.⁵

The following burials in this church occur in a MS. at the College of Arms:—1309, Nicholas Castle, Esquire, also Elizabeth his wife; 1330, Dame Maude, wife of Sir Thomas Huntingdon; 1382, Sir John de Monte Acuto.⁶

On 1 April 1509, the church and convent were burnt down.⁷

John Tylney, who was prior of this house from about 1430 to 1455, was of much repu-

tation as professor of divinity at Cambridge, and wrote various treatises.⁸

This house was suppressed by Richard Ingworth towards the close of 1538.⁹ It was granted in 1544 to Thomas Denton and Robert Nottingham.¹⁰

66. THE AUSTIN FRIARS OF YARMOUTH

Although the house of these Austin Friars was across the water in Suffolk, in the parish of Gorleston, as it stood in Little Yarmouth or Southtown, mention had better be made of it in this place as well as under the religious houses of Suffolk. In several wills, bequests were made to the four orders of friars of Yarmouth; but Gorleston was not formally joined to the borough until 1688.

This friary was founded towards the end of the reign of Edward I, by William Woderove and Margaret his wife.¹¹ On 28 June 1131, Roger Woderove, son of the founder, obtained licence to grant to the prior and Augustine friars of Little Yarmouth a plot of land adjacent to their dwelling,¹² and in 1338 a further enlargement of their house was made on a plot of land 240 ft. by 70 ft., the gift of William Man, of Blundeston.¹³

In the large and handsome church many distinguished persons were buried. Weever names the founder and his wife; Richard earl of Clare; Roger FitzOsbert and Katharine his wife; Sir Henry Bacon, 1335, and many of his family; Joan, countess of Gloucester; Dame Alice Lunston, 1341; Dame Eleanor, wife of Sir Thomas Gerbrigge, 1353; Dame Joan Caxton 1364; William de Ufford, earl of Suffolk, 1382; Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk; Sir Thomas Hengrove; Dame Sibyl Mortimer, 1385; Sir John Laune, and Mary his wife; Alexander Falstolfe; William March, esq., 1412, and John Pulham, 1481.¹⁴

Lambarde, writing of this house, which he mistakenly terms an abbey, says: 'Here was of late years a librarie of most rare and precious workes, gathered together by the industrie of one John Brome, a monk of the same house, which died in the reign of King Henry the Sixte.'¹⁵ John Brome was prior of the house and died in 1449. His collection of books was famous and said to include several of which there were no other copies in England; he was himself the author of chronicles and sermons.¹⁶

⁸ Stevens, *Contin. of Mon.*

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii (2), 436.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* xix (1), 373.

¹¹ Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 863.

¹² *Pat.* 4 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 3.

¹³ *Ibid.* 12 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 15.

¹⁴ Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 863.

¹⁵ Lambarde, *Topog. Dict.* (1730), 136.

¹⁶ Stevens, *Contin. of Mon.* ii, 176.

¹ Palmer, *Hist. of Yarmouth*, i, 421.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii (2), 436, 508.

³ *Pat.* 4 Edw. I, m. 26.

⁴ *Ibid.* 19 Edw. I, m. 10.

⁵ Palmer, *Hist. of Yarmouth*, i, 426.

⁶ F. G. *Interments*.

⁷ Palmer, *Hist. of Yarmouth*, i, 426.

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The historian of Yarmouth says that these Austin Friars had a cell across the water in Yarmouth proper, the remains of which are to be seen in Howards Street; the adjoining row is still called Austin Row, though popularly corrupted into Ostend Row.¹

The house was suppressed, with the other Yarmouth friaries, by Richard Ingworth towards the end of 1538,⁵ and the site was granted in 1544 to John Eyre, rightly styled by Weever 'a great dealer in that kind of property.'

HOSPITALS

67. THE HOSPITAL OF BECK

In the old village of Bec or Beck, in the parish of Billingford, a hospital was founded early in the reign of Henry III, by William de Bec, on the main road between Norwich and Walsingham.² This hospital, or hostelry, was dedicated to the honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and the adjacent chapel to that of St. Paul; it was intended for the reception and entertainment for a single night of thirteen poor travellers as they made their pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham.

Immediately on its foundation, the bishop's official admitted Richard, the chaplain of the founder, to the mastership. On 17 November, 1224, William de Bec granted the right of patronage of this hospital to the bishop of Norwich and his successors. In the same year Simon de Hederset was admitted to the mastership. The hospital was, at an early date in its history, well endowed with the manors of Bec, Billingford, and Howe, and with certain lands and rents in upwards of thirty Norfolk parishes.

The masters of the hospital appear on one or two occasions to have come into collision with the powerful family of Curzon, who were owners of considerable estates in this county; thus Andrew Hokere complained that in 1396 he was illegally disseised of a hundred acres of land by John Curzon, and that when he endeavoured to recover this by law, the sheriff, Thomas Curzon, packed the jury, and so contrived that he not only lost his suit, but was further fined £44.³ Apparently the Curzons were, or claimed to be, the patrons towards the middle of the fifteenth century, as when John Knollys—master about 1447—complained that during the period the hospital was vacant before his appointment, the door was broken down, and certain relics of St. Thomas, a set of vestments and other things, carried away by Edmund Dokking and John Dowe, they made the double defence of denying the accusation and of asserting that the chapel of St. Thomas was the freehold of their master, Sir John Curzon.⁴

On 20 April, 1419, the bishop of Norwich formally declared the benefice of Beck hospital compatible, i.e. capable of being held with another benefice. In the official entry, it is stated that the hospital or chapel of St. Thomas of Beck was without cure, and was then held *simul et semul* by Henry Kays, rector of Fakenham, and that it had been held several times in the days of the bishop's predecessors by clerks in possession of other benefices.⁶

The Valor of 1535 gave the gross annual value at £5 6s. 5d., and the clear value £4 15s. 9d. There had evidently been some alienation of the property by some of the later masters before this valor was taken.

The hospital and its possessions were granted to Sir John Perrot in 1556. It was eventually purchased by Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice, whose family built a mansion on this site.

MASTERS OF THE HOSPITAL OF BECK

Richard, first master
Simon de Hederset, admitted 1224
Robert de Elman, occurs 1250⁷
William, occurs 1268
John de Geiste
Thomas, 1286
Gilbert de Burlwell,⁸ admitted 1309
Nicholas de Ayshefield,⁹ admitted 1314
Ralph de Plechesdone,¹⁰ resigned 1332
Roger de Hedersete,¹¹ admitted 1332
John de Wyneston,¹² resigned 1352
Roger Oslak,¹³ admitted 1352
Robert Markayte,¹⁴ admitted 1354
Richard Roche of Lynn,¹⁵ admitted 1358
John de Walsham,¹⁶ resigned 1372
John de Babbynge,¹⁷ admitted 1372
John Clerevaus,¹⁸ admitted 1375
Andrew Hoken,¹⁹ admitted 1379
John de Haldanby,²⁰ admitted 1387

⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xii, 1021.

⁶ *Norw. Epis. Reg.* viii, 134.

⁷ *Assize R.* 560, m. 17.

⁸ *Norw. Epis. Reg.* i, 34.

⁹ *Ibid.* i, 59.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Norw. Epis. Reg.* v, 27.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* vi, 18.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 33.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 122.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* ii, 52.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* iv, 145.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 151.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹ Palmer, *Hist. of Yarmouth*, i, 428.

² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* viii, 190-1; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 767; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 52.

³ Early Chan. Proc. bdle. 3, No. 88.

⁴ *Ibid.* bdle. 17, No. 7.

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Andrew Hokere, occurs 1396¹
 Henry Kaye,² admitted 1417
 William Sponne,³ admitted 1419
 John Knolles,⁴ admitted 1447
 William Hoper,⁵ died 1454
 John Selot,⁶ admitted 1454
 Thomas Schenckwyn, admitted 1489
 Robert Honeywood, admitted 1497
 William Soper
 Roger Rawlyns
 Thomas Gayton, 1527
 William Read, last master

68. THE HOSPITAL OF BOYCODESWADE, COXFORD⁷

The hospital of Boycodeswade, in the parish of East Rudham, was founded by Harvey Beleth about the year 1181, for the support of twelve poor persons, with a secular canon or chaplain to act as master or warden, and to serve therein for his own soul and those of his ancestors. This hospital, dedicated to the house of St. Andrew, was placed under the control of the prior and convent of Coxford, and was endowed with lands in East Rudham, Marham, &c. It subsequently became a general charge on Coxford Priory, its endowments being merged in those of the convent.

In 1491, Robert Sharington, chaplain, left money to every indigent person in the hospital.

The Valor of 1535 enters particulars of this house under the priory of Coxford. Its annual value was then £20; of which sum £5 6s. 8d. was paid to the chaplain for celebrating 'in domo elemosinar apud Boytildeswade pro anima Hervei Beleth fundat ejusd' dom,' and £12 3s. 4d. for the support of twelve poor persons.

The hospital disappeared when the monastery was dissolved.

69. THE HOSPITAL OF HARDWICK

There was a leper hospital by the dam or bank at Hardwick-by-Lynn, a hamlet of the parish of North Runcton. It was dedicated to St. Lawrence, and the advowson of it in 1339 was in the hands of Matthew Herlewin.⁸

There is a further reference to this hospital in the year 1327, when a bequest was made to the Hospitale de Hardwicke.⁹

70. THE HOSPITAL OF HAUTOBOIS¹⁰

The hospital of Hautbois or Great Hobbesse, commonly called God's House, was founded at the

¹ Early Chan. Proc. bdle. 3, No. 88.

² Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, 19.

³ Ibid. 53.

⁴ Ibid. xi, 8.

⁵ Ibid. 74.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vii, 153-4; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 767; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 52.

⁸ Fin. R. Norf. 12 Edw. III, m. 210, cited by Tanner.

⁹ Tanner, *Notitia*, Norf. xxvii.

¹⁰ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vi, 299-301; Tanner, *Notitia*, Norf. xxxii.

head of the causey in this parish by Sir Peter de Altorco, knt., early in the thirteenth century. It was founded to receive both wayfarers and poor of the locality. The house was dedicated to the honour of St. Mary, and the founder assigned its chief governance to the almoner of the abbey of St. Benet, Holm, enjoining him to commit the custody of it to the master of St. James's Hospital on the abbey causeway at Horning. The master of Horning Hospital was in his turn to appoint a deputy master or warden for the immediate rule of God's House, Hautbois. Sir Peter endowed this house with various lands in Great and Little Hautbois, Worstead, Swannington and Banningham, which were released to Peter Olive, the first chaplain and master of St. Mary's, Hautbois.

Pope Alexander IV, in 1257, licensed the house to have a chapel, bell and chaplain for the use of the poor inmates, the revenues being sufficient. Roger, the then master or warden, certified this licence to the bishop of Norwich.¹¹

The survey of 1535 enters this house as the chantry of the Blessed Mary de Alto Bosco, in Great Hautbois, of which John Potter was chaplain. The old hospital had apparently by that date been reduced to a mere chapel, and the once considerable revenue had dropped to 25s. 11½d. per year.¹²

71. THE HOSPITAL OF HERRINGBY

This hospital was founded in 1447, pursuant to the will of Hugh atte Fenne, for a master, three priests, eight poor men and two servants. It was endowed with eight manors, and with the church of St. Ethelbert, Herringby. Hence this parish church became collegiate, and the hospital is sometimes described as a college. It was also known as the God's House of Herringby.¹³

The Valor of 1553 names Simon Petyte as the master 'collegii de Heringby voc Goddes-house' and gives the annual value as £69 12s. 7½d. The eight poor men in the hospital were receiving annually 46s. 8d. each for food and clothing, and the women who looked after them 50s. 4d. according to the founder's ordinance. The sum of 20d. was distributed to other poor persons on the founder's anniversary, and £6 13s. 2½d. in alms to the poor on other occasions. A sum of 66s. 7½d. was also allotted to the bailiffs of Great Yarmouth towards the repair of the gates of the town, which was to be used to relieve the poor from paying their share of a rate for that purpose. The master drew £6 13s. 4d. as stipend, and each of the two fellows £5 6s. 8d.¹⁴

This house, which seems to have been exactly fulfilling the intention of its founder up to the

¹¹ Cott. MS. Galba E, ii.

¹² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 356.

¹³ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 222; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 768.

¹⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 296-7.

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last, surrendered to the king and was dissolved on 27 January, 1554. To the surrender two signatures are attached, namely those of John Heithe, master of 'Goddeshouse,' and John Burwyll.¹

72. THE HOSPITAL OF HORNING

At the head of the causeway going down from Horning to the abbey of Holm St. Benet, stood the hospital of St. James, of which there are still considerable remains. It was founded early in the reign of Henry III, and its government was under the direction of the almoner of the abbey.²

73. THE HOSPITAL OF ICKBURGH

In the reign of Edward I William Barentun granted to Henry Scharping and his heirs, for the health of his soul and the souls of his parents, 145 acres of land, and a fair on St. Lawrence's Day, for the maintenance of a chaplain to celebrate in the chapel of St. Mary of 'Newbrigge.' This chapel stood on the north side of the River Wissey, in the parish of Ickburgh, by a bridge that led to Mundford. This considerable grant was confirmed in 1323 by John, son of William Scharping, cousin and heir of Henry, at which time there was in conjunction with this chapel of St. Mary a leper hospital for a master and brethren.³

A lazarus-house, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Lawrence, was, in all probability, in existence long before the founding of the chantry in the adjoining chapel in the reign of Edward I. The patronage of this house and chapel was transferred by John Scharping to John de la Bokele, who in 1373 became a considerable benefactor to the extent of upwards of 59 acres of land with other rights and privileges.⁴ Pope Gregory XII in 1409 granted to this lazarus-house exemption from tithes for all their lands. The bull was addressed to the master and brethren of the 'domus leprosororum de Novo Ponte de Ykeburgh.'⁵ This privilege of exemption from tithes was confirmed by Pope Nicholas V in 1449, by which date the rule of the house had apparently been conferred on the Friars Eremite, or Austin Friars. This latter bull was addressed to the master, wardens and 'fratribus heremitis domus olim leprosororum de Novo Ponte de Ykeburgh.' In this case, however, it seems scarcely possible that 'fratribus heremitis' can be understood as implying the Austin Friars, for they were a men-

dicant order, and incapable of holding property such as belonged to this house.

The confusion that caused this equivocal expression to find a place in a papal bull (or its transcript) and which has led writers to make mention of a priory of Austin Friars at this place, probably arose from the fact that there was an old hermitage attached to this bridge. The hermit of 'Newbrigge,' Ickburgh, was doubtless, as elsewhere, responsible for the repairs of the bridge and its 'causeys,' and sought alms from travellers for the purpose, undertaking to pray for a safe journey.

In course of time, during the first half of the fifteenth century, the office of bridge hermit became united to that of chantry chaplain of the hospital. Leprosy was extinct in the neighbourhood, and therefore the duty of the inmates in general became connected with the wayfarers using the route which led them over the bridge from Suffolk into Norfolk. Hence, as seems probable, came the somewhat misleading phraseology of the bull of 1449, wherein they are termed 'hermit brethren,' which did not imply in this instance any kind of friars.

The diocesan registers of the fifteenth century record several institutions to the joint office of 'hermit and chaplain of Newbrigge,' as is expressed in each appointment. Richard was instituted as hermit and chaplain in 1446; John Batti a few years later; William Dane in 1481; John Canon in the time of Henry VII; and John Lyster in the days of Henry VIII.⁷

John Lyster, hermit, by will of the year 1526, left his body to be buried in the neighbouring church of Mundford, bequeathing 16 acres of land and the West Close to that parish—an impossibility if he had been any kind of friar.⁸

The Valor Ecclesiasticus enters the annual value of what the commissioners termed the Free Chapel of 'Newbrigge' as only £3 7s. This estimate, however, could merely have applied to some special part of the endowment of the chapel, as separate from the house or hospital. In 1548 the whole estates were annexed by the crown and sold for £900 to Osbert Montford of Feltwell and Thomas Gawdvi of Shotesham.⁹

74. THE HOSPITAL OF LANGWADE

At Langwade Cross, the boundary between the parishes of Oxburgh and Cley, there used to stand a hospital for lepers of early foundation. Thomas Salmon, chaplain of Oxburgh, left 6d. to the lazars of Langwade in 1380.¹⁰

¹ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. 2, 23.

² Cott. MS. Galba E, ii, 67; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* xi, 56.

³ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 239-40.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Norw. Epis. Reg. xi, 269.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Norw. Epis. Reg.

⁸ Lib. Atmore, fol. 19.

⁹ Tanner, *Notitia*, Norf. xlviii.

¹⁰ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vi, 181.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

75. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST, LYNN

There was in the Dam Gate of Lynn an important hospital,¹ of early foundation, dedicated to St. John Baptist, consisting of a community of master and brethren, with church, hospital, hall, chambers, houses, and court.

In the thirteenth century a dispute arose as to the right of the chaplain to administer the sacraments in the hospital chapel or church. The prior of St. Margaret's endeavoured to stop what he regarded as an infringement of the rights of the mother church of Norwich, and the matter was referred to the judgement of the priors of Bury St. Edmunds and Thetford and the sacrist of Bury. The award, dated 11 February, 1234, decreed that the private chaplain of the hospital should celebrate one mass a day in the chapel for the brethren in a low voice (*submissa voce*), and that no one else was to celebrate there on the same day save the prior of Lynn and some priest nominated by him; that all oblations of every kind, without any diminution, were to be restored to the priory church of St. Margaret; that brothers and sisters dying in the hospital were to be buried in St. Margaret's; that the chaplain was not to hear confessions; that they were to be allowed a single bell for summoning the brethren; and that the prior of Lynn was annually to visit the hospital.²

On 26 May, 1399, the chapel was the scene of the public recantation of William Chatriri *alias* Sawtre, a priest of the church of St. Margaret, Lynn. There had been another recantation on the previous day in the churchyard of the chapel of St. James. Sawtre solemnly took his oath, before the bishop of Norwich in the chapel, on the book of the Gospels, that he would never after that time preach publicly the eight conclusions which he repudiated. But the next year he relapsed, abjured his repudiation, and was burnt.³

In 1535 the value of the hospital's small possessions at Hardwick, Clenchwarton, and Lynn, were estimated at £7 6s. 11d. a year; the master at that date was Robert Newman.⁴

This house was destroyed by the later legislation of Henry VIII. On 18 May, 1545, it was surrendered to the crown by Robert Bumpstead, the master. He is described as *generosus*, so he was clearly not in holy orders.⁵

¹ It was probably founded *temp.* Hen. I. See Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 648-9, where two early undated charters are cited from the town muniments.

² The award is with the capitular muniments at Norwich; a photographic facsimile is given in Mr. Beloe's *King's Lynn: Our Borough, Our Churches* (1896), where there is an excellent account of the chapel, pp. 74-77.

³ Fox, *Acts and Mons.* (ed. 1837), iii, 225.

⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 397.

⁵ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. 2, 30.

PRIORS OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN, LYNN⁶

Michael,⁷ occurs 1273
William de Lingwode,⁸ admitted 1331
John Barsham,⁹ admitted 1390
John Blake,¹⁰ admitted 1390
Roger Loksmith,¹¹ admitted 1401
John Vyne,¹² admitted 1405
Richard Warden,¹³ admitted 1410
Thomas Lank,¹⁴ 1418
John Lovell,¹⁵ admitted 1418
Thomas Lovys,¹⁶ admitted 1426
William Cowper,¹⁷ admitted 1471
Robert Newman,¹⁸ occurs 1535
Robert Bumpstead,¹⁹ surrendered 1545

76. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN, LYNN

The hospital of St. Mary Magdalen was founded on the causeway leading to Gaywood, in the year 1145, by one Peter the chaplain. It consisted of a prior and twelve brethren and sisters; of these ten, the prior or chaplain being one, were to be sound, and the other three infirm or leprous. From the foundation deed it appears that this was a reconstruction of a yet older hospital, for the opening clause provides that the brethren were to dress after a decent fashion, like their predecessors ('*secundum morem fratrum antecessorum domus*'). The statutes drawn up by the founder and Archbishop Winchelsey ordered that the infirm were not to enter the quire, the cellar, the kitchen, or precincts, without reasonable cause, but to confine themselves to the places assigned them in church, hall, and court, and not to wander about in public; that the brethren were not to eat or drink outside the hospital for the space of a mile in circuit lest scandal might arise; that the common seal, books, chalices, vestments, relics, wax, and other church ornaments, and the chest with the treasury of the house, were to remain in the custody of the infirm brethren, and the common money be kept in a pix with three keys, one with the prior, and the other two with two of the sound brethren, and the alms from within or without the hospital to be placed in the pix; that if anyone wished to visit his wife or friends he might do so two or

⁶ The priors of this hospital were collated by the bishop of Norwich.

⁷ Close, 15 Edw. II, m. 35.

⁸ Norw. Epis. Reg. ii, 42.

⁹ *Ibid* vi, 150.

¹⁰ *Ibid* 258.

¹¹ *Ibid*.

¹² *Ibid* 320.

¹³ *Ibid* vii, 27.

¹⁴ *Ibid* viii, 36.

¹⁵ *Ibid* 38.

¹⁶ *Ibid* ix, 10.

¹⁷ *Ibid* xi, 181.

¹⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.).

¹⁹ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. 2, 30.

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three times in the year if it seemed necessary or useful, but openly and with the consent of the prior, and not for too long; that if any of the brethren or sisters, sound or unsound, broke the rules, the use of the hospital was to be forfeited for a year, and unless willing to be castigated according to the quality of the offence within the year, the offender was to be expelled for ever; that all the brethren and sisters were to attend daily the seven canonical hours and mass and to pray for all benefactors; that all brethren and sisters were to have equal shares in all the profits of the house the same as the prior; that all should attend the general chapter the day after the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, and after chapter the mass for all buried there and for all benefactors; that all ornaments of the church and treasury were to be placed on that day for the inspection of all the brethren and sisters; that on the death of any brother or sister the house was to have the best robe and cowl, and the bed and the chest of the deceased, and if there was no chest, 8s. 6d. for wax light and 6d. for drink among the inmates; that the house should celebrate thirty days for the soul of the deceased; that 6d. was to be distributed to the brethren on each of the feasts of All Saints, Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost, and on St. Mary Magdalen's Day, for prayers for the founder; that his anniversary was also to be celebrated yearly in the church, under pain of excommunication, and on the same day the chaplain, brethren, and sisters, were each to receive 6d. as drink-money (*ad potandum*); that on Maundy Thursday a farthing (*libellum*) and a herring should be distributed to each brother and sister of the house and to all mendicant lepers, and that outside lepers should receive the hospitality of the house for that night. The statutes were confirmed and sealed by William, bishop of Norwich in the year 1174.¹

On 26 January, 1340, protection with clause *rogamus* (that is for collecting alms), was granted for two years to the master and brethren of St. Mary Magdalen on the causey, Lynn, as they had not enough for their support unless relieved by the faithful in other parts.²

In 1549 the rebels from Ket's camp at Castle Rising, on their return from trying to enter the town, sacked the hospital and destroyed the chapel and most of the buildings, so that it was henceforth greatly impoverished.³ The hospital was seized by the crown under the Act of Edward VI, but the property was afterwards to some extent restored to the corporation for a like purpose. Its post-Reformation history will be given elsewhere.

¹ A full transcript of these statutes is given in Mackerell, *Hist. of Lynn* (1738), pp. 244-6. Peter the founder died 1174.

² Pat. 14 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 47.

³ Mackerell, *Hist. of Lynn*, 195.

PRIORS OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN, LYNN⁴

Peter,⁵ before 1256
John Dulman, 1468
Nicholas Portland, occurs 1477,⁶ 1482
Henry Burgh, 1482
Richard Bull, 1487
Richard Leke, 1520
Nicholas Bryggs, 1526, 1529
Roger Adams, 1534
John Dixon, 1552
Thomas Hasket, 1570

77-80. LAZAR-HOUSES, LYNN

In addition to the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, which provided partially for lepers, there were four other lazarus-houses close to the town of Lynn, namely at Cowgate, West Lynn, Setchey, and Gaywood.

Stephen Guybon of North Lynn, by his will dated 1432, gave 12d. to every house of lepers about Lynn, namely West Lynn, Cowgate, Hardwick, Setchey, Magdalen, and Gaywood.⁷ Hardwick, in the parish of North Runcton, is described separately, and 'Mawdelyn' obviously means the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen.

As no records can be found of these small lazarus-houses, it may be assumed that they had little or no endowment, and were entirely dependent, like similar houses in other places, on alms and occasional bequests.

81. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. GILES, NORWICH

Good Bishop Walter de Suffield (1245-57) was the founder of the noble hospital of St. Giles. The foundation charter was sealed, both by the bishop and prior, in the Norwich chapter-house on 1 April, 1246.⁸ The hospital, which was to bear the name of St. Giles, was founded in honour of the Holy Trinity, the Glorious Virgin, the Blessed Anne, and the Blessed Giles, and was to be built on a prescribed plot of ground opposite the church of St. Helen and under the walls of the priory. In this hospital the founder willed that there should be a master, who was to associate with him four devout chaplains well instructed in the divine offices. All were to rise, both for mattins and at dawn, at the sound of the greater bell, and to proceed together from the dormitory, entering the church in surplices

⁴ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* viii, 520-1. Blomefield also gives the names of several later masters of the hospital, under its revised form, but without dates.

⁵ Called predecessor of the present master in 1256; Assize R. 567, m. 23.

⁶ *Cal. Bodl. Chart.* p. 193.

⁷ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iii, 528.

⁸ The year is not given in the charter; the hospital is usually said to have been founded in 1249, but this charter is more likely of the year 1246 or even 1245.

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and copes. Mattins and the other hours, as well as the mass of the day, were to be sung *cum cantu et tractu moderato*. No one was to move about the house or precincts before the early mass, save the master if necessity required it. There were to be three daily masses, (1) of the day, (2) of Our Lady, and (3) for the faithful departed. Once a week, save in Lent, there was to be full service of St. Giles. The master and his chaplains were to live in the same house and to partake of the same food and drink. After dinner, the master, chaplains, and brethren were to proceed to the chapel chanting (*psalmodizantes*) the *Miserere*.

Every day of the year thirteen poor men were to have a sufficiency of bread and a good mess of meat or fish, and occasionally of eggs and cheese, with a due supply of drink, in the entrance (*ante caminum*) of the hospital, or by the fire in winter. Seven poor scholars, apt to learn, were to be chosen by the master from the schools of Norwich to receive their board at the hospital during school term, and those who had been well taught in grammar were to be changed, from time to time, for others, so that the number should always be maintained. There were also to be in the hospital thirty beds, with bedding, sheets, and coverlets, or more if the funds allowed it, where the infirm poor who desired it might be received until they were restored to health. There were to be at least three or four sisters, of honest life and of fifty years of age, who were to take diligent care of the sick and infirm; but all the rest of the work of the house, in the brewery and other offices, was to be done by men. All poor chaplains (that is, unbeneficed clergy) of the diocese of Norwich, broken down by old age or permanent sickness, so that they were not able to celebrate nor to do other clerical work for their support, were to be received into the hospital and to have suitable board and lodging in an honourable part of the house, so far as funds permitted. The hospital was to have a box for God's poor (*archa Domini*), from which alms were to be given daily to wayfaring poor. From the Annunciation to the Assumption there was to be a free distribution of sufficient bread to stave off hunger to all comers at the sound of the greater bell. The hospital was to be not only God's house, but the house of the bishop of Norwich; and as often as the diocesan passed by he was to descend and to give his blessing to the infirm lying and lodging in the hospital, and on such a day the thirteen poor men were to be wholly fed in the hospital. There were to be four lay brothers to minister both to the residents and out patients of the hospital according to the master's directions. All within the house, brethren, sisters, priests, and clerks, were to be subject to the direction and orders of the master. Every Sunday the master was to hold a chapter, and oftener if necessary, for the correction of offences and the punishment of delinquents. As

to fasts and food and refection, the Austin rule was to be followed. In chapel the master and chaplains were to wear surplices and round black copes; they were each to dress in good cloth of some non-prohibited colour. The brethren were to wear white gowns with grey cowls; the sisters, white mantles and black veils. The master, chaplains, brothers, and sisters were never to eat or drink in the town save in the houses of religious. The sisters were to have meals and to sleep by themselves, nor was anyone to enter their apartments save for necessity, leave being first obtained from the master. On the death or resignation of Hamo de Caletorp, the first master, and whenever there was a vacancy, the house was to be under the care of the bishop and one of the chaplains, but all the fruits during vacancies were to be retained for the use of the hospital. On a vacancy, the prior of Norwich and the archdeacons of Norwich and Norfolk, after an interval of three weeks, were to hold an inquisition as to the fitness and suitability of the chaplains of the house and of some outsider, according to their conscience, and to present such a one as master to be immediately admitted by the bishop or by his official in his absence from the kingdom. Immediately on admission the master was to swear to keep the goods of the hospital in a proper state, and to observe the ordinances of the house. If the archdeacons did not appear on the appointed day nor during two days afterwards, the prior was to associate with himself the official of Norwich consistory and the dean of Norwich and proceed to the election.

Provision was also made for any of the three offices being vacant by death, &c.; but if after five weeks no appointment had been made, the bishop was to collate. The master must be a priest, and was to swear to reside, and to hold no other benefice. He was to have no mounted attendant, unless it was one of the chaplains or brethren or clerks of the house. There were to be no esquires or idle youths in the house. The master was to be content with two or three saddle-horses. The common seal was to be kept under two keys, one held by the master and the other by a senior brother. An indulgence of forty days was granted in perpetuity to all aiding the hospital during the feast of St. Giles.

The endowments granted by this elaborate charter included the land of Hales, and the churches of Calthorpe, Costessy, Cringleford, Hardley, St. Mary of South Walsham, and Seething. The last clause confers the right of burial in the hospital.¹

¹ Norw. City Mun. Press G, shelf 6, parcel 1. For a MS. copy of this charter I am much indebted to my friend Mr. Tingey, F.S.A., hon. archivist of the city. The wealth of documents pertaining to this hospital is very great, including account rolls beginning in 1306. The mere enumeration of them extends from pp. 68 to 72 in the privately printed catalogue

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

In 1255 the bishop obtained the assent of Pope Alexander IV to the foundation and statutes of this hospital, which were at that time formally matured and signed by the founder. It was stated in the papal confirmation that the several churches presented to the hospital had been purchased from laymen by the bishop for that purpose, and that they were to devolve to the hospital on the death of their respective rectors; it was further ordered that perpetual chaplains or vicars, with fitting stipends, were to be provided for the churches.¹

During the founder's lifetime William de Dunwich, a wealthy burgher of the city, gave for his own soul and that of Katharine his late wife a meadow by Bishopsbridge adjoining the hospital, 6s. 8d. rent in Holme Street, and a great variety of other rents and tenements throughout the city. By his will, dated 1272, he ordered that his body should be buried before St. Katharine's altar in the hospital church, and made bequests to support five sick people in the hospital continually, and to find two chaplains at that altar to daily sing for him and his wife and ancestors. He also made provision for four wax tapers to be always burning at St. Katharine's altar during mass, and gave to the same a chalice and cruets of silver. So great were his benefactions that he was usually regarded as a co-founder with the bishop. In 1260 William de Suffield, archdeacon of Norwich, the founder's brother, gave to the hospital the church of Repps-with-Bastwick.

The founder died in 1257; by his will the bishop left to the hospital of St. Giles, built as he states for the remission of his sins, 300 marks to be used in any way for its advantage according to the consent of the master and his executors. He commended the hospital specially to his executors, exhorting them to benefit it in any way in their power out of his goods. He also gave to the hospital the silver-gilt cup which had belonged to the Blessed St. Edmund, and the Bible he had bought of Master Simon Blound.

The somewhat cumbersome rules for the appointment of the master were altered, with the archbishop's sanction, by Bishop Roger de Skirning in 1272, so that the chaplains of the house, on a vacancy, were entitled to choose their successor.

By the year 1310 the rents of the hospital had so increased that Bishop John Salmon added four other chantry priests to the foundation, so that there were eight clerical brethren, who were ordered to wear the habits of regular Austin Canons.

The patent rolls of Edward III contain various

of the city records. In the same parcel with the foundation charter are the founder's will, William of Dunwich's will, and other early bequests down to 1313.

¹ *Cal. Pap. Reg.* i, 312.

small bequests to the hospital,² and in 1334 Bishop Ayermin obtained licence to appropriate to St. Giles's the church of Thurlton.³ In 1340 Bishop Antony Bek confirmed the appropriation of the church of St. Peter, Mundham.⁴

In 1409 Thomas Lord Dacre, lord of the manor of Horsford, licensed William Westacre, archdeacon of Norwich, and others, to settle in mortmain on the hospital the manor of Cringleford, on condition of finding a chaplain to live as a brother in the hospital, and to celebrate daily for the soul of John de Dorlington, late archdeacon of Norwich, for Roger Pratt, the late master, and for William Paston of Paston.⁵

In 1420 Henry VI, for his own soul and for that of his wife Margaret, granted licence to the hospital to hold additional lands to the value of £10. It was therein stated that the house then consisted of a master, eight chaplains, two clerks, seven poor scholars for choristers, eight poor bed-ridden people, thirteen poor people daily dining there, besides poor strangers passing by who had a night's lodging there, as many as the beds would hold, and all the poor chaplains of the diocese labouring under any constant infirmity, and two sisters to wait upon the poor.⁶

In 1450 Sir John Fastolf sold the manor of Mundham and the advowson of the church of St. Ethelbert to the hospital for 200 marks. The master and brethren of St. Giles covenanted with the mayor and commonalty of the city, in 1472, to find a chaplain to serve in the chapel of St. Barbara in the Guildhall.⁷

Bishop Goldwell visited this hospital on 9 October, 1492. Robert Godfrey, one of the brethren, appeared as proctor of Master Oliver Dynham, who claimed to be master of the hospital, but exhibited neither assignment as proxy nor the title of Oliver Dynham to the mastership. Robert Godfrey, together with John Dowe, John Hector, George Vyrly, and William Hadenham, chaplains and brethren of the hospital, were then severally examined. The report of the visitation, as entered by the notary, was simply to the effect that the master of the hospital was absent and non-resident, contrary to the hospital statutes, and that on account of his absence the house was vexed with suits and other serious injuries.⁸

The executors of Bishop Goldwell settled in 1520, with the residue of his estate, lands to the value of 53 marks a year in mortmain on the master and brethren of St. Giles, on condition of their finding three chaplains to celebrate for

² Pat. 5 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 33; 8 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 35; pt. ii, m. 27; 9 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 13.

³ *Norw. City Rec.* 71.

⁴ *Cal. of Bodl. Chart. and R.* 199.

⁵ Pat. 11 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 24.

⁶ *Ibid.* 22 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 1.

⁷ *Liber Albus* (City Rec.), 53.

⁸ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camden Soc.), 12.

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the bishop's soul : one at the cathedral church, another at the collegiate church of St. Mary in the Fields, and a third at the hospital church. The hospital assigned salaries of 10 marks a year to each of these three priests, and applied the remainder to the poor in the hospital.¹

On 11 June, 1526, Bishop Nicke visited the hospital and examined severally the staff, which then consisted of a master, three fellows, three stipendiary chaplains, and two chaplains who served for their board and lodging.

John Hekker, the master, presented the inventory of goods and the annual account, and said that the number of fellows was deficient, for according to the foundation there should be six, and there were only three. The house was in debt to a small extent. One of the chaplains complained that divine service was sometimes badly observed in quire, on account of the loud wrangling of two of the fellows.²

At the visitation of 1532 there were four fellows present. One of them, William Hekker, said that he knew nothing, as he was so often absent. The three other fellows, Robert Church, John Fisher, and Edward Osborne, all bore witness to the ruinous condition of the bakehouse, and of a guest chamber over the parlour. Osborne also stated that two of the servants of the house, the butler and baker, were married, which was not seemly, and they ought to be removed. He also complained that the master (John Hekker) had received 26s. 8d. for the obit of Master John Sayle at the feast of Purification, and it was not paid in at the feast of Barnabas.³

The master, Thomas Cappe, and six chaplains or brethren, Robert Church, Edward Osborne, John Blomeville, Robert Dowe, John Browne, and Edmund Frewyll, signed their acceptance of the royal supremacy on 30 August, 1534.⁴ The last two signatures were probably those of two chaplains appointed under some of the chantry bequests, and not under the original foundation.

The Valor of 1535 gives full details of the financial standing of the hospital. The rectories of Costessy, Calthorpe, Hardley, Seething, Mundham St. Peter, Mundham St. Ethelbert, Cringleford, and Repps with Bastwick, yielded an annual income of £54 18s. 10d., and the altarage of the altar of St. Helen within the hospital, £1 6s. 8d. The gross income from several manors and other temporalities was £116 13s. 1d. From the outgoings we find that four brethren each received 36s. 8d. for their food, and the sisters 52s. each for their food and labour in attending on the poor who came to the hospital. The dinner for the seven grammar-

school boys, at 8d. each per week, came to £12 2s. 8d. The thirteen poor persons having a daily meal and the six poor persons who had board and lodging at the hospital cost £19 15s. 3d. The 180 poor persons who received a loaf, three eggs, and a piece of cheese on the Annunciation, and the 100 who were similarly fed on St. Dunstan's day, cost 20s. The twenty-four persons who prayed daily for Bishop Goldwell at 1d. a day cost £4 6s. 8d.

The master, Thomas Cappe, for his board and stipend, and for the board of a servant, received £12 1s. 4d. Robert Church, Edward Osborne, John Blomeville, and Robert Dowe, received amongst them £20 8s. There remained of clear annual value, after the payment of all dues, pensions, alms, and salaries, the sum of £58 3s. 0½d.

When the exchange of the bishopric lands and revenues took place in 1535 the advowson of the hospital passed to the king, who, in 1537, granted the mastership to Robert Codde.

In 1546 Nicholas Shaxton, D.D., ex-bishop of Salisbury, was appointed master, but apparently only for the purpose of securing its surrender, for on 6 March, 1547, the bishop of Norwich, as patron of the hospital, Nicholas Shaxton as warden, and John Fisher and Robert Dowe, two of the chaplains or fellows, in the chapter house of the hospital, surrendered the buildings into the young king's hands, in accordance with the intention of his father, Henry VIII.⁵

The crown transferred the dissolved hospital of St. Giles and its possessions to the mayor, sheriffs, and commonalty of Norwich, for the relief of poor people, to be called 'God's House,' or the 'House of the Poor in Holm Street,' and the office of master now came to an end. The further history of this foundation, the Great Hospital, is to be found in the Charity Commissioners' reports.

MASTERS OF ST. GILES' HOSPITAL, NORWICH

Hamon de Calthorpe,⁶ c. 1276

Robert,⁷ occurs 1279

Robert Godwin,⁸ 1288

Martin de Brunsted,⁹ 1289

Thomas de Hemmersby,¹⁰ occurs 1296, 1311¹¹

Peter Herringflet,¹² occurs 1313

Roger de Metyngham,¹³ elected 1360

John de Derbyngton,¹⁴ elected 1372

Roger de Erpingham,¹⁵ elected 1375

John son of Robert de Thornham, master of Sparham,¹⁶ elected 1394

⁵ Ibid. vii, App. 2, 35; Liber Albus (City Rec.), 20, 21.

⁶ Found. Chart. (City Rec.), 69.

⁷ Add. Ch. 14784.

⁸ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 400.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Add. Ch. 14785.

¹¹ Blomefield, loc. cit.

¹² City Rec. 69.

¹³ Norw. Epis. Reg. v, 43.

¹⁴ Ibid. vi, 16.

¹⁵ Ibid. vi, 42.

¹⁶ Ibid. vi, 197.

¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iii, 541; iv, 178.

² Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camden Soc.), 206.

³ Ibid. 271.

⁴ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. 2, 94.

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Benedict Cobbe,¹ elected 1395
 Robert Fonline,² elected 1399
 Roger Prat,³ resigned 1412
 Robert Spenser,⁴ elected 1412
 William Sepyngton LL.B.,⁵ 1431
 Roger Pratte,⁶ elected 1431
 John Walpool,⁷ elected 1436
 Hugh Acton,⁸ elected 1437
 John Schott, LL.D.,⁹ elected 1464
 John Smith,¹⁰ elected 1479
 Oliver Dynham,¹¹ elected 1489
 Thomas Schenkwyne,¹² elected 1495
 Nicholas Goldwell,¹³ elected 1497
 Robert Honywood,¹⁴ elected 1498
 John Jullys,¹⁵ 1499
 William Cooper,¹⁶ 1513
 John Hekker,¹⁷ occurs 1526
 Thomas Cappe, LL.D.,¹⁸ elected 1532
 Thomas Simmondes,¹⁹ 1535
 Robert Codde,²⁰ 1537
 Nicholas Shaxton,²¹ elected 1546, last master

There is a very imperfect seal *ad causas* of this hospital attached to a charter of 1306, showing the church with central tower.²²

A cast of a fine impression of a late thirteenth-century seal of the master and brethren ($1\frac{3}{8}$ in. \times $1\frac{1}{8}$ in.) bears St. Giles seated, with an arrow-wounded fawn leaping at him. In the base a cross surmounted by a mitre. Legend:—

✠ S' MAGRI . ET . FR̄M . S̄CI - EGIDII . DE .
 NORWIC²³

82. THE HOSPITAL OF HILDEBROND, NORWICH²⁴

This hospital was founded in the ancient parish of St. Edward, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, by Hildebrond le Mercer, citizen, and Maud his wife. The patronage was given to the bishop. The founders also built, for the use of the brethren and occupants, a chapel, dedicated to the honour of St. Mary, adjoining the west end of St. Edward's church;

but when this church became wholly appropriated to the hospital, and the parish united to that of St. Julian, about 1269, the chapel was only occasionally used, as the church was served by the hospital chaplain. The hospital was usually known as Hildebronde's, and the various collations by the bishop in the institution books are entered in that name; but it was also termed St. Mary's Hospital, and at a later date was popularly known as Ivy Hall.

In the fourteenth-century register of the archdeaconry of Norwich, known as the 'Norwich Domesday,' is the following entry, cited by Mr. Kirkpatrick:—

'There is in the parish of St. Edward a certain hospital called Hildebronde's Spytelle, lying near the churchyard on the south side, built with houses and a hall, and chambers for the master. In which said hospital, poor people wanting lodging ought to be entertained, and to have a certain quantity of fuel (*focalium*) from the master.' It is further stated that the master had a chapel annexed to St. Edward's church (the simple inventory is given), where he could celebrate mass at his pleasure. The annual value of the hospital was estimated at 100s.

The infirmarian of the cathedral paid the hospital a rent of 2s. 6d.²⁵; the city paid it 7s. 6d. for stalls in the market; and the hospital of St. Giles 2s.

The common fate of so many of these hospitals overtook the one founded by citizen Hildebronde, namely the absorption of the major part of the income by the master. The bishops allowed the mastership to be held with other benefices, and seem to have considered their duties at an end when they had made a collection. That abuses were rampant in 1428 appears from the will of William Setman, some time mayor of the city. He requested that a conference might be held with 'the master of Ivyhalle, late called the Hospital, in Conysford, in Norwich,' and if the master willed for the future to observe the ancient order of the hospital, and discharge its burden, then the rent of two houses was to be restored.²⁶

From subsequent wills, cited by Kirkpatrick, it would appear that some care for the poor was discharged by this hospital later in the century. Thus Robert Steynton, rector of St. Julian's, bequeathed to it, in 1440, a green coverlet and a pair of blankets, and a pair of sheets; a will of 1457 made a bequest to the poor of the hospital of Ivy Hall, and a third will of 1459 left 2s. to the repair of the beds of the same hospital.²⁷ Spoliation, however, again set in, for the Valor of 1535 gave the annual value of the messuage, with court and garden, of this hospital, as only 14s.²⁸

²⁵ Infirm. R. 34 Hen. VI.

²⁶ Reg. Surflet, f. 124.

²⁷ Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Ord. of Norw.* 234.

²⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), vi, 292.

¹ Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 208.

² Ibid. vi, 251.

³ Ibid. vii, 49.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid. ix, 44.

⁶ Ibid. ix, 46.

⁷ Ibid. ix, 88.

⁸ Ibid. x, 7.

⁹ Ibid. xi, 7.

¹⁰ Ibid. xii, 68.

¹¹ Ibid. xii, 138.

¹² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 400.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ City Rec. 70.

¹⁶ Norw. Epis. Reg. xiii, 44.

¹⁷ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 400; Add. Ch.

14793.

¹⁸ Norw. Epis. Reg. xiv.

¹⁹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 400.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ City Rec. 70.

²² B.M. Top. Ch. 52.

²³ B.M., D. C. F. 39.

²⁴ Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Ord. of Norw.* 230-6; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 768; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 71-2; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 56.

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MASTERS OF HILDEBROND'S HOSPITAL, NORWICH

Nicholas,¹ rector of Bernham, 1262
 John de Royng,² died 1290
 Thomas de Mutforde,³ appointed 1290
 John de Wykelwoode,⁴ appointed 1320
 Robert de Langele,⁵ resigned 1353
 Henry de Plumpstede,⁶ appointed 1353
 Peter Mighel,⁷ presented by the king, 1385
 John Eyr,⁸ presented by the king, 1385
 John de Elmham,⁹ appointed 1397
 William Friseley,¹⁰ appointed 1401
 John Haukins,¹¹ appointed 1405
 John Bowd,¹² appointed 1412
 William Hayton,¹³ appointed 1413
 William Toby,¹⁴ appointed 1419
 Roger Malmesbury,¹⁵ resigned 1471
 Thomas Massen,¹⁶ appointed 1471
 John Jollys,¹⁷ 1497
 Thomas Deye,¹⁸ 1504
 John Underwood¹⁹

83. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. PAUL, NORWICH²⁰

The hospital of St. Paul, Norwich, otherwise called Norman's Spital, from Norman, the monk who was the first master, was founded by the prior and convent of Norwich in the early part of the twelfth century in the time of the first bishop of Norwich. It was erected in a place then called Cows Croft, in the north-eastern district of the city.

Though begun in the time of Bishop Herbert, it was not finished until the days of Bishop Everard (1121-45). That bishop, Ingulf the first prior of Norwich, and Richard de Beauf, bishop of Avranches, were jointly responsible for the completion of the work of building the hospital and the church, which was consecrated by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, in honour of St. Paul the apostle, and St. Paul the Hermit. The church was made parochial, but was appropriated to the hospital in 1198.

Bishop Beauf gave the hospital the churches,

¹ Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Ord. of Norw.* 235.

² Ibid. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 84.

⁵ Ibid. iv, 150. ⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid. vi, 110; Pat. 8 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 34.

⁸ Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 113.

⁹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 71.

¹⁰ Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 273.

¹¹ Ibid. vi, 320. ¹² Ibid. vii, 48.

¹³ Ibid. 74. ¹⁴ Ibid. viii, 43.

¹⁵ Ibid. xi, 182. ¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 7.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ The last master, prior of Bromholm and suffragan bishop (Chalcedon) of Norwich.

²⁰ Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Ord. of Norw.* 194-239; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 430-3, Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 698-700; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 57.

glebes and tithes of the four churches of SS. Michael, Peter, Andrew, and Margaret at Ormesby, which he had of the gift of Henry I; and the prior and convent of Norwich bestowed on it tithes at Marsham and Blickling, and lands at Sprowston and Thorpe. Morel de Morley and Emma his wife, who were received into the fraternity of the priory of Norwich, gave in return for that favour the tithes of Filby to the hospital. Various confirmation charters of the early beneficiaries are set forth in the *Monasticon*.²¹ Bishop Everard (1121-45) granted forty days' pardon to all who came to the church and offered there during the octave of St. Paul's Day in the summer, that is the Commemoration of St. Paul on 30 June. The hospital maintained fourteen poor men or women, who were impotent through old age or chronic illness. The master or warden was to be always a monk of Norwich in priests' orders, and was appointed by the prior and convent.

In the time of Master Walsham, appointed 1429, the scheme of the hospital was changed. No more men were admitted, and the benefits were reserved for fourteen sisters, seven of whom were termed whole sisters and received board, lodging, and clothing in the hospital; whilst the other seven half-sisters had no lodging assigned them. A wardeness or mistress was at the same time appointed to overlook the sisters; her appointment rested solely with the master. The master served the church and exercised general oversight concerning the hospital and its property. The hospital buildings were repaired directly by the priory.

The account rolls of the hospital of St. Paul's preserved in the treasury of the cathedral are seven in number, and are for the years 1423, 1430, 1431, 1436, 1441, 1443, and 1509. The average receipts were about £65 and the expenditure was somewhat in excess of the income.

To each of the full sisters, thirteen in number, in 1436 the sum of 8d. a week was paid. Of the less favoured sisters who were apparently on an out-relief list (*mediis sororibus*), eleven received 3d. a week for 39 weeks, and ten the same for 13 weeks. There were also small gifts made to the sisters and to the poor in God's House on Christmas Day, whilst the oil for a lamp in each of the resident sisters' houses or rooms cost 2s.

Bishop Goldwell visited the hospital on 9 October, 1492. The master, Denis Hyndolveston, eight full sisters, and seven half-sisters were in attendance. Their several examinations are not given, but the report states that the sisters' stipends were not paid at the right time, and this because the rents of the houses were very often considerably overdue; that the stipends were frequently delayed in payment for eight weeks, and sometimes for ten; and that no sister was admitted into the house save on payment of ten

²¹ There is a transcript of a confirmatory bull of Pope Gregory in Cott. MS. Jul. E. vii, 226.

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marks or more, which was contrary to the foundation. The bishop adjourned the visitation till the morrow of the feast of St. Clement; but the continuation is not on record.

On 8 June, 1532, Dr. Miles Spenser visited the hospital as the bishop's commissary, Henry Manuel was then master. The names of Margaret Dyver, *gardiana*, and nine other sisters are given; but no injunctions or report are attached to this record.

When the Valor of 1535 was drawn up, £20 7s. 1d. was named under the alms of Norwich Priory that went yearly to the support of divers women lodging in the hospital of St. Paul, and of other poor women coming daily to the hospital. It is stated that they prayed daily for the soul of Richard, formerly archdeacon of Norwich (Bishop of Avranches) there described as the founder, and for the souls of Henry I, Stephen, and Matilda.

On the dissolution of the priory, no more masters were appointed, but the hospital escaped Henry VIII's clutches, and remained as heretofore under a wardeness. Henry Manuel the last master, was made third prebend of the cathedral church by the charter of 1533, and the hospital and revenues were assigned to the new dean and chapter.

On the death of Margaret Dyver, Agnes Lyon was appointed wardeness and the sisters reduced to twelve. On the death of Agnes in 1545, the dean and chapter granted to the corporation of Norwich at 1d. a year, a lease of the hospital 'theretofore used for the relief and lodging of poor strangers and sick impotent persons,' on condition of its being used for like purposes. But after litigation, this condition fell through in 1571, and this ancient hospital was turned into a bridewell, or house of correction for idle and lazy beggars.

MASTERS OF ST. PAUL'S HOSPITAL, NORWICH¹

Norman
Geoffrey, 1190
Reginald de Pantesford
Robert de Stokesley, 1266
John de Plumstede, died 1283
Nicholas de Yarmouth, 1357
Ralph de Filby, 1370
Thomas Lynne, 1398
John de Hasyngham, 2411
William Silton
Richard Corpusty, 1418
Richard de Walsham, 1429
Robert Bretenham, 1470
Denis de Hindolfstone, 1492

¹ This list is taken from Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Ord. of Norw.* p. 214. John Kirkpatrick, treasurer of the Great Hospital of Norwich, wrote this work, having full access to all chapter and episcopal documents, about 1725; it was not published until 1845.

Simon de Lenn and William Manuel are added on the authority of Blomefield (*Hist. of Norf.* iv, 433).

Simon de Lenn, 1493
William Manuel, 1497
Brother Castellyn, 1504
John Sibley, 1513
Henry Manuel, 1532

MISTRESSES OF ST. PAUL'S HOSPITAL.²

Mary Green, 1443
Cecily Mortimer, 1452
Margaret Puregold, 1513
Margaret Dyver, 1532
Agnes Lyon

84. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN, NORWICH³

A hospital under the rule of a master, was founded by Bishop Herbert, in honour of St. Mary Magdalen, before the year 1119. It was built nearly a mile to the north-east of the city out of the Fybridge or Magdalen gate. This is disputed by the present officials. It had a chapel on the north side. Blomefield gives a long list of thirteenth-century benefactors. The master and brethren obtained a royal permit, in 1334, to collect alms in churches for the space of two years.⁴

In 24 Henry VIII, this hospital was united to that of St. Giles, but they were again speedily separated. The appointment of the master was in the hands of the bishop.

The Valor of 1535 returned the annual value of what was then termed the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen juxta Norwich at £10. Here again the whole funds seem to have been absorbed by the chaplain or master.⁵

MASTERS OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN'S HOSPITAL, NORWICH

Adam de Schotesham,⁶ 1288
Nicholas Banningham,⁷ resigns 1291
Peter de Dallyng,⁸ appointed 1291
Ralph de Baketone,⁹ appointed 1315
William de Merle, of Blickling,¹⁰ appointed 1324
Nicholas atte Briggs, of Gamingham,¹¹ resigned 1328
Adam Wombe,¹² appointed 1328
Robert de Crapeton,¹³ appointed 1332
Peter Alleyn of Morningthorpe,¹⁴ appointed 1334
Peter de Attlebrok,¹⁵ appointed 1336

² Kirkpatrick, *Relig. Ord. of Norw.*

³ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 440; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 768; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 56-8.

⁴ Pat. 8 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 13.

⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.) iii, 368.

⁶ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 440.

⁷ Ibid. ⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 63.

¹⁰ Ibid. 107. ¹¹ Ibid. ii, 25.

¹² Ibid. ¹³ Ibid. ii, 50.

¹⁴ Ibid. 69. ¹⁵ Pat. 10 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 12.

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Martin de Sandryngham,¹ appointed 1341
 John de Bromholm,² appointed 1342
 Roger de Nafferton,³ appointed 1345
 Thomas de Cloxton,⁴ appointed 1350
 John Multon,⁵ appointed 1367
 Richard, son of Thomas atte Townende of Eton,⁶ appointed 1393
 Geoffrey de Tanyard of Higham,⁷ appointed 1407
 Thomas Bontemps,⁸ appointed 1416
 John Thornegg,⁹ appointed 1436
 Simon Thornham,¹⁰ appointed 1444
 William Stillington,¹¹ 1503
 Thomas Brerewood¹²
 William Leveson,¹³ 1528
 John Sampon,¹⁴ 1530

85-89. THE LAZAR-HOUSES AT THE NORWICH GATES

In addition to the most important leper or leper-house of Norwich, namely, that of St. Mary Magdalen, at the same distance from the city, there were five other small houses, originally designed for leprous sufferers, making one for each of the chief gates. In pre-Reformation wills, small bequests to the leper-houses at the five gates were frequent.

I. The leper-hospital of St. Mary and St. Clement, usually called St. Clement's, without St. Austin's gate. It was of early foundation and supposed to be founded by one of the first bishops of Norwich. It had no endowment, and the burial place was in St. Clement's churchyard. There was a master, and leprous brethren under him.¹⁵

II. Outside Westwick and St. Benet's gate was a leper house, long continued as a poor-house after the dissolution. It must have had property, for it had a common seal. The dedication is said to have been the same as the adjacent parish church, namely, to St. Benedict.¹⁶

III. On the outside of Needham or St. Stephen's Gate, was the leper-house of St. Stephen. The master or guardian, who officiated daily in the chapel, was nominated by the prior of St. Faith's, Horsham, as the house was built on the priory fee, and admitted by the bishop and mayor. It continued a hospital after the dissolution.¹⁷

IV. Immediately outside Fybridge or Magdalen gate, there was a leper-house of some size, on the east side of the way, with a chapel attached. In 1448 the chapel was rebuilt with a graveyard attached, for hitherto the inmates had been buried in the neighbouring churchyard of All Saints.¹⁸

The dedication of this hospital and chapel is not given by any Norwich historian, and it seems probable that this was the hospital of St. Leonard (the commonest dedication of a leper-house) referred to in the Close Rolls of Edward III, who in 1335, instructed the chief forester of Sherwood to permit Robert de Stanford, keeper of the hospital of St. Leonard-without-Norwich, to fell four oaks in any wood of the abbot of Rufford within the forest, and to carry them away where he wishes as the abbot had given these four oaks in aid of the repair of the houses of the hospital.¹⁹ It is possible, however, that this may have been the hospital next mentioned.

V. The fifth of these gate leper-hospitals was on the outside of Newport or St. Giles's Gate. According to Blomefield, it was founded in 1343 by Balderic de Taverham, an astonishingly late date for a leper foundation. But a reference given by Tanner shows that this was a blunder; Walter Knot, in 1308, granted to Richard de Ely 'his seven cottages in which leprous people dwell, lying together without St. Giles's Gate, on the north side of the king's highway.'²⁰

90. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. SAVIOUR, NORWICH

Licence was obtained in 1305 by the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Saviour, Norwich, to hold a messuage, ten shops, and 2s. rent in Norwich, the gift of Richard de Breccles, chaplain.²¹

Blomefield states that this hospital was founded earlier in the reign of Edward I, and that in 1297 Richard de Coselany, fishmonger, conveyed to the founder (Richard de Breccles) a stall in the bread-market.²²

Nothing further is known as to this hospital, or when it was dissolved.

91-94. OTHER SMALL HOSPITALS AT NORWICH

Blomefield makes mention of several other small hospitals or almshouses of pre-Reformation date within the city.

¹⁸ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv. 438; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 58.

¹⁹ Close, 9 Edw. III, m. 9.

²⁰ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv. 245; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 58; Tanner, *Notitia*, Norf. i, 8.

²¹ *Cal. of Pat.* 33 Edw. I, pt. i, m. 1.

²² *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 500.

¹ Norw. Epis. Reg. iii, 49.

² Ibid. iv, 51.

³ Ibid. v, 76.

⁴ Ibid. vii, 4.

⁵ Ibid. viii, 9.

⁶ Ibid. x, 58.

⁷ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 441.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid. 460-1; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 57.

¹² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 350; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 58.

¹³ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 166-7; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 58.

¹⁴ Ibid. 55.

¹⁵ Ibid. 129.

¹⁶ Ibid. vi, 184.

¹⁷ Ibid. ix, 85.

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In the parish of St. Benedict was an almshouse given very anciently by Hugh Garesohn or Garzon.¹

Danyl's almshouses in St. Stephen's parish, were founded in 1418 by John Danyl, merchant, and by Walter his brother.²

God's House, St. Giles, was a hospital or almshouse for the poor, founded by John le Grant in Lower Newport, in the reign of Edward I. It was rebuilt by Bishop Lyhart in 1472. The nomination of the inmates rested with the bishop. The house was confiscated at the dissolution.³

God's House, St. Margaret, was founded for the benefit of the poor, by Robert de Aswardby, in 1292. It stood on the west side of the churchyard of St. Margaret Westwick.⁴

95. THE HOSPITAL OF RACHENESS

At Racheness in the parish of South Acre, there was a leper hospital, with church or chapel dedicated to St. Bartholomew, of early foundation. It was subordinate to the priory of Castle Acre. By an undated deed, *temp.* Henry II, Herbert de South Acre gave the land on which stood the church of St. Bartholomew, with three roods about it, and two acres at Burston, to Castle Acre Priory, for the use of the lepers there remaining, together with half the foldcourse and common of pasture, where his stock and that of his brother Alan fed.⁵

96. THE HOSPITAL OF WEST SOMERTON

Ralph de Glanville, chief justice of England, who founded the priory of Butley in Suffolk, also founded a leper hospital at West Somerton, dedicated to St. Leonard. The hospital was placed under the government of the priory.⁶

At Pleas as to the founding of the leper-house of West Somerton in 1291, the jury found that the prior of Butley had the custody of the hospital and nothing more;⁷ this finding was repeated nine years later.⁸

A commission was issued by Edward I, in 1299, to inquire and judge concerning the people who forcibly entered the leper-house of West Somerton, and carried away corn and goods, together with the hospital muniments.⁹

In the following year a grant was made to the prior of Butley, keeper of the West Somerton leper hospital, in consideration of a fine of 100 marks paid by him into the exchequer, that he

and his successor may hold that hospital henceforth quit of any account, on condition that the king and his heirs shall cause the said hospital (like the other hospitals of the king's advowson) to be visited by the chancellor for the time being, or other person deputed thereto, and shall correct any defects found on visitation. This came about through an action recently brought against the ruler in the king's court for him to render an account touching the issues of that hospital, since he had acknowledged in court that the advowson of the hospital belonged to the king.¹⁰

An inquisition held by the escheator for Norfolk, 20 Richard II, brought out the details of this foundation. It there appeared in evidence that Ralph Glanville, the founder, granted the hospital to the prior and convent of Butley on the condition that they should maintain in it thirteen lepers with all necessities, and a chaplain to celebrate there daily with a clerk, for the souls of Ralph and his parents; that the prior, for twenty years past, had ceased the maintenance of nine of the lepers; that the chaplain and clerk with the prior and convent, withdrew for the past twelve years from the four remaining lepers seven gallons of ale a week worth a penny each, and that the hospital was worth ten marks yearly.

Consequently the hospital was taken into the king's hands, and there remained (November, 1399). The prior and convent, however, produced evidence that the hospital was worth £60 yearly when first founded, but that the present income of only 10 marks would not suffice to maintain the charges, and that the hospital itself was desolate. Whereupon the crown regranted the hospital to the priory on the condition of two of the priory canons being maintained to celebrate for the king and the founder, and acquitted them of the issues of the hospital for the twenty years, and of the price of the gallons of ale for the twelve years.¹¹

97-102. THE SIX HOSPITALS OF THETFORD

GOD'S HOUSE, OR DOMUS DEI

God's House, or Domus Dei, was a house of early foundation, Blomefield believed that it dated back to the days when William Rufus removed the episcopal see from Thetford to Norwich,¹² but Martin could find no sufficient proof of this.¹³ It was situated on the Suffolk side of the borough; the river washed its walls on the north, and the east side fronted the street.

It was at any rate well established before the reign of Edward II, as it was found, in 1319,

¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 250.

² Ibid. 164.

³ Ibid. 245.

⁴ Ibid. 259.

⁵ Harl. MS. 2110, fols. 22, 87; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* vi, 76.

⁶ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* xi, 189.

⁷ Plac. Pasch. 19 Edw. I, m. 9.

⁸ Ibid. 28 Edw. I, m. 43.

⁹ *Cal. of Pat.* 27 Edw. I, m. 37 d.

¹⁰ Ibid. 28 Edw. I, m. 3.

¹¹ Ibid. 1 Hen. IV, pt. iii, m. 10; Memoranda R.L.T.R. Hil. 1 Hen. IV, m. 12.

¹² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 79.

¹³ Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 92.

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that John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, held the advowson of the God's House, Thetford.¹ In that year a considerable store of cattle and goods is described as having been acquired by the prudence and frugality of William de Norton, the late master, and left under the care of the bishop; his successor was enjoined not to dispose by sale or donation of any of the particulars of the inventory without leaving to the house an equivalent.²

The new master does not, however, appear to have followed the good example of William Norton; for he is soon found to be holding other preferment, and was probably non-resident. In 1325 William Harding, master of God's House, Thetford, and rector of Cerncote, Salisbury diocese, acknowledged a debt of eleven marks due to one Stephen de Kettlebergh.³ In the same year he was also warden of the hospital of St. Julian, Thetford.

In 1335 John de Warenne obtained the royal licence to transfer the hospital of God's House with all its revenues and possessions to the prior provincial of the Friars Preachers; but speedily changing his mind obtained another licence for transferring it to the prior and canons of the Holy Sepulchre, Thetford.⁴ By this arrangement it was covenanted that the priory should find two chaplains to sing mass for the soul of the founder of the hospital, and to find sustenance and entertainment for three poor men.

In 1347 Henry duke of Lancaster, as patron, confirmed to the prior and canons the gift of the lands, tenements, and rents lately belonging to the hospital of God's House, but excepted the actual site of the hospital, which he conferred upon the Friars Preachers. Two of the canons were to sing daily mass in the conventual church for the souls of the founders of the hospital. The priory was also to find a house yearly for three poor people from 9 November to 29 April, giving to each of them nightly a loaf of good rye bread, and a herring or two eggs. They were also to provide three beds, and hot water for washing their feet. This charter received royal confirmation the following year.⁵

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY AND ST. JULIAN

The hospital of this double invocation was more usually known as St. Julian's chapel or St. Julian's hermitage.

This hospital, which stood at the bridge foot on the Norfolk side, was of early foundation. According to Tanner, Blomefield, and Martin it was presumably founded by Henry I; but no evidence as to this is forthcoming. The ad-

vowson of it rested with the earls of Warenne. It seems to have been of the nature of a hostelry for poor travellers and pilgrims. Martin names a number of the specific bequests to this hospital, which comprised upwards of a hundred acres of land, in addition to foldcourses and other pasture rights, chiefly in Thetford and Croxton.⁶

In 1325 William Harding, who was also master of God's House, was master or warden of this hospital. In 1326 Harding resigned, and was succeeded in the following year by Robert de Worcester on the presentation of Edward II. The advowson was in the crown's hands for that turn, owing to the minority of the heir of Ralph de Cobham.

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN

John earl of Warenne and Surrey built a hospital for lepers in the reign of Henry III, endowed it with certain lands in Thetford, and appropriated to it the church or chapel of St. Mary Magdalen for the use of the master and brethren. The church of St. Mary Magdalen had originally been a parish church; but when that parish was annexed to St. Cuthbert's, in the first half of the thirteenth century, it became a chapel.⁷ It stood some distance outside the town, on the right-hand side of the road to Norwich. No trace of it remains, save that the land on which it stood still bears the name of Maudlin Acre.

In 1232 the crown granted the right to collect alms to the master and brethren of this hospital.⁸

By degrees it became possessed of 260 acres of land, 604 acres of pasture and heath, together with four foldcourses in Thetford, Kilverstone, and Croxton.

In 1360 Henry duke of Lancaster died, seised of the advowson. When the advowson in due course came to the crown it was granted to the mayor and commonalty of Thetford, who presented the master until its dissolution in the third year of Edward VI. At that date the hospital and its possessions, save the bells and lead of the chapel, were granted to Sir William Fermour; but Sir William Fermour almost immediately re-leased the premises to Sir Richard Fulmerston.

When the Valor Ecclesiasticus was drawn up in 1535, Christopher Braunche, clerk, was master of the hospital, and the clear annual value was returned at the mean sum of 33*s.* 6*d.* There must have been some gross alienation of property by certain of the masters, as it had at that date lost all its possessions save some rents in Thetford.

¹ Close, 12 Edw. II, m. 9.

² Norw. Epis. Reg. i, 77.

³ Close, 12 Edw. II, m. 9.

⁴ Pat. 9 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 26.

⁵ Ibid. 22 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 23.

⁶ Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 95-7.

⁷ Ibid. 90-2; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 77, 78.

⁸ Pat. 16 Hen. III, m. 4.

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THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST

The leper hospital of St. John Baptist, founded in the twelfth century, used to stand, says Blomefield, 'at the corner of Earl's or Alice's lane against St. Cuthbert's Cross, its church being in the orchard belonging to that house.'¹

Protection, involving authority to collect alms, was granted by the crown to this hospital in 1229,² and the master had a grant of a fair, in 1232, to be held on the vigil and feast of the decollation of St. John the Baptist.³

As the town increased in that direction, the inconvenience of a leper establishment in the midst of population became obvious; and on the foundation of Magdalen hospital by John earl of Warenne it was suppressed, and the brethren moved there. Subsequently the latter house was not infrequently named under the conjoint invocation of St. Mary Magdalen and St. John Baptist; a gild that pertained to the earlier hospital, called the gild of St. John Baptist, was also transferred to St. Mary Magdalen.

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN

There was a leper hospital dedicated in honour of St. John on the Suffolk side of the town. Martin gives references to it under the reigns of Edward I, II, and III. In 1387 John of Gaunt, as already detailed in the account of the friary, gave the old parochial church of St. John to the friars, which then became the chapel of the hospital. At the time of the dissolution it was demolished as part of the friars' property, and the site was granted to Sir Richard Fulmerston.⁴

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARGARET⁵

St. Margaret's was one of the four appendant churches of Thetford both in the Confessor's and the Conqueror's days. It stood on the Suffolk side of the borough. In the fourteenth century the parish was annexed to that of St. Mary's, and the church, which was in the gift of the bishop of Ely, became the chapel of a leper hospital. In 1304 certain thieves broke into the house of lepers of St. Margaret and stole a silver chalice worth 5s., 20s. in money, and linen and woollen cloths worth 10s., and then set fire to the buildings.⁶ On 20 March,

¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 78.

² Pat. 13 Hen. III, m. 5.

³ Chart. 16 Hen. III, m. 5.

⁴ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 71-2; Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 97-8. There is a certain amount of confusion in the statements as to these two leper hospitals, one of St. John, and the other of St. John Baptist.

⁵ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 72; Martin, *Hist. of Thetford*, 89, 90.

⁶ Assize R. 1234, m. 26, 1.

1390, John Fordham, bishop of Ely, granted an indulgence of forty days to all persons who would give help and assistance to the poor men and lepers living in the hospital of St. Margaret's by Thetford during the next three days.⁷

The hospital was dissolved in the time of Edward VI, and the site granted to Sir Richard Fulmerston.

103. LAZAR-HOUSE OF WALSHINGHAM

There was a lazarus-house or a spittle of old foundation at Walsingham. Blomefield found mention of it in 1486; and in 1491, Robert Pigut, by will, gave messuages called the Spittle-houses, with lands, freemen, and villeins pertaining, in Walsingham and Houghton to Robert Godfrey and others, on condition that they settled them on John Ederich, a leper of Norwich, and Cecil his wife, for their lives; and afterwards to admit two leprous men or one, of good family, from time to time.⁸

104. THE HOSPITAL OF WALSOKEN

There was a chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity in the parish of Walsoken, at a place called Stathe-Dytch, to which was attached a gild or fraternity of some fame, ruled by a master or warden. It seems to have been usually termed the Hospital of the Holy Trinity. Pope Urban (1378-90) and four of his successors granted particular indulgences to the brethren and sisters of this house and their benefactors as appears from a deed of admission of two persons into this fraternity, dated 6 October, 1481. At that time Eborard was master; he is termed 'custos capelle et hospitalis Sce. Trinitatis de Walsoken.' Blomefield also mentions a like deed of admission granted in 1476, to John Bernus, esquire, and states that the bishop of Ely granted in 1487 forty days' indulgence to all who contributed to the support of this hospital.⁹

The hospital was served by chaplains as well as by a master. In December, 1390, Thomas Fayrandgod and Richard Holn, perpetual chaplains of Holy Trinity chapel, Walsoken, received permission for themselves and their successors, from Pope Boniface IV, to celebrate mass in the chapel even in the time of interdict. This indult is of value, as it is therein stated that the hospital was founded by King Richard I.¹⁰

The Valor of 1535 estimates the annual value of this hospital at £5 6s. 3d.¹¹

⁷ Fordham's Register, fol. 175.

⁸ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 281-2.

⁹ Ibid. 129-30.

¹⁰ Cal. Papal Reg. iv, 376.

¹¹ Dep. Keeper's Rep. viii, App. 2, p. 46.

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This house and gild were dissolved at the end of Henry VIII's reign. The surrender, signed by Ralph Stanmow, master, and ten others, is dated 17 July, 1545. Annexed to it is the king's commission empowering John Ayre to receive the gild on the part of the crown.¹

MASTERS OF WALSOKEN HOSPITAL²

Thomas Jackson, died 1475

Hewet, 1475

Eberard, 1481

Ralph Stanmow, the last master

There is a cast at the British Museum of a small circular fifteenth-century seal of this hospital, having an embattled tower of two stories, with an indistinct figure on the right, between the letters T and L.³

105. THE HOSPITAL OF WYMONDHAM

Half a mile to the east of Wymondham stood Westwade chapel, originally built on a bridge. Here was a cell of Burton Lazars in Leicestershire, to which great lazarus-house William de Albin, some time before 1146, gave six-score acres of land in Wymondham parish. Thereupon the hospital of Burton Lazars built a small hospital or leper house on this site, in which was a master and two or three brethren. They sought alms of travellers who used this bridge.⁴

106. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY, YARMOUTH

The hospital of St. Mary, Yarmouth, was founded by Thomas Fastolf early in the reign of Edward I. William Gerbrigge, senior, by will of 1728, bequeathed to it a rent of nine marks for the maintenance of two priests. The establishment, independently of these two chantry priests or chaplains, consisted of a master or warden, eight brethren, and eight sisters.⁵

Walter de Bintre, donzel of the Duke of Lancaster, petitioned Innocent VI, in 1354, on behalf of the hospital of St. Mary the Virgin at Yarmouth, wherein lived a multitude of poor

brethren and sisters, for whose sustenance a daily quest has to be made, that he would authorize the acceptance by the hospital of oblations, and grant relaxation of a year and forty days of enjoined penance to those who visit the hospital and the sacred relics therein, and who give a helping hand to the poor inhabitants thereof.⁷ Richard Fastolf bequeathed in 1356 considerable rents to the hospital, provided the master, brethren, and sisters remembered his soul and that of Petronilla his wife in their masses and prayers, and William de Statham in 1379 devised to the bailiffs and commonalty of the town two fish-houses towards the support of St. Mary's Hospital.⁸

In 1398 this hospital came into the hands of the corporation of Yarmouth, when fresh regulations for its government were drawn up, and the appointment of the warden henceforth vested in the town.⁹

John Alcock, bishop of Ely, on 19 April, 1419, granted an indulgence of forty days to all who assisted in the sustenance or repair of this hospital.¹⁰

The house did not flourish under town management. In 1535, it was only worth £4 13s. 4d. a year, wherewith four poor women were supported.¹¹

107, 108. THE LAZAR-HOUSES OF YARMOUTH

Outside the walls of Yarmouth, on the north, were two houses for lepers, both probably of early foundation. There seems to have been a chapel common to the two lazarus-houses; probably they were separate buildings for the two sexes. Many small bequests were made by the townsfolk for their support in the fourteenth century. Thus, in 1365, William Oxney left 6s. 8d. to each house of lepers.

At the time of the dissolution of the religious houses the corporation took possession of the two leper houses at the North Gate, and afterwards appointed a warden. They are frequently mentioned for some time in the corporation records as 'Sickman's Houses.'¹²

COLLEGES

109. THE COLLEGE OF ATTLEBOROUGH⁶

Sir Robert de Mortimer, who died in 1387, directed by his will of that year that 2,000

¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 395.

² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 130.

³ B.M. lxix, 56.

⁴ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 504-5; Tanner, *Notitia*, Norf. lxxvi, 2.

⁵ Tanner, *Notitia*, Norf. lxxvii, 3.

⁶ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* i, 538-41; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1400-1; *Index Monasticus*, 47.

marks should be appropriated to found and endow a chapel in honour of the Holy Cross, in the church of Attleborough, the chaplains whereof were to celebrate for the souls of Sir Robert and Margery, his wife, and for all

⁷ *Cal. Papal Pet.* iii, 263.

⁸ Palmer, *Hist. of Yarmouth*, i, 431.

⁹ Manship, *Hist. of Yarmouth* (1619), 40-1.

¹⁰ Ely Epis. Reg. Alcock, fol. 17.

¹¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 296.

¹² Manship, *Hist. of Yarmouth* (1619), 45; Palmer, *Hist. of Yarmouth*, i, 432-4.

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their ancestors. Sir Robert left to Simon, rector of Scoulton, and eight other trustees, his manors of Scoulton, Tottington, and Stanford in Norfolk, and Burton and Foxton in Cambridgeshire, the income to accumulate until there was the sum of two thousand marks out of the profits. Eventually, in 1405, the royal licence was obtained to erect the chantry, and to endow it with land in Attleborough, and with the advowson and appropriation of the church of Great Ellingham, due provision being made for the poor and for the vicar.¹

The college was to consist of a warden or master, and four chaplains or fellows. They were to yield obedience to the master, and to live in common in their college or mansion-house. All five were to hold their benefices for life, and if any were so old or infirm that they could not serve, they were nevertheless to continue in their place and be maintained for life by the college. The master's stipend was 60s., and that of each chaplain 40s., to be paid half-yearly, on St. John the Baptist's day and Christmas day. The master and chaplains were each year to have a new cloth suit, or ten shillings in lieu thereof. The master was to be chosen by the majority of the fellows and need not be a member of the college; if they elected two, the choice between them lay with the bishop. Two wax tapers of two pounds each were to be lighted yearly on the anniversaries of the founder and his wife, and five poor people were each to be given 13d. The master was to present an annual statement of accounts to the fellows on Michaelmas Day.

The college-house stood near the north-west corner of the churchyard.

On 28 January, 1493, Archdeacon Goldwell, as commissary for the bishop, visited the college of Attleborough, on that occasion called priory. John Newton, the prior, and three canons were present, and there was nothing found worthy of reformation.

At the visitation of 1514 Peter Foston was master or warden. He was subjected to examination, as well as the two chaplains, but nothing was found by Bishop Nicke worthy of reformation.

The visitation made by the suffragan bishop of Chalcodon and his fellow commissaries, on 26 June, 1520, was more searching. John Claydon, the master or provost, was absent, but appeared by proxy in the person of William Beynham; but as neither the master nor his proxy satisfied the visitation mandate, the master was pronounced contumacious and ordered to appear on the morrow. The next morning Beynham produced his sealed form of proxy and other duly executed documents, and the visitation proceeded.

John Whitlock said that the master did not

observe the statutes, he had retained his salary for a year or more, and also detained a book of accounts from the time of the death of his predecessor, Master Peter Foston, up to that time. George Jekson also said that the master did not observe the foundation statutes. The bishop ordered Beynham to exhibit on 16 July, at Holt, the foundation charter of the college, together with a statement of accounts.²

Master John Claydon and two fellows, William Brown and Robert Wittell, subscribed to the king's supremacy on 25 August, 1534.³

The Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 gave the annual value of the rectory of Ellingham as £10 7s. 8d., and of the college manor of Attleborough as £15 18s. 8d., yielding a total of £26 5s. 4d., but various outgoings reduced the clear value to £21 16s. 3d.

Henry VIII subsequently granted licence for the appropriation of the greater part of the valuable rectory of Attleborough, but this was never accomplished, the dissolution of the college intervening. In 1541 the site of the college and its possessions were granted to Robert earl of Sussex, who shamelessly pulled down the quire of the fine church (for the lead) on the false plea that it had been appropriated to the college.

MASTERS OF ATTLEBOROUGH COLLEGE⁴

John Rykedon, 1417
 Thomas Cove, 1421
 John Spyrling, 1441
 Richard Fishere, 1442
 Robert Popy
 John Cralle, 1448
 Thomas Draper
 John Powlyn, 1477
 John Newton, 1483
 John Williamson, 1485
 Peter Foston, 1486
 John Claydon, 1519

There is a cast of an early fifteenth-century seal in the British Museum, showing Our Lord on the cross on a hatched field. Legend:—

† SIGILLU . . . CATAR. SCE. CRUCIS. IN
 ATTELBURGH⁵

110. THE COLLEGE OF HOLY TRINITY OR THORESBY, LYNN

Thomas Thoresby was a great merchant of Lynn; his father had been mayor of the town in 1442 and 1456, his grandfather in 1425, and he was himself mayor in 1477, 1482, and 1502. The south chancel aisle, with a chapel and tomb, of St. Margaret's church, was his work; all that

² Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 37, 94, 158-9.

³ *Deputy Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. 2.

⁴ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* i, 541.

⁵ B.M. lxix, 5. Given in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1400, and Blomefield, *Norf.* i, 364.

¹ Pat. 7 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 22.

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has been swept away, but his memory is preserved in the college founded by him early in the sixteenth century.

He directed, by his will, dated 1510, that his executors were to provide two secular priests 'to sing and do service divine perpetually and daily' after his decease, in his chapel in the church of St. Margaret. He adds by his will to the endowment of the charnel priest, founded by his predecessor, Walter Cany, and then continues: 'I will that the said charnel priest and also the said two priests that shall sing continually for my soul shall have convenient chambers in the college newly by me builded in Lynn.'

This college, begun in 1502,¹ was designed for the lodgement of these and other priests serving St. Margaret's church and the chapels of St. James and St. Nicholas. It was unfinished at his death, and he left towards its completion 500 marks, or more at the discretion of his executors. There was to be a master of the college, each priest had his chamber, but they had their commons in the hall.²

The Valor of 1535 mentions 'Trenite College in Lynne' in connexion with the Gild of the Merchants. There was a master with a stipend of £6 13s. 4d., and two chaplains each with a stipend of £5 6s. 8d.³

The date of the destruction of this college is not known. A special commission appointed in 1561 to inquire into the chapels, colleges, and chantries of Lynn, reported:—

We saye there was a house which was called Trenytie College, the founder thereof was one Thomas Thursbye, late of the same town, merchant, but to what use it was founded we know not, which college was sold by the mayor of the saide towne to one (Houghton, now owner thereof).⁴

III. THE COLLEGE OF THE CHAPEL-IN-THE-FIELDS, NORWICH.⁵

At some date prior to 1248⁶ an important hospital and chapel, dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, was founded in the parish of St. Stephen by John le Brun, priest. It stood at the time of its foundation in the open fields on the south-west of the city, and hence became known at an early date as the Chapel-in-the-Fields. In a short space of time, aided by various benefactions, the foundation became a collegiate church on a noble scale, consisting of

a dean, chancellor, precentor, treasurer, and seven other prebendaries. To these there were afterwards added six chaplains or chantry priests, termed *conducti*, as well as other chantry priests and gild chaplains—not on the foundation. They had a common table and various ordinances similar in the main to other collegiate establishments.

The founder gave to the college the advowson of the church of St. George [Tombland] as well as that of St. Andrew. Of the latter church his brother Geoffrey, who confirmed the gift, was rector. His brother, Matthew le Brun, also gave the church of St. Mary Unbrent, Norwich.

The taxation of 1291 shows that the canons were then in receipt of £4 2s. 6d. per annum in small sums from no fewer than nineteen of the Norwich parishes, as well as 9d. in rent from Thurston and 7s. from lands in Earham, giving a total of £4 10s. 3d.

On 16 July, 1341, Edward III gave leave for the appropriation of the churches of St. Andrew and St. George,⁷ but episcopal sanction for these appropriations was not granted until 1350.⁸ The same king granted licences for the appropriation of the church of Moulton and half the church of Fressingfield (Suffolk) in 1361,⁹ and of Easton in 1374.¹⁰

In 1381 the college paid a fee of £20 in the hanaper for the alienation in mortmain of the church of Field Dalling, the gift of William de Walsham, chaplain, and four citizens of Norwich.¹¹ This appropriation was sanctioned by the bishop of Norwich in 1384, together with that of the church of St. Peter Mancroft.¹² In the same year 40 marks were paid in the hanaper for licence to hold the church of St. Peter Mancroft, saving to the abbot and convent of Gloucester a yearly pension of £4.¹³ The other half of the church of Fressingfield was appropriated to the college in 1420.¹⁴

In 1374 Roger Middleton, rector of St. Peter Mancroft, gave the college £10 towards the building of their common kitchen and the precinct walls. Building was also in progress between 1377 and 1379, when the dean and canons received several bequests towards the building of their cloister. In 1428 £20 was given towards leading the quire of the collegiate church, and a like sum for a similar purpose in 1433. In 1458 William Martyn, notary public, left a considerable sum towards the rebuilding of the church, and Thomas Bachcroft, of Little

¹ Mackerell, *Hist. of Lynn*, 224.

² Beloe, *King's Lynn*, 97–103. Much of the college remains, and is well described and illustrated in this volume.

³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 402.

⁴ Exch. Spec. Com. 1524.

⁵ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 169–83; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1459; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 48.

⁶ In that year John Bond bequeathed a rent of 6d. a year to the hospital of St. Mary in the Fields.

⁷ Pat. 15 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 27.

⁸ Norw. Epis. Reg. iv, 9.

⁹ Sanctioned by the bishop (*ibid.* iv, 33).

¹⁰ Pat. 26 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 24; 39 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 26.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 4 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 15.

¹² Norw. Epis. Reg. vi, 343.

¹³ Pat. 7 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 7.

¹⁴ Norw. Epis. Reg. viii, 137; Pat. 1 Hen. V, pt. iv, m. 12.

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Melton, gave the large sum of £40 in 1501 for the construction of a new rood loft.¹

Among the numerous interments in the collegiate church of which there is record the following may be mentioned: Joan, widow of Sir Thomas de Gissing, 1388, to be buried by her husband's tomb; she bequeathed a vestment of red velvet and gold stars to the altar of St. Katharine. Sir Thomas Hemgrave, 1419, before the image of the Blessed Virgin in the quire. Richard Schyrlok, 1434, before St. John's image. William Fake, 1483, before the holy rood; he ordered four marble stones one foot square and twenty half-yard square to be laid as pavement by his grave, to give example to others to pave the whole church with marble.²

The bishop had the right of collation to the deanery and to the ten prebends. The different prebends were known by the names of (1) the Morning Mass, (2) the Chancellor's, (3) the Treasurer's, (4) the Precentor's, (5) the Provostship, (6) the Sacrist's, (7) the Chapter's Mass, (8) the High Mass, (9) the Lady Mass, and (10) the Great Mass. The six conducts were chantry priests added by degrees to the foundation for the souls of their several founders and benefactors. They were (1) Kyrkely's chantry, founded in 1331; (2) Appleyard's, in 1388; (3) Churchman's, 1391; (4) Kentone's, 1405; (5) Sedman's, 1411; and Wygenhale's in 1460. In addition there were two other chantries, Bokenham's, 1479, and Goldwell's 1520.

In connexion with this church were the gilds of Corpus Christi³ and the Tailors' gild.⁴

The college was visited by Bishop Goldwell in 1492, when nothing was found demanding reformation. The visitation was attended by the dean, John Neel, seven prebendaries, and six chantry priests.⁵

The visitation by Bishop Nicke in 1526 was equally satisfactory, save that the college income was slender and insufficient; it was attended by the dean, Nicholas Carr, three prebendaries, and six chaplains.⁶

The last visitation was on 7 June, 1532, when Dean Spencer, six prebendaries, and five chaplains attended. Everything was satisfactory save that the steward reported that the income of the college was not sufficient for the burdens and expenses of the house.⁷

Miles Spencer, dean, Thomas Cappe, prebendary, together with six other members of the college, signed their acknowledgement of the king's supremacy on 30 July, 1534.⁸

The Valor of 1535 enumerates as spiritualities the four Norfolk rectories of Field Dalling, Moulton, Bowthorpe, and Easton, the three Nor-

wich rectories of St. Peter Mancroft, St. George, and St. Andrew, and the Suffolk rectory of Fressingfield, valued at £63 7s. 3d. per annum. The temporalities in Norfolk and Norwich were valued at £47 13s. 7d. The pensions and fees due from the college were considerable, so that the clear annual value is only returned at £86 12s. 8d. At this time Dr. Spencer was dean and received a stipend of £16 16s. 8d. Thomas Pellis was chancellor, Edmund Stewarde, precentor, Richard Tailor, treasurer, William Hedge, prebendary of the first stall on the north side; Thomas Cappe, prebendary of the second north stall; Richard Redmayne, prebendary of the first south stall; and John Bury, prebendary of the second south stall. The return states that none of these prebendaries received any stipend on account of the insufficiency of the endowments. The dean made a like return with regard to the other inmates of the college; but as there was a balance in hand of £69 16s. after the payment of his own salary, it is difficult to understand why the prebendaries and others did not draw their share.

The surrender of the college was signed on 29 January, 1544. The only signatures are those of the dean and the bishop of the diocese.⁹ Dean Spencer cunningly persuaded his colleagues to resign on small pensions, and on 22 April following the surrender he obtained from Henry VIII a grant of the site of the college and its whole possessions for himself and his heirs at a nominal sum. The grant contemplated the immediate destruction of church and college by its late dean, for it specified the timber, iron, glass, tombs, and stones of the church, chancel, cloisters, and other buildings, with all the lead on the roofs and about the cisterns and conduits.¹⁰

Spencer was a shameless pluralist. He was rector of Helvingham and Redenhall, Norfolk; vicar of Soham, Cambridgeshire; archdeacon of Sudbury; and vicar-general of the diocese. He lived to the age of ninety, and was buried in the cathedral church.¹¹

DEANS OF CHAPEL-IN-THE-FIELDS COLLEGE, NORWICH¹²

John le Brun, 1260
Richard de Ringstead, 1305
Walter, 1309
Walter de Ditchingham, 1321
Simon de Cley, 1326
William de Hemenhall

⁹ Ibid. viii, App. 2, p. 35.

¹⁰ Ibid. x, App. 2, p. 275.

¹¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iii, 633; iv, 171.

¹² The list of deans, slightly amended, is taken by the Norfolk historian from the diocesan registers (Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 170-1); he also gives long lists of the prebendaries from the same sources, 171-4.

¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iv, 180-1. ² Ibid.

³ *Coll. and Chant. Cert. Norf.* 91a.

⁴ Ibid. 84a.

⁵ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* 10.

⁶ Ibid. 208.

⁷ Ibid. 270.

⁸ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. 2, p. 295.

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Robert de Nythcote, 1340
 Richard Ive, died 1637
 Adam de Cringlewood, 1367
 John Henny, 1369
 John Bronn, 1374
 John Cleneans, 1383
 Henry de Well, 1401
 John Rekinall, 1436
 Thomas Ringstede, 1440
 Simon de Thornham, 1459
 Robert Popy, died 1467
 John Neel, 1467
 Nicholas Goldwell, 1498
 Robert Honywood, 1502
 Freeman, died 1513
 Thomas Hare, 1513
 Nicholas Carr, 1526
 Miles Spencer, 1532

The thirteenth-century oval seal of this college ($1\frac{3}{8} \times 1$ in.) simply bears an ornamental fleur-de-lis. Legend:—

+ DE CAPIS . NOM . VIRGO . DEDIT . ADD .
 ET . OMĒ¹

The fourteenth-century second seal ($2\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times $1\frac{3}{8}$ in.) has the crowned Virgin standing under a canopied niche with Holy Child on left arm; in base, profile of kneeling figure (the dean). Legend:—

+ DE . CAMPIS . NOM . EN . V'GO . DEDIT .
 ADDAT . ET OMEN²

112. THE COLLEGE OF RAVENINGHAM³

The college of Raveningham was founded on 24 July, 1350, by Sir John de Norwich, eldest son of Sir Walter de Norwich and Catherine his wife. It consisted of a master and eight secular priests or canons who were to officiate in the parish church of Raveningham for the weal of the souls of the founder and Margaret, his wife, in honour of God and the Blessed Virgin, St. Andrew the Apostle, and All Saints. The church was dedicated to the honour of St. Andrew, but the collegiate house, according to the foundation charter, was to be named after the Blessed Virgin.⁴

The college was well endowed by the founder and his heirs with the manors of Lyng, Howe, Blackworth, Hadeston, and Little Snoring, and with the appropriation of the churches of Raveningham and Norton Subcourse,⁵ as well as with lands and rents in various other parishes.

In 1382 there was a proposal to remove the college to Mettingham Castle (Suffolk). On

5 July of that year John Plays, Robert Honeard, and Roger de Boys, knights, and John de Wolterton and Elias de Byntre, rectors of the respective churches of Harpley and Carleton, paid the immense sum of £866 13s. 4d. to the crown for licence to transfer the chantry of eight chaplains from Raveningham to Mettingham Castle; to increase the number of chaplains or canons to thirteen, and to alienate in mortmain to the college the said castle and 60 acres of land, 18 of meadow, 2 of pasture, £5 10s. in rents, and much more land in various townships, three parts of the manor of Bromfield, the manor of Mellys, and the manor of Lyng, notwithstanding that the manor last named is held of the duke of Brittany as of the honour of Richmond.⁶

Some difficulty as to this transfer arose chiefly through the opposition of the nuns of Bungay, who had the appropriation of the church of Mettingham, and the college continued at Raveningham for several years after this date. On 6 August, 1387, the same applicants obtained a grant from the king, on the payment of the modest fee of one mark in the hanaper, to transfer the chantry of Sir John de Norwich's foundation from Raveningham, where it still was, to the church which was then being newly built in the rectory of Norton Subcourse, and that in consideration of the great fine of 1382 the master and twelve chaplains and their successors at Norton should hold all the lands and possessions granted to the chantry at Raveningham with the castle of Mettingham and all lands and possessions granted when it was proposed to move the college to that castle.⁷

A proposition for this transference to Norton had been made in the reign of Edward III and licence obtained in 1371, but it came to nought.⁸ Sir John de Norwich of Mettingham Castle, by will of 1373, left his body to be buried in Raveningham church by his father Sir Walter, there to rest till it could be moved to the new church of Norton Subcourse, to the building of which he bequeathed £450.

On the death of Sir John de Norwich, the last heir male of the family, his cousin, Katharine de Brews, was found heir; Sir John Klayns and Sir Robert Howard and the others who obtained licence for the removal of the college to Mettingham in 1382, and to Norton in 1387, were that lady's trustees, on whom she settled the college's inheritance.

On the removal of the master and twelve chaplains to Norton the college still retained the title of the place where it was first founded; the society was termed 'Ecclesia Collegiata S. Marie de Raveningham in Norton Soupecors.' But the college merely tarried at Norton for seven years; in 1394 it was eventually removed

¹ B.M. xxxv, 239; Blomefield, *Norf.* iv, 578.

² Add. Ch. 15889; Ackn. of Supr. (P.R.O.), 94**.

³ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* viii, 52-4; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1459; Taylor, *Index. Monasticus*, 49.

⁴ Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 365.

⁵ Norw. Epis. Reg. iv, fols. 31, 32.

⁶ Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 35.

⁷ *Cal of Pat.* 11 Rich. II, pt. i, m. 25.

⁸ Pat. 45 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 35.

A HISTORY OF NORFOLK

to the castle of Mettingham, where it remained until its dissolution.¹

Richard Shelton, the master, and nine chaplains, signed their acknowledgement of the royal supremacy of 28 September, 1534.²

The Valor of 1535, when Richard Skelton was master, gives the clear annual value of the temporalities in Suffolk and Norfolk of the college of the Blessed Virgin of Mettingham as £191 10s. $\frac{3}{4}$ d., and of the rectories of Raveningham and Norton as £10 17s. 5d., giving a total clear annual value of £202 7s. $\frac{5}{4}$ d. It also appears from the Valor that the college supported fourteen boys in the house and gave them education as well as board, lodging, and clothes, at an annual charge of £28.

The college was surrendered to the crown on 8 April, 1542. The surrender was signed by Thomas bishop of Ipswich, as master or warden, with the consent of his fellows or chaplains.³ On 14 April of the same year the college with all its possessions was granted to Sir Anthony Denny.⁴

This Denny was clerk of the Privy Chamber and keeper of Westminster Palace, and profited much by monastic and collegiate plunder. A letter from Robert Dacres of the Privy Council to Anthony Denny, dated 13 May, 1542, states that his profit had been advanced as well among the chaplains of the college as the tenants. There were secured for him two great chalices and a great pix of silver and parcel-gilt, divers rich corporas cases, and nineteen massive silver spoons, as well as palls of silk, &c. The college, notwithstanding the obsequious and servile wording of the 'voluntary' surrender, had made some endeavour to conceal certain church goods and other property from the legalized marauders; but 'one simple priest being well examined gave light to all these things, and then all the other priests confessed.'⁵

MASTERS OF RAVENINGHAM COLLEGE⁶

Thomas Boyton, 1349
Alexander de Boyne, 1355
Adam Wyard, 1361
John de Carlton Rode, 1375
Roger Wiltey, 1380

113. THE COLLEGE OF RUSHWORTH⁷

Sir Edmund de Gonville, founder of Gonville Hall, Cambridge, was both rector and patron of

¹ Pat. 18 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 14.

² Dep. Keeper's Rep. vii, App. 2, p. 86.

³ Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 746-7, where the document is cited at length.

⁴ Pat. 33 Hen. viii, pt. vi, m. 3.

⁵ L. and P. Hen. VIII, xvii, 322.

⁶ From Blomefield, corrected by the episcopal Registers.

⁷ 'The College of St. John Evangelist of Rushworth,' *Norf. Arch.* x, 277-380, a most able and exhaustive paper by Rev. Dr. Bennet, F.S.A.; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* i, 286-93; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1385-7; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 49, 50.

Rushworth (now Rushford), when he formed the plan of making Rushworth a collegiate church. On 7 May, 1341, he obtained licence for the alienation in mortmain of a messuage in Rushworth, and the rectory of the church for two chaplains to celebrate daily for his good estate in life, and for his soul after death, and for the souls of his ancestors and heirs.⁸ In 1342, Sir Edmund resigned the rectory of Rushworth, and was instituted to that of Terrington, where he died in 1350. On his resignation the college was ordained on a larger scale than was at first intended, and consisted of a master or warden and four brethren or fellows. The fellows were to elect the master and present him at Larling, the principal seat of the Gonvilles, to the founder's heirs if there were any there residing; he was then to be presented to the bishop and installed by mandate to the archdeacon. The church was appropriated to the college without any endowment for a vicar, for the cure of the parish was laid upon the master, who had to pay eight marks for firstfruits at the time of his appointment.

The master and fellows were to lodge and board in the same house, and always to use a common table save when hindered by sickness. For other necessities, such as clothing, the master was to have an annual stipend of 50s. and each of the fellows 30s. Any fellow leaving the college was to assign half his goods to the house. All were enjoined to lead honest, modest, quiet, peaceable, and chaste lives, *quatenus humana permittit fragilitas*. Offences were to be corrected by the master in chapter, *more religiosorum*. Collects for the founder and for their benefactors, living and dead, were to be said daily in chapter after Mass. All the brethren, or at least four, were to rise at dawn and say mattins of Our Lady without music in the church of Rushworth, and afterwards to sing mattins and the other canonical day hours according to the use of the diocese. There were to be four daily Masses: namely, High Mass, Lady Mass, and Mass for the departed, in the church; and the Mass of the Holy Trinity, in the chapel annexed to their dormitory. The anniversary of Edmund Gonville was to be solemnly observed. All from the college, whenever they were in the church, were to wear a white mantle or cope with hood or amice, save those who were in surplices or other ecclesiastical vestments. Outside the church they were to conduct themselves in gesture, dress, and in every particular as became honest clerks. They were forbidden to stay a single night away from the college without the express leave of the master or his deputy. The master was to present a complete balance-sheet every Michaelmas.⁹

⁸ Pat. 15 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 10.

⁹ Dr. Bennet gives the original statutes of 1342 in *Norf. Arch.* x, 50-64. They were slightly revised in 1360 by Bishop Percy. The revised statutes are given in Archbishop Islip's Register, fol. 163b, and are cited in the *Monasticon*, vi, 1386-7.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

In 1409 Alexander Thelyk, the master, obtained the sanction of Pope Gregory XII to appropriate to the mastership, to be held in conjunction with it, one other benefice with cure of souls; but on condition that in that event he was not to receive his stipend of 50s. over and above the benefit of the church of Rushworth. The petition to the pope set forth that it had been the intention of the founder to endow this college (for a master and five chaplains) much better, but that he had died before this could be accomplished, and that the master had to discharge much hospitality as the college was near a great road. The bishop of Norwich's assent being given, Alexander was presented, in 1414, to the rectory of Larling by the fellows, and held it with the mastership till his death. This arrangement, however, broke down; for, though the fellows of the college of Rushworth continued to present to the rectory of Larling until their dissolution, no subsequent master was appointed thereto.

In 1387 Richard II granted licence to the college for a further endowment up to the annual value of forty marks; and on 1 July, 1389, leave was given to Anne, wife of the late Sir Robert Wingfield, Sir John Hevenyngham, Sir William Calthorp, William Berdwell, and Henry Spelman, to assign the manors of Rushworth and Larling, of the annual value of £22, in part satisfaction of the forty marks.¹

In 1485 Lady Anne Wingfield, heiress of Gonville, who died in 1500, re-settled the manors of Rushworth and Larling on the college, with further augmentation of the endowment, for her soul's health and that of her three husbands.² Two chantry priests or additional fellows were appointed, to be termed Dame Anne's priests, to sing 'for the wele of her soule, and her husbandes, and anncestres, and kynnesfolkes soules, and for all those for whiche she was mooste specially bounden to pray.' By indenture of 1490 with this benefactress the master and fellows were bound to support five children, called Dame Anne's children, to be nominated in turns by the master and fellows. Their duty was to wait on the fellows, for which they were to be taught the service of God in the church. These five children, who lived in the college, and eight other poor children, were to be taught by one of the two chantry priests, who was always to be 'well studyd and lernyd in gramer.' As each child came to the age of eighteen he was to be removed and another appointed. An indenture of 1501, by the executors of 'Dame Anne Lady Scrop,'

increased the children in the college from five to seven.

By his will of 1492, William Halliday, the senior fellow, left certain lands to the college to keep the south porch of the church in repair. He also gave a good stone house in Rushworth to the college to be used as a gildhall (for the gild of St. John Baptist) or as a hostelry for guests when there was not room for them at any time in the college.

George Windham, last master, and five chaplains or fellows, subscribed to the royal supremacy on 25 August, 1534.³

According to the Valor of the following year the rectory of Rushworth was worth 109s. 10½d. a year, and the manors of Rushworth, Brettenham, Larling, and Elveden (Suffolk), £84 9s. 1½d. The clear annual value of the college was £85 15s. 0½d. Among the outgoings was the sum of 71s. 8d. for the feeding and clothing of seven boys (Dame Anne's), and 20s. as stipend for the priest who instructed them.

George Windham, the last master, was archdeacon of Norwich from 1528 until his death in 1543, and was also precentor of St. Paul's, London, from 1531 to 1543.

The college was surrendered on 6 December, 1541, by Windham and three of the fellows,⁴ and the whole possessions were at once granted to Henry, earl of Surrey.⁵

MASTERS OF RUSHWORTH COLLEGE⁶

John Gadwyt
Nicholas de Wrotham, 1349
Hugh Herbert, 1351
Thomas de Wattone, 1354
Thomas Heyward, 1364
Thomas Le Mey, 1371
Robert de Asschele, 1374
Robert de Wortham, 1376
Robert Carter, 1381
Alexander Thelyk, 1385
Edmund Cooper, 1421
Thomas Sygo, 1436
Robert Crask, 1443
John Wurlych, 1443
Edmund Coupere, 1444
Ralph Beauford, 1446
Lawrence Gerard, 1450
Henry Costesey, 1472⁷
John Bulman, 1483
John Brennys, 1508
John Purfett
Edward Anson, 1526
George Windham, 1529

³ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. 2, p. 104.

⁴ *Ibid.* viii, App. 2, p. 39.

⁵ Pat. Hen. VIII, pt. vii, m. 3.

⁶ The following is the list of masters given by Dr. Bennet, checked in most cases and slightly corrected by the episcopal registers.

⁷ Henry Costesey was elected master of Gonville Hall, Cambridge, in 1475.

¹ Pat. 13 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 19.

² Anne de Herling, daughter and heiress of Sir Robert de Herling by Joan, daughter and heiress of John Gonville, was married three times; firstly, to Sir William Chamberlain; secondly, to Sir Robert Wingfield; and, thirdly, to John Lord Scroop of Bolton.

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The fourteenth-century seal¹ of this college is oval ($1\frac{3}{4} + 1\frac{1}{4}$ in.) and shows, under a canopied niche crowned with crocketed pinnacles, a small figure (? a priest), kneeling in adoration to a saint standing upon a dragon and carrying in the right hand a palm branch. Below is a shield of arms—a bend charged with three (? scallop shells). Legend:—

. . . COM' SCI . IOH'IS EWA . . . EL DE
RUSSCHEWORTH

114. THE COLLEGE OF BAILY END, OR GILD OF ST. MARY, THETFORD²

There was at an early period in Thetford a gild dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, consisting of brethren and sisters with their chaplains. For this gild, in the time of Edward I, Sir Gilbert de Pykenham founded a special chapel, or rather collegiate church.

At first the establishment consisted of a master or warden, who was to celebrate divine service, an alderman, who was to receive and be responsible for the profits of the house, and such brothers and sisters as were duly admitted. The master's stipend from the foundation until about 1325 was but a mark; it was then advanced, with increased duties, to £3 6s. 8d., with a chaplain at £1 13s. 4d. a year; and in the time of Henry V the salary was augmented to £6 13s. 4d., whilst each of the two chaplains had £4 13s. 4d. Each member on admission paid one or more quarters of barley, according to their ability, as well as a money fee of 3s. 4d. The annual revenue of the house in 1337 was £26 6s., mainly in rent from divers tenements in Thetford; certain rents were allotted to support a perpetual lamp and other lights in the chapel. The members of the gild at that time numbered thirty-six. Among them were several of the town clergy, including William Harding, who had been master of two of the Thetford hospitals. New members were admitted by the vote of the majority of the gild, who had also the power of expulsion, which was exercised in 1337 against one Edmund Caston.

In the time of Richard II the revenues of the gild were materially increased; there were two chaplains, one of whom served the chapel of St. Bartholomew, in addition to the master.

The gild certificate of 12 Richard II, when there was a general inquiry into such foundations throughout the country, was to the following effect: That the chapel of the Nativity in the market-place of Thetford was founded time

beyond memory for the use of a fraternity of the townsmen and outsiders; that the chapel was about half a mile distant from the parish church or any other churches, and was suitable for the hearing of Mass by those who thronged to the town on market days or days of pleas; that the fraternity sustained three chaplains, one of whom celebrated daily, another on Sundays, and the third the Requiem Masses; that the anniversaries and obits of each deceased brother or sister of the gild were kept in free alms with all due devotion and with candles burning; and that Roger de Wortham, parson of the church of Tittleshall, gave by charter in 1358 to John de Thetford, parson of the church of Heyham, and others, of whom two survive, a messuage in Thetford worth 20s. a year, for Mass in the chapel for the soul of Henry Chatrys, and for the support of the chaplains and the general sustentation of the chapel and fraternity.³

In 1416, the revenues were estimated at £40. In that year nine new members were enrolled, including Margaret Campleon, afterwards prioress, of the Thetford nunnery. The expenses at the annual gild feast amounted to 56s.

Henry VI in 1443 licensed William earl of Suffolk and Isabel, wife of William Gallion, to alienate to the mayor and commonalty of Thetford (as trustees for the gild) a messuage and garden in Thetford, 240 acres of land, 600 of pasture and heath, with four foldcourses in Croxton, for the purpose of procuring two chaplains to perform daily service for their souls and those of their heirs in the chapel of the Blessed Mary in Baily End.⁴

In 1446 the mayor and commonalty obtained licence for alienation in mortmain on behalf of the gild of £10 more per annum in mortmain, and the small benefactions immediately increased. The fraternity then appointed two chamberlains to receive the rents, who had to pass their accounts annually before the mayor.

This college or gild of St. Mary of Baily End possessed burial rights, and accordingly various legacies were left to it in the fifteenth century by those who desired burial in the chapel or in the yard by which it was surrounded.

Isabel Gallion, who died in 1472, made notable bequests to the college, to which she bequeathed her body to be buried at the entrance to the quire. Besides church ornaments and gifts of money Isabel also conferred upon the house the advowson and the appropriation of the church of Santon. This advowson was subsequently conveyed to the mayor and commonalty of Thetford on condition that at every vacancy they presented the master of St. Mary's, Baily End, and that he received the profits of the same.

³ Certificates of Gilds, Chancery, No. 332; this return has been overlooked by Martin and Blomefield.

⁴ Inq. a.q.d. 21 Hen. VI, No. 57.

¹ Ackn. of Supr. (P.R.O.), No. 104**.

² All account rolls and other documents of the college used to be in the hands of Mr. Martin the historian of Thetford. From these original sources his long description of the fraternity is mainly taken. Martin, *Hist. of Thetford* (1779), 203-27; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 80-3.

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The Valor of 1535 names John Pory as master with a stipend of £6 13s. 4d., and William Fletcher and John Gunnar the two priests, each receiving £5 6s. 8d. a year. There were also two clerks in receipt of a salary of 20s. each. The clear annual value was then only estimated at £23 14s.

In 1538, the mayor and commonalty being desirous of obtaining a charter of incorporation, sold all the valuable plate of the gild chapel for £54 15s. 5½d. towards the expenses of procuring it. Though the corporation sold most of the gild property about this date for a like alleged reason the college remained technically unsuppressed during the reign of Henry VIII, being eventually resigned into the hands of Edward VI in 1547 by John Gunnel, the last master, who had a pension of £5. The college, with its chapel, was at once demolished; and the site (with 80 acres of land and other messuages and tenements) granted in 1548 in the first instance to the Duke of Norfolk, but soon afterwards to Sir Richard Fulmerston.

115. THE COLLEGE OF THOMPSON

Towards the end of the fateful year, 1349, Sir Thomas de Shardelowe and Sir John de Shardelowe his brother founded a chantry in the church of St. Martin, Thompson or Thomeston, to be served by a college of five chaplains and a warden. They were to celebrate for the souls of Sir John de Shardelowe, justice of the common pleas, and Agnes his wife, the parents of the founders, and for the founders' souls, and for all the faithful departed. The elder Sir John de Shardelowe died in 1344, and his wife Agnes presumably in 1349, as losses from the Black Death were in so many instances the occasion of the foundation of various important chantries. The family of Shardelowe held much property in Suffolk, their chief residence being at Flempton; but their burial place for several generations was the church of Thompson, Norfolk. Sir John de Shardelowe, the judge, was succeeded by his grandson of the same name, the son of Edmund who predeceased his father.¹ Sir Thomas and Sir John, the founders of the college, were the judge's younger sons.

The church of Thompson was appropriated to the college, without any provision for a vicar, as the church was always to be served by one of the chaplains. For this privilege a pension of four marks was assigned to the bishop. The master was to be elected by the chaplains from their own number; he had to be episcopally instituted, and if the chaplains failed to elect, the collation to the mastership rested with the

bishop. The fellows or chaplains were to give due obedience to the master; they were all to lodge and board together in the college; and were to meet in the church daily for mattins and evensong as well as for masses.

Sir John de Shardelowe, one of the founders, died childless in 1369; his widow Joan took a vow of chastity before the bishop of Norwich, in the presence of John Grene, master of Thompson College and others. Sir John de Shardelowe, nephew of the co-founders, died in 1391. His will provided that he should be buried in the church of Thompson near his parents and ancestors; he also gave to the college 100s., and to a chaplain to celebrate there for him for a year after his decease seven marks.

In June, 1392, the master and chaplains of the chantry at the altar of St. Martin in the church of Thompson paid fifty marks for licence to hold the manors of Shudy Camps and Horseheath, with appurtenances, in Cambridgeshire, and in Shropham and Thompson, the gifts of John Methewold, John Coke, and Thomas Horstede.² In the following September the college paid the large sum of £40 for the king's licence to hold an acre of land at Shropham, with the advowson and appropriation of the church and the annexed chapel of St. Andrew; a certain competent sum being assigned to the poor parishioners out of the fruits of the rectory, and a vicarage being duly ordained.³

Archdeacon Goldwell, as commissary for the bishop, visited the college of Thompson on 10 November, 1492. John Joys one of the fellows, and proctor for Master Ambrose Ede, the warden, produced the foundation deed ordaining five chaplains with a master, and assigning to the master an annual payment of 12 marks, and to each brother 11 marks.

There were then only three fellows or brethren, John Joys, John Pepyr, and William Cowper. The last of these was absent at his studies at the university of Oxford. After the separate examination of Joys and Pepyr the commissary dissolved the visitation as he found that no reform was needed.⁴

The college was visited on 23 June, 1514, by Bishop Nicke. After Master Forth had preached from the text *Agite poenitentiam* the warden and three chaplains were examined. John Purpett, the warden, said that the annual income of the college was upwards of a hundred marks, and they had 3,000 sheep. He said that divine service was laudably observed, and that all was going on well. Thomas Barnesdale gave a good account of everything, the master annually presented his accounts, the common seal was kept in a chest under two locks, the third lock being broken, and the books, vestments, and

¹ Inq. p.m. 18 Edw. III, No. 37. Blomefield (*Hist. of Norf.* ii, 366-9), makes confusion of the Shardelowe generations; see Gage, *Suff.* 59, 60.

² Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 32.

³ Ibid. pt. ii, m. 23.

⁴ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 30, 31.

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other ornaments were duly repaired. Robert Lokke said that their foundation members were six, but that they were now dispensed from keeping the full number. John Bushoppe gave the warden an excellent character, and said that the services were duly observed, but that the number of boys was deficient.¹

The college was again visited on 21 July, 1526, when Master Rawlins was warden. The warden acknowledged that he had not rendered any account of receipts and payments, nor had he any book of accounts. There were only two brethren or fellows, Nicholas Marshall and Richard Ramme. The former of these testified that he had been a fellow for a year, and that they had no chest for the common seal and muniments according to the statute, nor was any annual account rendered.²

Robert Audley was master in 1534. On 29 August of that year, the master, in conjunction with four chaplains, subscribed to the acknowledgement of the king's supremacy.³

When the Valor Ecclesiasticus was drawn up in 1535, the total annual value was £63 6s. 10¾d., but there were many outgoing, and the clear value was only £52 15s. 7½d.

The college was suppressed, and its site and revenues assigned to Sir Edward Knevitt in 1541;⁴ but in the following year Sir Edward sold these possessions to John Maynard, mercer, of London.⁵

MASTERS OF THOMPSON COLLEGE

The names of the masters (save the first) are those given by Blomefield, slightly corrected by the episcopal registers.

John Sporle,⁷ 1349
John Grene, 1353, re-chosen 1368
Stephen Feltham, 1356
Alexander de Horsted, 1378
Thomas Bushell, 1419
John Mayster, 1425
Robert Swetenham, 1425
Roger Philpot, 1432
William Bettys, 1439
Peter Lock, 1474
John Whitterd, 1487
Ambrose Ede, 1490
John Wyatt, 1503
John Purpett, occurs 1514⁸
Richard Alday, *alias* Hoke, 1518
Robert Dikar, 1519
Roger Rawlins, 1524
Robert Audley, 1534

The fine fourteenth-century seal (2½ in. by 1¾ in.) of this college bears St. Martin dividing his cloak with the beggar; in the base under a pointed arch, are the five chaplains of the house kneeling, between two shields of the arms of the founder (Shardelowe), on a chevron, between three cross-crosslets fitchées an estoile. Legend :

S' COMMUNE COLLEGII ; DE TOMUSTONE⁹

ALIEN HOUSES

116. THE PRIORY OF DOCKING⁶

The endowment charter of Eton College mentions the alien priory of Docking. It was a small cell of the Benedictine abbey of Ivry in France, to which house the church was appropriated. It was dissolved with other alien priories by the Parliament of Leicester in 1415, and was at first granted to Joan, the queen-dowager of England.

117. THE PRIORY OF FIELD DALLING

In 1138 James de Sancto Hylario gave to the abbey of the Holy Trinity, Savigny, in the diocese of Avranches, 10 librates of land with their appurtenances in Field-Dalling (Dallenges), with the consent of Avelina his wife and Peter his brother, for his weal and for the souls of his predecessors and successors. Two years later King Stephen addressed a confirmation charter of this grant to the bishop of Norwich and his

officials.¹⁰ In the reign of Henry II, Roger earl of Clare also confirmed the grant, and it was subsequently ratified by Maud his daughter and heirress.¹¹

In 1147 the abbey of Savigny adopted the Cistercian rule. The monks from Savigny who came to Field Dalling were of that order. Tanner says that Field Dalling was sometimes mentioned as a priory by itself, and sometimes as a parcel of the priory of Long Bennington, Lincoln, which was another cell of Savigny.

The taxation roll of 1291 gives the annual value of the land, rents, mill, and other manorial rights at Field Dalling pertaining to the abbey of Savigny at £21 10s. 3½d.; the abbey also held in Norfolk, as pertaining to the cell of Field Dalling, 18s. 8d.; rents at Norwich, £2 4s. 5½d.; land and rents at Saxlingham; and 8½d. rents at Hindringham, yielding a total of £24 14s. 1¼d.

An extent or survey of this cell was taken in 1325 by command of Edward II, when the jury

¹ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* (Camd. Soc.), 92-93.

² *Ibid.* 246.

³ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. 2.

⁴ Pat. 32 Hen. VIII, pt. vi, m. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.* 34 Hen. VIII, pt. x, m. 1.

⁶ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* x, 367; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1057; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 4.

⁷ Norw. Epis. Reg. iv, 119.

⁸ Jessopp, *Norw. Visit.* 191.

⁹ B.M. lxix, 49; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1460; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* i, 630.

¹⁰ Round, *Cal. Doc. France*, i, 291, where the originals in the archives of Mortain are cited.

¹¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 221.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

returned details of the annual value of the manor, yielding a total of £10 2s. 10½d.¹

Upon the dissolution of the alien priories in 1414 Field Dalling Priory was first granted by the crown to Epworth Priory; then to the Spittle-on-the-Street, Lincolnshire; then to the Carthusians of Coventry; and lastly, in 1462, to the Carthusian priory of Mountgrace, Yorkshire. In the last grant 'Fieldallying' is described as parcel of the alien priory of Long Bennington, lately belonging to the abbot and convent of Savigny.²

118. THE PRIORY OF HORSTEAD³

William Rufus granted the manor of Horstead to the nuns of the abbey of the Holy Trinity, Caen, which had been founded by his mother, Queen Maud. The gift of Horstead was confirmed by Henry I and again by Henry II.

In 1291 the taxation roll shows that the abbes of Caen held temporalities in Horstead to the annual value of £20 10s. 6½d., whilst smaller amounts in six other parishes brought up the total income in Norfolk to £25 2s. 5½d. In addition to this there was a pension or portion from the church of Horstead of £3 13s. 4d.

Horstead was amongst the dissolved alien priories of 1414, when it came to the crown and was granted for life to Sir Thomas Erpingham. It was subsequently granted by Henry VI, in 1431, to complete the foundation of his college of Saints Mary and Nicholas, now King's College, Cambridge.

119. THE PRIORY OF LESSINGHAM⁴

The lordship of Lessingham, together with the advowson of the rectory, was given in the time of William Rufus by Gerard de Gurney to the great abbey of Bec in Normandy. The small priory of Lessingham became subject to Ogbourne Priory, Wiltshire, which was the chief English cell of Bec.

In 1286 the abbot of Bec was successful, by pleading the confirmation charter of Henry III, in resisting the claim for the hundred from the manor of Lessingham.⁵

The taxation of 1291 gave the annual value of the abbot of Bec's possessions at Lessingham as £16 13s. 9¼d., whilst the church of Lessingham was entered at £6 13s. 4d.

It was dissolved with the other alien priories in 1415, and remained for some time in the

hands of the crown. The possessions of the priory were, however, settled by Edward IV on King's College, Cambridge, in 1462.⁶

120. THE PRIORY OF SPORLE

This small alien priory was founded early in the twelfth century as a cell of the Benedictine abbey of St. Florent, Saumur, in the diocese of Angers, and the province of Anjou.

The founder was Alan son of Flaald, who granted to the monks of St. Florent the church of Sporle (*Sparlaicum*) with all its tithes, the holding of a certain man, the land of two ploughs, one in Sporle and the other in Mileham, together with wood for building and firing, and pasture everywhere for their flocks with his own. He gave them the church free from all claims, specially from that of the monks of Holy Trinity, assigning to them 20s. a year from his farm of Sporle.⁷

Pope Calixtus II, by bull of 18 February, 1123, confirmed to the abbey of St. Florent, among other English possessions, the church of St. Mary 'de Esparlaio' or Sporle. This was again confirmed by Pope Eugenius III in 1146. A bull of confirmation of Pope Adrian IV in 1157 names the church of St. Mary de Sparlio with the chapel of Little Palgrave and its appurtenances, and there is a similarly worded confirmation in a bull of Pope Urban III of 28 December, 1186.⁸

The taxation of 1291 gives the annual value of the temporalities in four Norfolk parishes as 8s. 6d., but the priory then held also the churches of Sporle and Palgrave.

An extent of the priory of Sporle, taken in 1325, certifies that the tithes of the rectory of Sporle were of the annual worth of £20, and the altar dues averaged 100s.; that the 617 acres of glebe of the church were worth 38s. 6d.; rents, 13s. 4d.; a portion of the tithes of Hunstanton, 40s.; of Great Ellingham, 13s. 4d.; of Estworm, 16s.; of Suchacre, 10s.; and of Mileham, £4.⁹

When the alien priories were taken into the king's hands in 1337 Edward III allowed the prior of Sporle to have the custody of his house on payment of 5 marks a year and 40s. as custody fee.¹⁰

Thomas Eliot, prior, resigned in 1345, and the king (on account of the war) presented John de Breidesdale. In 1349, a vacancy occurring through the plague, William de Leke succeeded. On 17 February, 1379 William Sporle, monk of the Benedictine priory of Castle Acre, was presented by the crown to the bishop of Norwich

¹ Add. MSS. 6164, pp. 253-4.

² Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. vi, m. 14 and 13.

³ Round, *Cal. Doc. France*, i, 143, 149, 150; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1057; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* x, 442; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 12.

⁴ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ix, 328; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1051; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 5.

⁵ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 493.

⁶ Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. iii, m. 23.

⁷ Round, *Cal. Doc. France*, i, 414.

⁸ Ibid. i, 402 and 404.

⁹ Add. MS. 6164, fol. 128.

¹⁰ *Cal. of Pat.* 12 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 29.

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for admission and institution as prior of St. Mary's, Sporle, whereof the superior was the Benedictine abbot of St. Florent, by Saumur, a subject of France. The priory is described as being vacant by the death of John Codes, the late prior, and in the king's gift on account of the war with France.¹

This priory was dissolved at the general suppression of the alien houses, decreed by the Parliament held at Leicester in 1424. In 1428 the spiritualities of the suppressed priory were valued at £32 6s., and the temporalities at 8s. 6d. It was assigned for life as part of the dower of Joan, queen-dowager of Henry VI, and soon after her death was granted, in 1440, by Henry IV towards the endowment of his college at Eton. This grant was confirmed by Edward IV in 1462.²

PRIORS OF SPORLE

John,³ *temp.* Henry II
 Alan Make,⁴ appointed 1334
 Thomas Eliot,⁵ resigned 1345
 John de Braidesdale,⁶ appointed 1345
 William de Leke,⁷ appointed 1349
 John Godes,⁸ appointed 1361
 William Sporle,⁹ appointed 1379
 Thomas de Methewold,¹⁰ appointed 1385

121. THE PRIORY OF TOFT MONKS¹¹

Robert de Bellomonte, earl of Meulan in Normandy, and of Leicester in England, granted to the abbey of Préaux in Normandy, in the time of William Rufus, the manor of Toft, with the tithe of 'Cerlentine' and 'Posteberies,' and the churches of those two towns, for the souls of King William and Maud his queen, and for the weal and prosperity of his son William, king of the English, and for the souls of his own parents, Roger and Adelina, and for himself and his brother Henry, and all his predecessors. The gift was allowed and confirmed by King William at Whitsuntide, when he held his court in his new hall at Wesminster.¹²

In the reign of Henry I, the earl renewed his gift of the manor of Toft with its appendages, adding sac and soc, tol and team, and infangen-theofe and exemption from all exaction of dues.¹³

Henry II granted a charter of confirmation of their English possessions to the abbey of Préaux, including the gift of Roger de Bellomonte of the tithes of Cherlinton and the manor of Toft.¹⁴

Edward I in 1285 confirmed previous grants to the abbey, and added thereto the advowson of the churches of St. Margaret Toft, and St. Mary Haddiscoe, with other advowsons in other counties, and various lands.¹⁵

Two or three monks were placed here from the abbey at an early date, to look after this part of their English property, and to conduct divine service, their superior being termed prior. At the beginning of the reign of Edward I the prior of Tofts was prosecuted at the hundred court for obstructing the king's highway.¹⁶

The taxation roll of 1291 gives the annual value of the rents, mill, etc. at Toft pertaining to the abbey of Préaux as £40 16s. 10½d.¹⁷

An extent of the lands and tenements of the abbey of Préaux 'in villa de Monkstoft,' taken in 1325, estimated the capital messuage with fruits and herbs in the gardens, 300 acres of land, of which 86 were enclosed, and nine acres of meadow, of the annual value of £39 11s. 2¼d. The abbot of Préaux had also two parts of the tithes of the church of Toft Monks worth £13 6s. 8d. a year.¹⁸

Another inventory of 1337 returns the issue of the manor at £39 13s. 5d., and values the abbot's property at Toft at £77 17s. 1d., these sums being distributed over the furniture of the hall, 'Dispenserie,' chamber, kitchen, larder, bakehouse, &c.¹⁹

Considering the small size of this alien cell it is not surprising that very little history attaches to it beyond the records of its frequent seizure into the king's hands during wars with France, but in 1200 we find the prior of Toft acting with the abbots of Holm and St. Edmunds in deciding the claims of Honorius to the archdeaconry of Richmond, and in 1327 the prior of Toft was acting as proctor in England for the abbot of Préaux. In that capacity he presented in March to the church of Spettisbury, Dorset, but the king directed the bishop of Salisbury to ignore the presentation until the courts had decided whether the vacancy had occurred before the date of February when Edward III had restored the advowsons, etc. of alien men of religion, which had been seized by the late king during the wars with France.²⁰

When the war with France was in progress in 1390, Lewis de Clifford had the licence of the crown to acquire for life, with remainder to his son, the manor of Toft and other possessions of

¹⁴ Chart. 13 Edw. I. m. 21, 4069, *per inspex*; cited Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1027.

¹⁵ Ibid. ¹⁶ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 540.

¹⁷ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 114.

¹⁸ Add. MS. 6164, fol 133.

¹⁹ Chanc. Misc. bdl. 18, file 4, No. 13.

²⁰ Close, 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 9.

¹ *Cal. of Pat.* 2 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 24.

² Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. iii, m. 24.

³ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.*

⁴ Pat. 8 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 32.

⁵ Norw. Epis. Reg. iv, 52. ⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid. iv, 97. ⁸ Ibid. v, 56.

⁹ Pat. 2 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 24.

¹⁰ Ibid. m. 35.

¹¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* viii, 61-3; Dugdale, *Mon.* 1927; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 9.

¹² Round, *Cal. Doc. France*, i, 111. Blomefield, followed by others, wrongly assigns the date of this gift to the reign of Henry I.

¹³ Ibid. i, 112.

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the abbey of Préaux in different counties, on condition that during the war with France at least £80 a year was paid to the king's exchequer, but the terms were modified later in the same year.¹

On the suppression of the alien houses, Henry V annexed the revenues of the priory of Toft or Tofts to the Carthusians of Witham, Somerset,² but Edward IV transferred them in February, 1462, to the college of St. Mary and St. Nicholas (King's), Cambridge.³

122. THE PRIORY OF WELLE OR WELL HALL IN GAYTON⁴

William de Streis, about the year 1081, bestowed the manor of Welle and the advowson of the church of St. Nicholas on the abbey of St. Stephen, Caen. The abbey established here a small priory or cell of Benedictine monks. The grant of the manor and church and other privileges was confirmed by William II, Henry II, and Richard I.

Herbert and Ralph occur as priors of this cell about the beginning of the thirteenth century.

In 1275 the prior was found to hold the manor of Welle in free alms, with gallows, free warren, waif and stray, and assize of bread and beer.⁵

About this time the priory or cell of Welle was united with the small Essex priory of Panfield, which was also a cell of St. Stephen's, Caen. The prior was termed the prior of Panfield and Welle. Under this double designation the priory was found in the taxation of 1201 to hold in temporalities in Norfolk, meadow land in West Acre of the annual value of 3s., rents in Ashwicken £1 2s. 11d., rents in Leziate £3 17s. 8d., and rents, lands, mills, court perquisites in Gayton £23 9s. 2d., yielding a total of £28 12s. 9d. In addition to this the annual value of the appropriated rectory of Gayton was declared at £16.

In 1325 an extent or survey of the jury was taken by royal command. The jury declared that the abbot of St. Stephen's, Caen, was rector, and that the rectory was worth 24 marks per annum. The total value of the manor and church was £35 2s. 0½d.; but the prior of Castle Acre received therefrom 11 marks, leaving the clear amount at £27 13s. 6½d.⁶

During the wars with France the prior of these two cells paid in 1334 to Edward III. thirty-four marks annually for the farm of the priories. On 14 December, 1373, the king granted the custody of Panfield and Welle to Sir Hugh Fastolf

so long as the war continued, on the payment to the crown of £40 per annum and £10 per annum to a certain monk or prior there residing. The custodian was to perform all customary duties incumbent on the priories and to keep the houses in good repair.

In July, 1379, a grant was made by Richard II, with the assent of the council, to Thomas de Woodstock, earl of Buckingham, the king's uncle, of £1,000 a year to maintain his rank as earl. This large sum was taken from the farms of various alien priories in the king's hands on account of the war; £40 of this amount was the rent paid by the custodian of the joint priories of Panfield and Welle. In June of the following year it was ordered if the earl of Buckingham died in the next expedition against France the executors of his will should receive the like sum for one year to discharge his debts.⁷

In 1381 Richard II granted the custody of this priory to Sir John Devereux and Mary his wife and Joan their daughter, for their lives.

After the suppression of the alien priories by the Parliament of Leicester, Henry V in 1415 granted the priory and manor and rectory of Welle or Welles to the renowned warrior, John Woodhouse, to be held by the service of a rose on Midsummer Day.

On 10 March, 1469, Edward IV granted Welles Priory to the dean and canons of the free chapel of St. Stephen within the Palace of Westminster,⁸ with whom it remained till the dissolution of that college in 1548, when it was granted to Osbert Mundeford and Thomas Gandy.

123. THE PRIORY OF ST. WINWALOE, WEREHAM⁹

The priory of Wereham, or Wirham, was founded by the earls of Clare in the time of Richard I. It was dedicated to St. Winwaloe or St. Guenolo, a saint who flourished in the sixth century, and whose body was enshrined in the abbey of Monsterol in the diocese of Amiens, France. Of that abbey the priory of St. Winwaloe was a cell.

The earliest extant deed of this small house is one of 1199, whereby L. prior of St. Winwaloe, with the consent and advice of his brother Remigius, abbot of Monsterol, granted a toft and eleven acres to Robert de Stradesete. In 1270 there was an exchange of lands in Wereham between the abbot and convent of Were-

¹ Pat. 14 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 21; pt. ii, m. 46.

² Ibid. 1 Hen. V, pt. iii, m. 20.

³ Ibid. 1 Edw. IV, pt. iii, m. 23.

⁴ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* viii, 427-9; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1010-12; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 10; Round, *Cal. Doc. France*, i, 156-62.

⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 461.

⁶ Add. MSS. 6164, fol. 131-2.

⁷ Pat. 3 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 40; 4 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 40.

⁸ Ibid. 9 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 5.

⁹ 'Early Deeds relating to the Priory of St. Winwaloe, preserved at Stow Bardolph,' a paper by Rev. G. H. Dashwood in *Norf. Arch.* v, 297-312 (1859); Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii, 508-9; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1051; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 9.

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ham and the abbot and convent of St. Salvin's of Monsterol, acting for the priory of St. Winwaloe.

According to the taxation of 1291 the priory held lands in three Norfolk parishes of the annual value of £7 2s. 8d.

In 1321 the abbot and convent of Monsterol sold this priory to Hugh Scarlet of Lincoln, and by him it was conveyed to Elizabeth de Burgo, Domine de Clare, the foundress of Clare College, Cambridge. In 1336 this lady conveyed the manor and lands of the priory to the abbot and convent of Dereham on condition of their finding a chaplain to say daily mass in the chapel of St. Winwaloe for the souls of Gilbert, earl of Clare, and of Elizabeth and her ancestors and heirs for ever.¹ Ten years later Elizabeth granted the custody of 'La Chapele de Saint Wynewale' to her well-beloved friend, John de Brauncestre.²

At the dissolution the manor of Winwaloe, late belonging to the abbey of Wereham, came to the crown, and was granted in the first instance to Thomas Guybon and William Mynn.

124. THE PRIORY OF WITCHINGHAM

Walter Giffard, earl of Buckingham, granted to the Cluniac monks of the priory of St. Faith,

¹ *Cal. of Pat.* 10 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 22.

² There is a brief abstract of eleven charters relative to 'Wynewale Derham,' beginning with the grant to Hugh Scarlet in 1321, in Add. MS. 6041, fol. 86.

Longueville, in the diocese of Rouen, the manors of Great and Little Witchingham and Weston, with the churches of All Saints, Weston; St. Mary, Great Witchingham; and St. Faith, Little Witchingham, together with various lands, tithes, rents, and services in several other Norfolk parishes. These grants were confirmed by charter of Henry I, and subsequently by Walter Giffard, son of the original donor and second earl of Buckingham, and by Henry II.³

The taxation roll of 1291 mentions portions or pensions from the churches of Weston (£4), Witchingham St. Faith's (£2), and Stratton St. Michael's (13s. 4d.) among the spiritualities pertaining to the priory of Longueville. The prior and convent of Longueville drew £10 4s. 8d. per annum from the manor of Great Witchingham. In addition to the two Witchinghams and Weston, they also had rents or lands at Ringland, Helmingham, Swannington, Alderford, Brandiston, Reephams, Corpusty, and Booton, giving a total income in temporalities of £25 10s. 11½d.

There was a small priory or cell of Cluniac monks at Witchingham, who had the control of the prior of Longueville's Norfolk possessions.

This property reverted to the crown in 1414 on the dissolution of the alien houses, and was granted to New College, Oxford, by Henry VI in 1460.

³ Round, *Cal. Doc. France*, i, 74, 75, 77; Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* viii, 298; Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, 18.

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THE early history of this county, owing to the scarcity of definite reference to it in our authorities, can only be dealt with very briefly, and as the principal source of information about the Anglian settlement is the history of the Venerable Bede, a large portion of the notices we possess relate to ecclesiastical affairs, a subject treated elsewhere.

Of the character of the settlement of this part of England by the Angles and of the formation of the kingdom of East Anglia very little is known. Bede¹ describes the conversion of Earpwald, king of the East Angles, son of Redwald. This Redwald, who is said to have been the fourth bretwalda, had apparently raised East Anglia to a high position among the warring kingdoms between which England was divided at that time. Sigbert,² successor of Earpwald, was killed in battle with the Mercians under Penda, and East Anglia came under Mercian supremacy. Sigbert's successor Æthelhere³ was slain at Winwaed in 655, fighting with the Mercians against Oswy of Northumbria, when a short period of Northumbrian supremacy followed. East Anglia continued to hold the position of a pawn in the contest between the three great kingdoms down to the time when Egbert, bretwalda in 827, became practically supreme over all England; but it is unnecessary here to try to trace the different phases of the struggle.

The most important event which took place during this early period, as regards a history of Norfolk, was the division of the diocese of East Anglia into two parts,⁴ Acce being appointed to Dunwich, in Suffolk, the original East Anglian see, and Badwine to Elmham, the new see for Norfolk. The date of this event was probably about 673. Whether we have here the beginning of the present severance between Norfolk and Suffolk, or, on the other hand, ought to regard the division of the see as an outcome of already existing political conditions, cannot be decided with absolute certainty. There is much to be said for the second alternative.

The most important source of information for this period, after Bede's account, is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and to this record we are principally indebted for our knowledge of the Danish invasion of East Anglia.

In 823⁵ the East Angles put themselves under the protection of Egbert in the struggle against the Mercians, and in the same year they slew Beornwulf, king of the Mercians. The Northmen are first mentioned as attacking East Anglia in 838, two years after the accession of Ethelwulf, the bare statement being made that many were in that year slain by the Danes.⁶ In

¹ Bede, *Hist. Eccl. Gentis Anglorum* (Plummer), ii, 15.

² Ibid. iii, 24.

³ *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 112.

⁴ Ibid. iii, 18.

⁵ Ibid. iv, 5.

⁶ Ibid. i, 118.

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866¹ the Danes wintered in East Anglia, and the English made peace with them. In the next year² the northern host moved on to York and stormed the city. A Danish army, under two leaders, named Ingvar and Ubba,³ sons of Radnor Lodbrok, defeated and killed King Edmund at the battle of Thetford; they are also said to have subdued all that land, and to have destroyed all the monasteries to which they came. The next Danish invasion⁴ is stated to have taken place in 880, when an army from Cirencester overran the land and divided it, no doubt to make it a base for further operations. King Alfred⁵ appears now as their great opponent, and in 885 his fleet destroyed a Danish fleet at the mouth of the Stour, but was intercepted on its way home by a large fleet of vikings and severely handled.

Guthorm,⁶ the northern king, who was the godson of Alfred, dwelt in East Anglia and died in 890. The Danes had now evidently firmly established themselves in this part of England, and during the period from 894 to 897 it was made the base for a series of predatory expeditions all round the English coast.⁷ Edward, the successor of Alfred, taking advantage of the absence of the Danish army on a foray, ravaged East Anglia in 905.⁸ The refusal of his Kentish contingent to withdraw according to orders brought on a desperate and bloody battle. The Danes, however, remained masters of the field though they lost their king Eric, and suffered very heavily. In the following year King Edward made peace with the East Anglian Danes.⁹

The end of the tenth century saw a great revival of Danish attacks upon England, and East Anglia suffered heavily from the invasion which followed on the massacre of St. Brice's Day, 1002. Swegen, king of the Danes, brought his fleet up to Norwich in 1003, and attacked and burned the place. The East Anglians under Ulfketil made peace with the invaders, who in spite of the peace burned Thetford. Ulfketil, having failed in an attempt on the Danish ships, met their army at Thetford, and in the desperate battle which followed¹⁰ the Danes eventually gained a victory, though they admitted that they had seldom met so fierce a resistance in England.

The Danes finally established themselves in England under Cnut, who became king of all England. He is said to have divided England into four earldoms, one of which, that of East Anglia, was placed under Earl Thurkyll in 1017.¹¹

Under Edward the Confessor, East Anglia was held by Harold, son of Earl Godwin, and in Domesday there is satisfactory evidence as to his connexion with the county. This is as much as can be given of the history of the county previous to the Conquest owing to the impossibility of deriving a detailed and connected account from the fragmentary notices in the chronicles.

There does not seem to have been much resistance to the Conqueror in the county; in fact, during the nine years following the Conquest its history is practically a blank. Following his policy of placing strongholds¹² to overawe the population it is probable that the Conqueror threw up the castle

¹ *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 130.

² *Ibid.* i, 150.

³ *Ibid.* i, 164, et seq.

⁴ *Ibid.* i, 254.

⁵ 'Custodes in castellis strenuos viros ex Gallis collocavit.' Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.* (Migne), 306.

⁶ *Ibid.* i, 131.

⁷ *Ibid.* i, 152, et seq.

⁸ *Ibid.* i, 181, et seq.

⁹ *Ibid.* i, 134, 135.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* i, 160.

¹¹ *Ibid.* i, 182, 183.

¹² *Ibid.* i, 284.

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of Norwich, and we know from Domesday that no less than 113 houses were destroyed to provide a site.¹ It may be noted here that the Conqueror in 1067 left William FitzOsbern at Norwich² 'to preside in the place of himself over all the kingdom toward the North.'

Soon after the Conquest Ralph Guader or Wader, who is said to have been of an English father and Breton mother,³ and had commanded a band of Bretons at Hastings, received a grant of the consulate or earldom of the East Angles, viz. of Norfolk, Suffolk, and part of Cambridge, and was in 1071 styled 'Earl of Norwich.'⁴

Before he attained to this title he had, in April, 1069, repelled the Danes when they came up the Wensum and attacked Norwich.⁵ In 1075 he married Emma, daughter of William FitzOsbern, earl of Hereford, and of Adeliza, daughter of Roger de Toni. At the banquet following his wedding he conspired⁶ with Waltheof, earl of Northumberland, his brother-in-law Roger, earl of Hereford, and others, to rebel against the king. The rebellion took place but proved a failure, and Waltheof⁷ went over to Normandy to plead for pardon. Wader retired to Norwich, whence he took shipping and fled to Brittany, leaving his wife to defend the castle against the king. The lady⁸ held out for some time, but was eventually allowed to withdraw to Brittany with her men. The king⁹ subsequently followed Wader to Brittany and besieged him in his castle of Dol, but was obliged to retreat with heavy loss owing to the advance of the king of France. After the earl's flight Hubert de Rye is said to have been made castellan, but the greater part of Ralph's lands went to enrich the house of Bigod, which succeeded to the earldom some generations later.¹⁰ During the siege the city suffered greatly, for Domesday¹¹ says of the burgesses that those who had fled to other places and those remaining were altogether wasted, partly through Earl Ralph's forfeiture and partly through fire. Domesday¹² (1086) also mentions that in the New Burgh¹³ (land to the west of the castle carved out of Ralph's demesne and occupied by Frenchmen) there were 36 French burgesses, but at the time of the survey this number was largely increased. On the Conqueror's death in 1087 Roger Bigod, who was then sheriff, at once garrisoned the castle of Norwich in the interests of Robert Curthose, and wasted the city and surrounding country,¹⁴ possibly for the purpose of provisioning the castle. For this he would seem to have forfeited his possessions here; for when, in 1091, William Rufus made terms with his brother, one stipulation was that the adherents of Robert should be restored to their lands.¹⁵

¹ See *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xix, 240, for further particulars as to Norwich Castle, which was always a royal possession, and consequently in the hands of the sheriff. It was never the property of the Bigods.

² William of Poitiers, *Gesta*, 149. W. FitzOsbern's sphere of authority also included the western marches.

³ *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 348.

⁴ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.* (Migne), 332.

⁵ *Ibid.* 351.

⁶ Hen. of Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* 206. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 314.

⁷ *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 348.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.* i, 350.

¹⁰ Freeman, *Hist. of the Norman Conq.* iv, 591.

¹¹ fol. 117b.

¹² fol. 118.

¹³ For the origin and significance of the new or French Burgh see Hudson, *Records of the City of Norwich*, i, p. vii, and for its amalgamation with the old Burgh, pp. xvii, xxi, and xxii.

¹⁴ Will. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 361.

¹⁵ Freeman, *op. cit.* v, 87.

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The reign of William II is not connected particularly with local history, but there is a suspicion that his death was the result not of an accident but of a plot hatched in Norfolk.¹

When Henry I succeeded, he was supported locally by Roger Bigod,² who remained constable of Norwich Castle until his death in 1107, when he was succeeded first by his son William Bigod (who went down in the *White Ship*), and then by his other son, Hugh Bigod. In 1122 Henry himself came to Norwich and spent Christmas³ there. On the death of Henry in 1135, Hugh Bigod materially assisted Stephen's seizure of the crown by coming over from Normandy and asserting that he knew positively that the late king had disinherited his daughter Maud and appointed Stephen his successor.⁴

In 1136⁵ a rumour was spread that Stephen was dead, and Hugh Bigod came down to the castle and shut himself up in it, refusing to deliver it to anyone but the king himself.⁶ It was said that William de Blois (Stephen's natural son) wished to supplant Bigod in his office, and this may be the reason why Hugh stood on the defensive.⁷ The result was that the king seized both the castle and the city and gave them to William de Blois.

Some sort of a compromise or arrangement between Bigod and Stephen seems to have been made, for in that year the king made him earl of the East Angles or Norfolk, and gave him the third part of the profits of the county in inheritance, at the same time granting the remaining two-thirds to William de Blois. This compromise, however, does not seem to have satisfied the newly-created earl, for in 1140 he declared in favour of Maud, and held for her his castle of Bungay.⁸ Once more, however, Bigod must have changed sides, for in 1141 he fought with the king at Lincoln, but apparently soon deserted, for he was with the empress in 1141 and 1142.⁹

By 1135, Maud having withdrawn to Normandy, Bigod was once more on the king's side, and must have had some interest with him, for in 1152 he persuaded the king to re-grant, though apparently not to enlarge, the liberties of Norwich. The various treasons of its earl are really almost the only connexion which Norfolk had with the war between Stephen and Maud, for the actual fighting does not seem to have come any nearer than Bungay and Ipswich.

In the reign of Stephen there was, according to the chronicle of St. Edmund's, an assembly or court held in the bishop's garden at Norwich in 1150 to hear an accusation made by one of the servants of Sir Robert Fitz Gilbert, against his master of alleged treason at the siege of Bedford Castle in 1149 by conspiring to carry off or murder the king. The presiding officer was William Martel, described as 'sewer or steward,' but he probably sat as

¹ Round (*Feud. Engl.* 472) suggested that he was shot as the result of a plot among the members of the family of Giffard and Clare, one of whom was married to Walter Tirel. He points out also that Tirel is sometimes called 'Walter de Bekham.' This may quite likely be Beckham in this county, and there is other evidence to connect Tirel with the county.

² Will. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 471.

³ Hen. of Hunt. *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 244.

⁴ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 62.

⁵ Hen. of Hunt. op. cit. 259.

⁶ Matt. Paris. *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 165.

⁷ From the fact that William de Blois eventually held the castles of Norwich, Bungay, Wormegay, and Castle Acre, it is clear that Stephen preferred to trust his own family.

⁸ *Annals of Waverley* (Luard), 229.

⁹ Round, *Geoff. de Mandeville*, 83, 172.

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king's justice.¹ This may have been a sitting of the county court or shire mote, for Sir Henry Glanvil, who was present, said he had constantly attended the county and hundred court for fifty years.

It was in this reign that the persecution of the Jews in this county began, in 1144,² with the story of St. William the Boy Martyr, which will be found in the section on ecclesiastical history. It may be as well here to say a few words as to the Jews in the county. They probably settled first at Norwich in the time of the Conqueror. Moses, the Jew of Norwich, was a man of great wealth and ability in the time of William Rufus, and left his house in the parish of St. Edward to his son Abraham and he to his son Isaac, from whom it was known as Isaac's Hall. It was probably a building of the same type as the well-known 'Jew's House' at Lincoln and Bury St. Edmunds, and was escheated to King John. There are no traces of any ill-feeling between the Jews and Christians till this accusation of 1144 was made. As the learned editors of *St. William of Norwich* say, the myth of child crucifixion had slept for over seven centuries, and it is to the disgrace of Norwich that it was for the first time revived here.

Henry II, 'son of the Empress,' was crowned in 1154. In 1158 he gave³ to the burgesses of Norwich their first existing charter, confirming to them the privileges they then possessed. He had previously not only taken away from Stephen's natural son, William de Blois, the castle of Norwich, but had also made Hugh Bigod resign all his castles, very wisely determining to have no strongholds left in private hands to form the centres of future troubles, though he confirmed to William de Blois his father's lands in Norfolk and to Bigod his earldom and stewardship.⁴

Bigod was later on made constable of Norwich Castle, but he seems to have been incapable of remaining faithful to any one for any length of time, for in 1173, when Henry's son, tempted by the French king Louis, and taking advantage of the unsettled state brought about by the murder of Becket three years before, rose in rebellion, Hugh Bigod joined him. Having been promised the castle and honour of Eye as a reward, he received a large number of Flemings, brought over by the earl of Leicester, into his castle of Framlingham. On the earl being beaten, however, he was shut up in the castle there and had to pay a heavy ransom.⁵

In 1174 the earl of Flanders sent over more men, who landed at Orwell. Bigod again received them, marched to Norwich,⁶ sacked the city, and took the castle, which he garrisoned with Flemish and French. The castle is said by Jordan Fantosme⁷ to have been taken on this occasion through a 'Lorraine traitor'; he explains the poor defence by saying that the Norwich men 'were for the most part weavers, and know not how to bear arms in knightly wise,' but it is more probable that the Flemish, who had settled here in Stephen's reign, helped their compatriots. This was the last of Hugh Bigod's treasons. The king⁸ took his castle at Walton in Suffolk, and, raising an army at Bury, was coming to besiege Framlingham and Bungay, when Hugh

¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* iii, 28, says 'sheriff.'

² The date 1137 in the *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* is certainly an error.

³ Hudson, *Records of Norw.* p. xv, et seq.

⁴ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 214.

⁵ *Ibid.* 291.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Chronicles of Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 279.

⁸ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 294.

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bought his peace for 1,000 marks, yielded his castles (Bungay was at once demolished), and went to the Holy Land, where he died.

The king showed his appreciation of the loyalty of the citizens—unsuccessful though it was—by allowing them a considerable amount off the profits of the city to recoup them for the loss they had suffered during the recent siege.

Richard I, coming to the throne in 1189, almost immediately confirmed the office of steward of his household to Roger Bigod (the son of Hugh), who is said to have used his influence to persuade the king to give to the citizens of Norwich a new charter in 1194.¹

There is in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II and Richard I abundant evidence to show that there was during their reigns a very rich community of Jews inhabiting Norwich. The entries refer principally of course to payments due or made, and from the sums of money mentioned it is obvious that some of the Jews were very wealthy. During the reign of Henry II we do not find any mention of the Jews of Norwich being molested to any great extent, but under his two successors the Jews here, as elsewhere, appear to have been very badly treated. The first year of the reign of Richard I was marked by a remarkable attack upon them all over England. Beginning in London it soon spread to the eastern shires. At Lynn the excuse for the outbreak was that the Jews, enraged at one of their body having been converted to Christianity, set upon him to kill him. He, it is said, took sanctuary in a church; the Jews, therefore, broke into the church, and the townspeople, fearing the king, refused to interfere. Some foreign traders, however, who were staying in the place fell upon the Jews, killed and plundered them, and sailed away with their plunder.² One curious incident deserves special mention. The day after the Jews had been murdered and their houses burned, a celebrated Jewish physician, who on account of his skill and orderly behaviour was held in honour at Lynn, arrived there, unluckily for him. Seeing the dead bodies of his friends and their houses still smouldering, he spoke out with just indignation, denounced the murderers, and threatened vengeance. Neither his skill nor the remembrance of his past cares could save him, for he too was murdered.³ The agitation spread to the east and south-east, and the Jews were robbed and murdered by the crowds flocking to the coasts to join the crusade both at Norwich and at Bury St. Edmunds—places ripe for the reception of any lie through the inculcation of the myths of the alleged crucifixions of St. William at the one place and St. Robert at the other. Details of what took place at Norwich and Bury are wanting. The Jews escaped better in the former place on account of the existence of a royal castle where they were able to take refuge,⁴ and of which the castellan, as we know, helped them in time of need on another occasion.

John in the first year of his reign renewed the privileges of Norwich. In 1205 was the great interdict and excommunication all over England. This has some local interests, as it was brought about by the king endeavouring to insist on John de Gray, then bishop of Norwich, being elected archbishop of Canterbury. When in 1214 matters were coming to a crisis between the king and the barons, Roger Bigod sided with the latter; Norwich Castle was, therefore, taken from him, and, together with Orford Castle,

¹ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 36, 37.

² *Ibid.* 311.

³ Will. de Newburgh, *Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 310.

⁴ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 358.

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entrusted to William Mareschal and John FitzOsbert, the then sheriffs. They were soon replaced by Hubert de Burgh,¹ the great justiciary, who now appears for the first time in local history.

During the fight which took place after the signing of Magna Carta, John suffered a severe blow through the loss by drowning near Yarmouth of an expedition commanded by Hugh de Boves, to whom he had promised Norfolk and Suffolk. It is stated that 40,000 lives were lost on this occasion, a number certainly greatly exaggerated, though the expedition included many women and children, it being intended apparently to make a regular settlement on the east coast.² Though the rest of the history of this reign and the next is a continuous tale of fighting and civil war, very little of it took place in Norfolk. In 1216 John marched from Lincolnshire southward to Lynn,³ where he was gladly received and stayed two days; it was on his retreat from this port that he lost his baggage in the Wash, fell ill and died on 19 October, 1216, at Newark.

The next reign was one of continuous trouble in England generally, but we hear of no fighting or events of importance in Norfolk until 1266. In this year an attack was made upon Norwich by a force belonging to the barons' party which was lying in the Isle of Ely.⁴ This band came across under the leadership of Sir John de Evile and attacked the city. They stayed there a day and a night and plundered the place, carrying away many of the citizens to ransom. Nothing is said about their getting into the castle, so it probably withstood them. A curious sidelight is thrown on this attack by a local record, from which it appears that Thomas de Carlton, the high constable, was afterwards tried for the murder of Walter de Starston, one of the city sergeants. He was eventually acquitted, it being shown that when he requested the sergeant to call the citizens to join in defending the city, the sergeant refused and used base language to him; the constable thereupon killed him by a stroke from a sword under his breast.

The citizens of Lynn, underestimating the strength of this baronial force and anxious to recover the royal favour, came to the king, offered to capture the rebels and deliver them to him alive or dead, if he would restore the forfeited liberties of their town; this he agreed to do. Thereupon the men of Lynn set out in warlike array in their ships, but the rebels carefully chose their ground, set up flags, so that their assailants might have no difficulty in finding them, and, when the bold townsmen arrived, fled from them in apparent terror—only to turn on their disorderly and unwary foes and to cut them up, so that but few returned to Lynn, *non sine derisionibus*.⁵

In the last year of Henry's reign, 1272, took place the great riot of the monks and citizens. The king came to Norwich after the Parliament at Bury St. Edmunds, and his intervention in this affair is said to have indirectly shortened his life.⁶

¹ Pat. 17 John, m. 22. He was born at Burgh St. Margaret's in Flegg, and married first the daughter of Sir Robert Arsic, a well-known Norfolk baron, and afterwards the daughter of Wm. de Warenne, who was the widow of Dodo Bardolf.

² Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 622, 623.

³ Ibid. ii, 664.

⁴ Barth. de Cotton, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 141, 142.

⁵ Will. Rishanger, *Chron. et Annales* (Rolls Ser.), 44, 45.

⁶ See, for a fuller treatment of this riot, Rye, *Norfolk Antiqu. Miscellany*, ii, 17. There was a similar riot at Colchester only five days later, on St. John the Baptist's day (Harrod, *Colchester Records*, 33). It is noticeable that after this happened the bailiffs of Colchester were ordered (Harrod, *op cit.*, 25) to stop and detain the person and goods of any Norwich citizen, which looks as though some sought a friendly refuge there.

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There had been ill-feeling between the citizens and monks as to their relative rights under the charter from the time of John. One as to the 'commoning' in some of the outskirts of the city indeed began in that reign and did not end till the reign of Henry VIII. Blood had been drawn in a quarrel between the priory baker and a citizen in 1256-7, in which the former was killed.¹ Disputes were frequent as to the respective rights to hold inquests on debateable land, and in 1258 there was a forcible entry into the city by ten of the monks and their servants, who beat, wounded, and ill-treated the bailiffs, because they endeavoured to preserve the city liberties.² At last, in 1272, a spark set fire to the smouldering material. A standard or quintain had been erected on Tombland, just outside the priory gates. There were plenty of other places where it could have been placed, and it looks as if the intention was to annoy the monks. A dispute arose, nominally about the broken truncheons of the spears, and the citizens drove the prior's retainers back to the priory.

During this assault one William le Messer from within shot a bolt from his crossbow and killed Adam de Newenton, one of the citizens.³ On this the city coroners held an inquest, found the prior's men guilty of murder, and not long after arrested two men, whom they caught within the city liberties. Thereupon the prior procured the citizens to be excommunicated and laid under an interdict.

In August the prior's men closed their gates, and shooting over the walls wounded many. Overtures for peace were made on behalf of the citizens, who sent certain friars, preachers, and nuns, to the priory. The negotiations went so far that by arrangement both parties chose arbitrators, who drew up an agreement, which was sealed by the citizens with their common seal, but the prior refused to affix the seal of his chapter, only offering to put his private seal to it.

The prior next, on the Sunday before St. Lawrence, brought up from Yarmouth and elsewhere three barges full of men armed with 'guns,' bows and arrows, and other weapons, who came into the city beating drums and sounding trumpets as though in war. Thus reinforced the prior's men sallied out at night, killed and robbed a merchant called Alfred Cutler of £20 and more, and broke open Hugh de Bromholm's tavern, drinking what wine they pleased and wasting the rest. They are also said to have set on fire three houses near the Grey Friars, and to have burned them down.

The city authorities are said to have immediately sent letters of complaint to the king, and to have summoned the citizens to meet in the market-place the next day at ten, according to the *Norwich Liber Albus*,⁴ to bring to justice those who had made 'an illegal castle' in their city—a view borne out by the fact that their chief officers were among the so-called rioters. That it was a general muster there can be little doubt, and according to the statement in Pope Gregory's bull,⁵ the voice of the crier and the sound of the bell called up in the city all over twelve years of age. Accordingly on the next day, which was the Monday next before the feast of St. Lawrence, viz. 9 August,

¹ *Placita Corone*, 41 Hen. III, m. 36.

² 'Placita de Juratis et Assisis' (*Divers Counties*, 42 Hen. III), *Tower Records*, 26.

³ *Crown Pleas R.* 14 Edw. I, m. 72.

⁴ *Liber de Antiquis legibus* (Camden Soc.), 145.

⁵ Barth. de Cotton *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 421.

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Geoffrey le Brun, Stephen le Blunt, and many others, whose names are set out in the Crown Plea Roll,¹ and among whom are no less than fifteen clergy and chaplains, met with the result now to be described.

They attacked the priory by the Ethelbert gate, against which they placed fire and so burnt it down. The parish church of St. Ethelbert, which then stood just within these gates, being probably held as a kind of outwork by the defenders, was next taken and burnt, and, it is said, all its ornaments, books, and images stolen.² The pope's bull says the cathedral, the belfry, dormitory, refectory, infirmary, treasury, sacristy, guest chamber, and so on; in fact, all the place, 'except three or four buildings,' is said to have been burnt. The London chronicler referring to the mischief done, says, 'what *could* be burnt was reduced to ashes,' and that of the cathedral itself the woodwork only suffered. We know that only thirteen of the defenders were slain, so that if the '32,000' infuriated rioters of whom the chronicler speaks³ were as moderate in their arson as in their manslaughter, it is unlikely they did as much mischief as has been said. As, moreover, only 173 of the assailants could be identified, but little reliance can be placed on the accuracy of a historian who estimates their numbers at 32,000. That the chief men of the city condescended to plunder is not probable, but, like others who have appealed to force, they probably lost control of their followers. Though they may not have been able to prevent plundering they were certainly able to prevent any massacre. They seem, when in possession, to have acted deliberately. The bull⁴ admits that regular sentence of death was passed on some of those killed, and Cotton⁵ goes further in saying that some were taken out and executed and others imprisoned in the city, while John de Oxenedes⁶ says that the thirty servants were taken out and brought before the city tribunal and so condemned.

Where the monks rallied and took refuge we cannot say, but it is clear that they made a stand, for on the day after the assault the prior, William de Brunham, himself slew a man (John Casmus) by striking him on the head with a falchion.⁷

The news of this disturbance soon came to the king, nor was he long in acting on it. He sent Hugh Pecche, Geoffrey de Percy, and Ralph de Bakepuz⁸ to Norwich to take charge of the city, and ordered the sheriffs of Norwich and Suffolk and the burgesses and commonalty of the city to assist them in every way. On the same day he commanded the bailiffs of Colchester to stop and detain the person and goods of any Norwich burgess who came into their district; he also sent letters patent to Walter Giffard,⁹ constable of Norwich Castle, or to his sub-constable, apprising them of the appointment of Pecche and the others, and commanding that they should be received into the castle and aided in every way. Not long after he set out for Norfolk, viâ Bury St. Edmunds, whence he sent letters patent, 6 September, to Walter Giffard,¹⁰ stating that he was coming in person to Norwich to punish the offenders, and ordering him to summon thither all knights and free tenants holding

¹ Crown Plea Roll, 14 Edw. I, 6, m. 72.

² Barth. de Cotton, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), 146.

³ John de Oxenedes, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 240

⁴ Barth. de Cotton, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), 422.

⁵ Ibid. 147.

⁶ Op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), 241.

⁷ Norw. Coroner's Roll, 56 Hen. III. (This roll is now lost, vide *Norf. Antiq. Miscell.* ii, 55).

⁸ Pat. 56 Hen. III.

⁹ *Norf. Antiq. Miscell.* ii, 38.

¹⁰ Ibid.

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20 librates of land and upwards, on Thursday in the octaves of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary next. Letters were sent on the same day to the sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon to bring a jury of twenty-four knights and free tenants having the same qualifications. Four days later (10 September) the king, still at Bury St. Edmunds, sent letters patent to the bailiffs, burgesses, and commonalty of Yarmouth, stating that, as from trustworthy information he learned that certain contentions and discords might easily arise in their town, he sent Walter de Burges (the marshal of his household) to arrest and hold certain suspected persons, whose names the said Walter was to let them know; they were also to choose twenty-four faithful and discreet burgesses to be present at Norwich on the Wednesday after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.¹

The king entered the city on 14 September—the interdict being withdrawn for his convenience—and on 23 September ordered Ralph de Bakepuz and Geoffrey de Percy to give over the city to Hugh Pecche and Hervey de Stanhou, to whose charge he committed it, Hervey accounting for the issues of the city to the Exchequer.²

However dissatisfied the king was with the citizens it was evident he was equally so with the monks, for on the same day he took possession of the priory and its possessions and entrusted it to Robert de Waucham, prior of Dunham, who was to answer to him for all the profits, except reasonable sustenance to the sub-prior and convent.³ The punishment meted out to the citizens was severe. Twenty-nine of them were dragged to the gallows and hung, their bodies being afterwards burned. The day after the king left Norwich, William de Brunham, the prior, resigned the priory into his bishop's hands.⁴

On 16 November, 1272, the king, whose end was not improbably hastened by this strain upon him, died at Westminster, and on 4 December Edward I sent his letters patent to the sheriff confirmatory of the appointment of Pecche and Stanhou, and also ordered him to summon a jury of true and free men, by whom the truth as to certain inquiries they were to make might be best ascertained.⁵ According to the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* this resulted in an inquisition of forty knights living near the city, finding: (1) That the church was burnt by accident through the smiths employed in the priory; (2) that the prior proposed to burn the whole city, placing fire to it in three places; (3) that the prior was guilty of homicide, robbery, and other crimes. Cotton, who is a partisan of the monks, admits the finding,⁶ but asserts that the rich citizens bribed the justices and the most influential of the jury of forty-eight belted knights—a most improbable story. The London chronicler goes on to say that the king caused the prior to be taken into custody and delivered to his bishop to be tried, but that the latter, being unduly favourable to him, allowed him to purge himself after the manner of ecclesiastics.

In 1272⁷ a papal letter directed against the citizens of Norwich was sent to the bishop of London. In 1274,⁸ the case being referred to Rome, the citizens' proctors asked for a *dies amoris*, and proposed to refer the case to Edward, which was agreed upon. In 1275,⁹ the monks claiming 4,000 marks damages and the citizens offering 2,000 marks, the king ordered that the

¹ *Norf. Antig. Miscell.* ii, 39. Barth. de Cotton, op. cit. (Rolls Series), 148.

² *Norf. Antig. Miscell.* ii, 40.

³ *Ibid.* 41. Barth. de Cotton, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), 149.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Pat. 1 Edw. I, m. 20.

⁶ Barth. de Cotton, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), 148, 149.

⁷ *Ibid.* 150.

⁸ *Ibid.* 151.

⁹ *Ibid.* 152.

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citizens should pay 3,000 marks at the rate of 1,000 per annum for three years for the repairs of the church, and should make a golden vase of 10 lb. weight to hold the Corpus Christi over the high altar. The priory was to be allowed to make an entrance to their precinct wherever the monks pleased; the bishop and prior were to relax the sentence of excommunication.¹ In September, 1275,² the sentence of excommunication was accordingly relaxed, and on Palm Sunday, 1276,³ the papal absolution was read in Norwich. The cathedral, however, was not reconsecrated until 1278.⁴

In 1227 Edward is said to have led an army through Suffolk and Norfolk, and to have kept Easter at Norwich,⁵ making this military progress to see his castles and forts put in good order, and well provided with all necessary stores. In the next year he again visited the city, being present at the reconsecration of the cathedral mentioned above. From 3 to 5 December he was in Burgh. Whether this 'Burgh' was Burgh by Aylsham or Burgh in Flegg is not quite certain, but the former is more probable.⁶

With the exception of continued bickering between the citizens and monks of Norwich nothing of note took place during Edward's reign. Blomefield⁷ mentions a visit of the king and queen to Walsingham and the grant of a charter to the citizens of Norwich dated from that place in the nineteenth year of Edward I. But this is an error. It was Edward II who visited Walsingham and in his nineteenth year granted the charter.⁸

In the year 1290 all Jews were expelled from England. We may therefore here resume the account of their connexion with the county which has hitherto been traced to the end of John's reign. During the reign of Henry III the Jewish community at Norwich appears to have been very rich and important, for we find very frequent reference to it, and more particularly to one Isaac, known as the Jew of Norwich. These references give one some idea of the wealth of this man, and also of the way in which money was constantly extorted from these unhappy people. In 1217⁹ the king is stated to have taken Isaac and all the other Jews of Norwich and their belongings under his protection, and orders were sent to the constable of Norwich Castle to receive them into it and to protect them and to see that they recovered their debts. Another reference to Isaac and his fine of 10,000 marks made with King John¹⁰ will be found on the Patent Roll of the following year. And a little later we find Pandulf, who became bishop of Norwich in 1219, writing shortly after his election to Hubert de Burgh with the complaint that the extortion of the Jews was becoming intolerable, and asking that the case of Isaac of Norwich should be postponed till he arrived.¹¹ In 1224 Isaac is named first among the Jews assessing their tallage.¹²

In 1230 occurred the Turnepin episode, which belongs rather to ecclesiastical than political history.¹³ Shortly before or in the year 1237

¹ Barth. de Cotton, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), 152.

² Ibid. 154.

⁴ Ibid. 157.

³ Ibid.

⁵ J. de Oxenedes, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 250.

⁶ Aylsham Burgh is the more likely. It was part of the liberty of the duchy of Lancaster and in a very wooded country close to the large park of Cawston. The king held the manor until Edward I granted it with a charter of free warren to Sir John de Burgh, senr., and both Edward I and Edward II frequently hunted there.

⁷ Op. cit. iii, 64.

⁸ Hudson, *Records of Norw.* p. xxxix.

⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1216-25, p. 98.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 180.

¹¹ *Royal Letters, Hen. III* (Rolls Ser.), i, 35.

¹² *Cal. Pat.* 1216-25, p. 496.

¹³ An account will be found with copious references in *Norf. Antiq. Miscell.* i, 312, et seq.

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Jews' houses were twice broken into and burned. The citizens paid 10 marks for having an inquisition into this,¹ and an inquisition, no doubt the one for which this sum was paid, was found recently in the guildhall of the city of Norwich. The jury found that one Simon Quitloc with one Stephen Chicken placed the fire, and that others broke open a chest and stole goods. Also that one William Hodis and one Ralph Muddon broke into the house of another Jew, where fire had not been placed. The court's finding was in favour of the Jews, for orders were given to arrest the felons. In 1250 I find an entry on the Assize Roll for Norwich of an accusation made by Peter de Marisco, a chaplain of Norwich, against Moss and other Norfolk Jews, of burning his house. When, however, the time for trial came on the prosecutor said he was unwilling to proceed with his case, so he and his pledges were fined. We have here, therefore, another example of the Jews gaining the victory when fairly opposed in a court of law.

The reign of Edward I, like that of his predecessor, affords, up to the time of their expulsion, a good many instances of orders made relative to debts owing to Jews at Norwich, as well as one or two others of more interest. In 1275 it appears that Edward, having granted that no Jews should dwell in the town given in dower to the Queen Mother, deported the Jews of Cambridge to Norwich.² And in the same year we find a commission to John de Levetot to inquire concerning the Christians of the county of Norfolk acting like the Jews in lending money to indigent Christians, taking money after the return thereof and detaining pledges.³ In 1280 there are two entries in the Patent Rolls which show the kind of offences of which the Jews were most often found guilty. Thomas de Weyland, for instance, obtained a grant of the term of eight years, which Abraham son of Deulacres, Jew of Norwich, drawn and burned for blasphemy, had in Kelling.⁴ Next we learn that one Isaac, a Jew of Norwich, was hanged for trespass against the coinage.⁵ In 1286 there was a curious charge made against Isaac, chaplain of the Jews of Norwich, and many others, for breaking into the churches of Sweynsthorp and Newton in Norfolk. It was in this year that all the Jews in England are said to have been arrested. The synagogue at Norwich was destroyed, and four years later the Jews were entirely expelled from England.

Resuming the general history of the county, we find that in 1292 died Friar Roger Bacon. His discoveries will be referred to in another section, but he was a man of such local importance that his death deserves to be noticed here.

In 1293⁶ Roger Bigod was in such favour that he obtained permission to refortify his 'house' at Bungay; the castle having been destroyed as mentioned above. He was at this time constable of Norwich Castle, being also earl of Norfolk, but in 1300 he surrendered his earldom, castles, and other possessions to the king with the purpose of preventing his brother John from succeeding him, taking a regrant to himself and his heirs male. As he died without issue all the estates fell into the hands of the crown, and thus came to an end in the county the influence of the house of Bigod.⁷

¹ Pipe R. 22 Hen. III.

² Pat. 4 Edw. I, m. 36 d.

⁶ Pat. 22 Edw. I, m. 20.

³ Rigg, *Select Pleas of Jewish Exch.* (Selden Soc.), 85.

⁴ Ibid. 8 Edw. I, m. 14.

⁵ Ibid. m. 14 d.

⁷ W. Rishanger, *Chron. et Annal.* (Rolls Ser.), 215.

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The great territorial rivals of the Bigods, the Warennes, however still kept their position and estates. John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, was in 1296 appointed to the high office of Guardian of Scotland, with another Norfolk man, Hugh de Cressingham, in the position of treasurer and justiciary. In the next year de Warenne, however, was defeated by Wallace.

The Norfolk knights summoned in 1294 to attend with horse and arms, &c., at Portsmouth to pass over to Gascony were Roger de Huntingfield, Roger FitzOsbert, Hugh Bardolf, Giles de Playz, William de Cressy, John and Alexander de Clavinger, Edmund de Hemegrave, Robert Tibetot, John de Thorp, William Mortimer of Atleburgh, William de Neyreford, Mathew de Loveyn, Petrus Gocelyn, Adam de Cretyng, John de Ingham, Ralph de Tony and John Butecourt.¹

Before leaving the reign of Edward I we may say that many Norfolk knights took part in his Welsh wars, and that a list of them and the arms they bore is given in Mason.² Among the Norfolk knights summoned to attend the king at Gloucester, 1287, to go with horses and arms against the Welsh were William de Kerdeston, John de (H)engham, William de Gyney, Roger son of Osbert, John de Boys, Ralph de Cumberwell, William Berdolf, William de Huntingfield, Matthew de Loveyn and Ralph son of Roger de Tony.³ We have the results of these Welsh wars brought very near home, for we find on the Close Rolls many references to three Welsh prisoners, Rhys brother of Malgon (otherwise Rhys ap Meredith) and Griffin his brother, and Rhys son of Rhys ap Meredith, who were no doubt three of the hostages taken in 1290, on the suppression of the rebellion of Reso son of Meredic, and confined in Norwich Castle. Up to 1319 all these were still in prison here, and had an order for their robes, linen clothes, shoe leather, and other necessities, the same as had been allowed to the preceding sheriff. In 1321, and from that date till 1335, only Rhys son of Rhys is mentioned as being still detained.

There are many other traces of the exigencies of the wars in the Patent and Close Rolls. The men of Lynn,⁴ for example, were in 1305 pardoned for many financial irregularities, 'in consideration of their great expenses in the king's service.' In 1305 the king⁵ made an award of pacification between Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports, the disputes between these places having now come to a head.

The whole of the Bigod fief was in 1310 granted by the new king to his brothers Thomas of Brotherton, then a boy of thirteen, and Edmund; and the former was afterwards made earl-marshal.

Of some local interest was the appointment of Walter de Norwich as one of the barons of the Exchequer in 1311, for it was only the first step to his being made a baron of Parliament in 1314 and eventually treasurer of the Exchequer.

That the orderly administration of justice instituted by Edward I was beginning to relax is instanced by the significant fact that it was necessary in June, 1311, to issue an order prohibiting Stephen de Segrave, under pain of forfeiture, from going to Norwich or elsewhere or assembling armed men, as the king understood that he was preparing to go to Norwich with an

¹ Gascon R. 22 Edw. I, m. 7 d.

² Mason, *Hist. of Norf.* 69-70.

³ Rot. Wall. 15 Edw. I, m. 10 d.

⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1301-7 p. 325.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 320.

⁶ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 76.

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armed force on account of a suit between his brother Henry and Walter de Bermyngham and others.¹ Considering how closely the Segraves themselves were allied to the law it is a suggestive commentary on its administration when we find that a member of that family should think it necessary to take an armed force to a trial, whether to see fair play or to intimidate an opponent.

In 1312 Norfolk² had a good deal to do with the commissariat of the Scotch war, for we find that the sheriff was directed to provide wheat, malt, &c., to be sent up to Perth, and to provide without delay '100 quarters of wheat, 200 quarters of oats, 100 quarters of peas and beans, 100 bacon-pigs, 10 lasts of herrings, 6,000 stockfish, and 200 quarters of salt,' and to send them to Berwick at once.³ This was soon followed by an order to cause 500 foot-soldiers to be chosen and sent to London, so that they may be there fitly and well armed, ready to do what shall be then enjoined upon them.⁴

In 1312 a system of terrorism seems to have prevailed at Norwich, and a complaint was made that John de Lugham, Roger Marche, William Marche and others assaulted the citizens and men of the city and those who resorted thither on business, and did not suffer the citizens to leave their houses unless they paid fines for doing so, and also threatened the bailiffs so that they were afraid to preserve the peace, and foreign merchants and others who were accustomed to resort to the city with their wares and other goods for sale had ceased to do so. A commission was accordingly sent down to inquire into the matter.⁵ It is possible that this may be the first of the risings against the foreign merchants of which we shall read later.

In 1317, probably in consequence of the quarrel impending between the earl of Lancaster and the earl of Warenne, a tournament which had been arranged to take place at Thetford was prohibited.⁶ The ill feeling between the barons may also have been the cause of the prohibition of another tournament at Edgefield⁷ in 1319, for de Roscelin, the lord of this place, was on the barons' side, and probably the tournament was meant as a political gathering. Again, in 1321 the king forbade several Norfolk men to hold conventicles, associations, &c., and among others Thomas Bardolf, Richard de Plaiz, John de Thorp, Robert de Morle, John de Bottetourte, Henry Tyes, John de Clavinger, and in the same year sent down commissions to oppose any who should make insurrections—that to Norfolk being directed to John Haward.⁸

The earl of Lancaster in his unsuccessful rebellion in 1322 had many adherents in the county, as appears from various entries in the Close Rolls relating to their subsequent pardon and the restoration of their lands.⁹

¹ Close, 4 Edw. II, m. 6 d.

² Yarmouth especially contributed towards the expense of the wars not only in this but in the previous reign, for an entry on the Close Roll, 6 Edw. II, mentions not only a loan of 100 marks but £1,760 arrears of wages of men sent to Gascony, and £780 for wages of sailors, &c. in the Scotch war.

³ Close, 6 Edw. II, m. 3.

⁴ Ibid. m. 29 d.

⁵ Pat. 6 Edw. II, m. 14 d. A similar complaint, three years later, touching alleged conspiracies and confederacies and the maladministration of justice in Norfolk and Suffolk, will be found on the Pat. Roll 8 Edw. II, m. 25 d. as will specific charges against the stewards and bailiffs of the honour of Clare. Ibid. m. 14 d.

⁶ Close, 10 Edw. II, m. 18 d.

⁷ Pat. 13 Edw. II, m. 30.

⁸ Close, 15 Edw. II, m. 23 d.

⁹ The chief were: Roger Bigod, Robert de Walfare (*Cal. Close*, 1318–23, 580), Robert de Bures (ibid. 573), Sir John de Waterville (ibid. 602), Hugh le Despenser, jun. (ibid. 1327–30, 39), Thomas Roscelyn of Edgefield (ibid. 309), while Thomas de Thornham and others of his adherents escaped in 1331 from Norwich Castle (*Cal. Pat.* 1330–4, 97, 177). The chief local royalists were William Bardolf, John de Burgh, Hamon l'Estrange, William de Say, John de Vaux, John de Bol'gner, Simon de Halle, and Walter de Merton.

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At this time the Flemings appear to have been threatening the east coast. Though this principally affected the ports, we find that Norwich offered for defence against them sixty armed footmen or £200, and that the king preferred to take the money. Just before this the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk had been ordered to raise 500 footmen and to bring them to Coventry against the Scots, the king having previously ordered him to proclaim that all knights, squires, men-at-arms, and footmen, between sixteen and sixty, were to be ready, as certain rebel magnates had gone to the north in great numbers and had besieged the king's castle of Tickhill.¹ On 28 March, in the same year, the sheriff was ordered to attach by their persons all who had not come and seize their lands.² In July all old and new corn and other victuals were ordered to be sent to the north to the king with all possible speed, and an assurance was given that all food sent up might be sold and nothing taken without their consent. This order was sent to Lynn, Norwich, Blakeney, and Burnham, amongst other places, and next year 700 footmen of Norfolk and Suffolk were ordered to proceed against the Scotch rebels.³

The king spent the Christmas of 1325⁴ at Bury St. Edmunds, whither he probably went to try to ward off the impending invasion in Suffolk, which took place in September, 1326. In January, 1326, the king came to Norwich, and from there issued orders for musters to be made all over England and for beacons to be kept ready.⁵ During his stay here he confirmed the city charters.⁶ The queen landed in 1326 at Orwell in Suffolk, and aided by the earl of Kent, Roger Mortimer, and many of the barons, came through Bury and drove the king through London to Wales. The latter attempted to raise forces in Norfolk and Suffolk, and directed writs for that purpose to Thomas Bardolf, Constantine de Mortimer, Edmund Hemegrave, and John de Cove, but with what success it is impossible to say.

The king was murdered at Berkeley Castle, 21 September, 1327. The end of this unhappy reign was marked in Norfolk by one interesting event—the peaceful invasion of Flemings, which took place in 1326, and which resulted in the foundation of the worsted manufactory at the village of that name near North Walsham.

When in 1330 Edward III succeeded in freeing himself from the tutelage of his mother and her favourite, the former was detained at Castle Rising.⁷

One of the first acts of the new reign was the confirmation by the king of all his estates to his half-brother Thomas de Brotherton and his continuance in his office of constable of Norwich Castle. As in the last reign, we find prohibitions of tournaments in this county and in Suffolk in 1327⁸ and 1331.⁹

Under the date 1330, Baxter's *Chronicle* tells of how Sir Robert Venile, a Norfolk knight, who accepted the challenge of a huge Scotch champion,

¹ Close, 15 Edw. II, m. 18 d.

² Ibid. m. 14 d.

³ Ibid. m. 33 d.

⁴ Blomefield (op. cit. iii, 77) by mistake says 1326, which confuses his narrative.

⁵ Pat. 19 Edw. II, m. 4.

⁶ Blomefield, op. cit. iii, 77.

⁷ As to Queen Isabella's detention at Castle Rising, Harrod, in his *Castles and Convents*, pp. 33, sqq. shows that Miss Strickland's story of close confinement is incorrect. There are several references to her stay in the county. Her goods to the value of £100 were carried away at Yarmouth in 1329, and her servant was assaulted (Close, 3 Edw. III, m. 13). In 1333 Master Pancius de Coutrone, the king's leech, was paid by the bailiffs of Norwich for good service done to her (Close, 7 Edw. III, m. 11).

⁸ Close, 1 Edw. III, m. 12.

⁹ Ibid. 5 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 19 d.

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killed him in single combat, although the latter was assisted by a huge mastiff dog, which our man 'cut in two through the reins,' before he struck off the Scotchman's head. The name Venile is probably a misprint for Nevile, a Robert de Nevile being returned to Parliament for Norfolk, 16 Edw. III. In 1332¹ another Norfolk champion had to do with the expedition to Ireland, and sixty archers were to be provided by the sheriff of Norfolk. This was Robert de Morley, one of the most famous warriors of the time, both in the French and Scotch wars. He had much to do with the naval victory of Sluys, and was present at Cressy, but in spite of all these services had to do penance bare foot through the streets of Norwich for slaying the bishop's deer.

In 1338 mention was made on the Patent Roll² of unlawful assemblies being held in Norwich, and the Mayor of Lynn³ was directed to put his town in a state of defence.

The country continued to be at war with France and Scotland and the east coast was exposed to the attacks of French and Scotch vessels. We get a glimpse of Edward's policy of alliance with Flanders from the order given in 1340 that the common seal of the city of Norwich should be put with those of London, Lincoln, and York, to letters of confederacy with Bruges, Ypres, and Ghent.⁴

In February, 1340,⁵ Edward and his wife came to Norwich to witness a great tournament here, after which he is said to have paid a visit to his mother, Isabella, at Castle Acre. It may have been on this occasion that he is supposed to have been entertained by John Braunche at Lynn, as shown on the latter's brass, dated 1364. The king was at Norwich again in November, 1344, as is shown by a grant made to the city at that time.⁶

The kingdom suffered during this reign from the terrible pestilence, the French wars, and the weakness of the central power, accompanied by oppressive taxation, but no events of any great local importance took place until the year 1381. In this year came the rebellion of Geoffrey⁷ the Litester or Lister, which, being perhaps, the most important event in the history of the county, deserves special mention.

There had been many causes which had created great discontent, not only here but all over England, and especially four which may be formulated thus :

First, the immediate oppression of a poll tax of twelve pence a head which was granted in 1380, though one of fourpence had just been paid in 1377; and the long sustained grievances of the purveyors and the maladministration of justice.⁸ This was the cry against the government.

Secondly, the stricter enforcement of the lord's rights to the unpaid labour which had always been due both from free and bond tenants, and which had now, owing to the sweeping away of so many labourers by the

¹ Close, 6 Edw. III, m. 16.

² Pat. 12 Edw. III, m. 34 d.

³ Ibid. 12 Edw. III, m. 4 d.

⁴ Ibid. 14 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 41.

⁵ Blomefield, iii, 86.

⁶ Pat. 19 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 8 d.

⁷ The Anct. Indictments, 128, and Norf. Lay. Subsidies, 149, cited by Powell, *Rising in East Anglia*, seem to establish this as the correct Christian name of the chief leader. Walsingham has confused him with John Lister of Norwich.

⁸ There had been many a bitter complaint of the oppression during the last half-century, e.g. by the sheriffs in 1333, as to free warren in 1334, unfair tallages in 1337, and against purveyors in 1328, 1330, 1331 (vide Patent Rolls). For instances of minor extortions by bailiffs, warreners, &c., 14 Edw. I, see *Norf. Antiq. Miscell.* ii, 192-3.

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Black Death, to be more rigidly exacted if the land was to be tilled and the crops gathered at all. This was the grievance against the lords and squires.¹

Thirdly the great dislike felt by the common people to the extortions and oppressions of certain religious houses.

Lastly but not least,² trade jealousy felt against the Flemings, who had come over to the county not long before, and the countryman's jealousy against the special privileges granted by the king to the cities. We have already seen that as early as 1312 there was an organized system of terrorism in Norwich, so that foreign merchants had ceased to resort to the city, and in 1371 the king's writ in favour of the Flemings no doubt gave great offence to the manufacturers. From the entries on pp. 32, 36, 61, 63, and 135 of Mr. Powell's *Rising in East Anglia*, it is clear that the rebels here lost no opportunity of murdering any Flemish who came in their way. Stow also in his *Annals*³ speaks of the rioters in London fetching out thirteen Flemings from the Augustine Friars in London, seventeen out of another church, and thirty-two from the Vintry, all of whom they beheaded.

Probably any one or two of these four causes would not have sufficed to raise so formidable a rebellion as this, but all four fomented at once by men of ability formed a mixed yeast strong enough to make the whole country rise. Mr. Powell suggests⁴ that Richard II himself was ready to use the popular discontent against his uncle, the duke of Lancaster, and there was certainly a widespread belief in the king's complicity.⁵ The most mysterious part of the whole business is that men like Sir Roger Bacon of Baconsthorpe and Thomas de Gissing should have actively led the Norfolk insurgents. Roger Bacon was the grandson of the Thomas Bacon of Baconsthorpe (nephew, it is thought, of the 'Resolute Doctor') who had adhered to the earl of Lancaster and had been pardoned in 1313, and who had a hand in the death of Piers Gaveston. Thomas de Gissing was son of Sir Thomas de Gissing, M.P. for Norfolk, who was one of the Black Prince's force in Aquitaine. Neither of these was likely to espouse the cause of the peasants without some good cause.

So much for the causes of the rebellion. We will now proceed to describe it.

Though Geoffrey le Litester was the nominal head of the rebels, it seems that the task of riding round from 14 to 21 June, 1381, from village to village, making proclamations in his name for all men to rise in arms, was allotted to John Gentilhomme and Richard Filmond, both of Buxton.⁶ The first blow was struck 16 June at a manor house of the duke of Lancaster at Methwold, where his court rolls were burned. The next day, under the command of Sir Roger Lister⁷ (it is strange we see nothing of

¹ It should be remembered that little more than twenty years before there had been a similar peasants' insurrection in France.

² It is noticeable that no less than six men of the name of Lister (a dyer) were implicated in this rebellion, and there is no reason to suppose that they were related.

³ Stow, *Annals* (Howes), 288.

⁴ *Rising in East Anglia*, 59.

⁵ In Hertfordshire the rebels displayed a standard emblazoned with the royal arms. *Coram Rege* Roll 482, cited by Powell.

⁶ Powell (op. cit. 27) cites Anct. Indictments, 128, Norf. South Erpingham Hundred. Buxton is a village on the Bure—one of the Rye manors, and was then held by Thomas Lord Morley, afterwards captain-general of the forces in France, 1416, who took an active part in suppressing the rebellion.

⁷ Is it possible that confusion arose between Sir Roger Bacon and Lister?

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Geoffrey or John le Litester, the nominal head of the rebellion, till he is killed at North Walsham), the insurgents met on Mousehold Heath, near Norwich. They are then said to have sent a peremptory message to Sir Robert Salle, the temporary keeper of Norwich, to come out and confer with them, threatening to force the city if he did not. He is said to have ridden out alone and, having scornfully refused the suggestion to turn traitor and join the rebels, to have been killed near Magdalen Chapel on the verge of the heath, while fighting on foot, after having slain twelve of his opponents—all of which is told graphically by Froissart.¹ The rebels then entered and plundered the city, but only one man seems to have been murdered, viz. Reginald de Eccles,² a justice of the peace, who was in the abbot of Hulme's house at Heigham. They appear to have seized four knights, de Scales, William de Morley, John de Brewes, and Stephen Hales, who are said to have been forced by Lister to serve him on bended knee.³

On the 18th they compelled the prioress of Carrow to give up certain deeds and court rolls, which they burned, and on the same day proceeded to Yarmouth and made the burgesses surrender their charter of liberties, which they destroyed.⁴ While there they murdered three Flemings, plundered Fastolf's house at Caistor, burnt the court rolls of St. Benet's Abbey, which were apparently given up without resistance. The Bromholm rolls were also burned. By this time Spenser, the fighting bishop of Norwich, had returned to his diocese, and was probably at St. Benet's Abbey, then a fortified place. The rebels attacked it by night, but were beaten off, this being their first check.⁵ A 'Wat Tyler' now appeared, this name being probably assumed to encourage the rebels, and tried unsuccessfully to capture John Holkam, 'Justice of our Lord and King' at Thursford. Gurney, the steward of the duke of Lancaster, also escaped, though his house was plundered. On the 21st the rolls of Binham Abbey were burnt.⁶ At Lynn the rebels murdered Flemings, while round about Felbrigg, in the duke of Lancaster's country, they burnt the court rolls and plundered property.

The first success of the rebels had been largely due to the indecision of the lay officers of the county. The bishop of Norwich, however, Henry Le Spenser, gathered his retainers at Burley Manor in Rutland and hurried south. Detached parties of the rioters were dispersed and the prisoners hanged. By the time he reached Norwich the local gentry had recovered from the first surprise, and rallied to the episcopal standard. The commons retired to North Walsham,⁷ and there threw up hasty intrenchments and a barricade of windows, shutters, and doors, while their transport was laagered in the rear. The bishop determined to attack at once, ordered the trumpets to sound the charge, and lance in rest led his horsemen across the

¹ *Chronicles* (ed. Lyons), ii, cap. 77, 1859. He was a well-known fighting man of the period, of the Sir John Hawkwood type; of great strength and size, not a gentleman born, and had been knighted for valour and made M.P. for the county, 1378. In the account given of his death by Thomas of Walsingham (*Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 5) he is said to have been one of the knights who were captured by the insurgents; this would absolve him of the imprudence generally ascribed to him of riding out alone from the city entrusted to him. See article by G. R. Howlett in *Norf. Antiq. Misc.* (2nd ser.), vol. i.

² *Rising in East Anglia*, 30.

³ T. Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 5, 6.

⁴ *Rising in East Anglia*, 32.

⁵ *Ibid.* 35.

⁶ *Ibid.* 34 Anct. Indict. No. 128 Norf. Tunsted.

⁷ Thomas Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 7.

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trench. The rebels broke in disorder,¹ and their ringleader Litester was taken, shriven, and promptly hanged. The careful account of this rebellion compiled by Mr. Powell seems to show that with a few exceptions there was very little bloodshed indeed and not much plunder, but that there was great and systematic destruction of the court rolls which contained the entries of forced services. As to moderation and good behaviour the natives here compare very favourably with the rebels in Kent.

The rebellion was hardly over when a plot was hatched, in 1382, to murder the bishop of Norwich. The idea was to rise at Horsham while 'St. Faith's Fair' was being held and to go across to St. Benet's Abbey to seize it and hold it as a fortress, but the scheme being betrayed the ringleaders were executed.²

The king and queen visited Thetford and Norwich in 1383 on one of their progresses³ and made themselves unpopular by extorting gifts for the benefit of the queen's Bohemian countrymen; the bishop of Norwich, Spenser, in the same year made an unsuccessful expedition to Flanders.⁴ It would seem that he prepared the expedition, but never told the king who was to lead it until it was too late to stop him. It was probably in relation to this expedition that William de Elmham received a pardon for having misappropriated 1,400 francs of gold while beyond seas with Henry, bishop of Norwich.⁵

There being danger of a French invasion in 1386 Sir Henry Percy came to Yarmouth with 300 men and 600 archers to help the local defence, and the king sent down a special letter to the Norwich citizens ordering them to fortify the city, array their men, and look after their towers, gates, and walls, adding as a postscript a request for a loan of 500 marks. The citizens chose their fighting bishop as their governor, and appointed eight of their number as an advisory committee.⁶

In 1395 the Danes were sweeping the narrow seas and doing great damage to Norfolk shipping. The coast towns combined to go out and fight them, but were beaten, while a sum of £20,000 which had been put on board some of the vessels to buy merchandise after their anticipated victory, fell into the hands of the pirates.⁷

John of Gaunt, who had had much to do with Norfolk, died in 1399, and his estates were at once seized by the crown. One of his chief followers was Sir William de Norwich, who fought much with him abroad, and who enlisted his interests greatly for the city of Norwich. The celebrated quarrel and intended duel by battle between the dukes of Hereford (afterwards duke of Lancaster and Henry IV) and Norfolk took place in the preceding year. The local duke never returned from banishment, dying at Venice in 1399.

The deposition of Richard II and accession of Henry IV appear to have been very readily acquiesced in by the inhabitants of Norfolk, for Henry seems to have been regarded as quite a local prince. The county, and especially Norwich, therefore declared for him immediately, the city putting all its fortifications in order and sending letters to Henry assuring him of

¹ Capgrave's account suggests a rather willing surrender on the part of the people, though he mentions the barricade. *De Illust. Henricis* (Rolls Ser.), i, 172.

² Thos. Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 70.

⁴ *Ibid.* 88-103.

⁶ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 112.

³ *Ibid.* 97.

⁵ Pat. 7 Rich. II, m. 2.

⁷ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 114.

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support, for which it received a suitable reward soon after in the form of a new charter.

The county was disturbed for some time by the attacks of Scotch and French ships which harried the coasts of England at this time. In 1402 especially there was a great scare, and the bailiffs of Norwich had to muster all their forces, both archers and 'hoblers,' the latter being light horsemen mounted on 'hobbies' or ponies. Twenty fully armed men and forty archers were sent to Yarmouth till the king's regular forces should arrive there.

The remainder of the reign of Henry IV and that of his successor Henry V do not present any points of great interest locally, though Norfolk took quite its fair share in the great invasion of France in 1415, and sent a large number of men to the French wars. On 29 May, 1415, the commissioners of array for Norfolk were Sir Thomas de Morley, Sir John Rothenale, John Wodehouse, Sir John Inglethorpe, and, according to the Patent Roll, Edmund Oldhalle. Of these Thomas, Lord Morley, the holder of the barony of Rye (who was afterwards captain-general of the English forces in France), is the only one who can definitely be traced as having been present at the battle. The story of the prowess of Sir John Wodehouse at Agincourt is founded entirely upon a rhyming pedigree of the seventeenth century, and is destitute of sufficient authority.¹ The other commissioners were probably left in charge of the county. The king being short of money borrowed 1,000 marks from Norwich, on the pawn of a circle of gold, set with fifty-six 'balays' (peach-coloured rubies), forty sapphires, eight diamonds, and seven great pearls. Of this the city lent 500 marks, Lynn 400 marks, William Westacre £40, William Walton £20, and Nicholas Scounfet 10 marks.

During the reign of Henry VI Norfolk seems to have had but very little to do with imperial politics, but entered upon a long period of internal disturbances and troubles. The weakness of the central government no doubt made itself felt equally all over England, but owing to the vivid light thrown on local affairs by the *Paston Letters* it can be better realized here than elsewhere. An instance of the want of order and firm government prevalent may be found in the case of the cruel murder on 31 December, 1423, of one John Grys of Wighton by William Aslak, a ruffian of the worst type, who seems to have been under the special protection of Sir Thomas Erpingham.²

It appears that Sir William Paston having opposed Aslak in some lawsuit, was also long threatened with murder by him. Aslak had the effrontery to post up bills on the gates of the priory of the Grey Friars and on the city gates threatening Paston with the same fate as Grys, yet nothing was ever done to punish him.

The city of Norwich was in a very disturbed condition³ for many years, owing principally to the bad behaviour of a party headed by a citizen named Thomas Wetherby, who had won over to his side two well-known Norfolk men, Sir Thomas Tudenham of Oxburgh and John Heydon of Baconsthorpe, and in 1443 there took place in the city what is known as 'Gladman's Insurrection.'

¹ See a detailed exposure of the story in *Norf. Antiq. Miscell.* (2nd ser.), vol. i.

² *Paston Letters* (Gardner), xxiv, No. 4.

³ A full account of all these disturbances will be found in Hudson, *Records of Norw.* pp. lxxix-xciii; cf. also pp. 343-7.

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While things were in this condition in its capital, the county seems to have been in an equally lawless and disturbed state. A good example of the condition of England is afforded by the case of Lord Molyne and William Paston. The latter, who owned the manor of Gresham, was ousted from it by Lord Molyne on the strength of an imaginary, or rather most shadowy, claim. Backed by John Heydon and Sir Thomas Tudenham (the oppressors of Norwich in 1442) Lord Molyne took possession of the manor by force in 1448. Paston, seeing the uselessness of appealing to law at the time, waited until the next year and then reoccupied the place. In 1450, while Paston was away from home, no less than 1,000 men came and besieged the manor; they broke down the gates, rifled the house, cutting through the door posts and turning out Paston's wife, doing damage to the extent of £200, and, leaving the house almost a ruin, threatened that they would have killed Paston if they had caught him.¹ In this year, 1450, however, the oppressors Tudenham and Heydon lost a strong supporter, for the earl of Suffolk was impeached and banished on account of his responsibility for the English losses in France. He made his way to Ipswich and then set sail for the Continent, but was caught and beheaded at sea by the order of the duke of Exeter.

Two months later Jack Cade, 'calling himself Mortimer,' rose in Kent, but his rebellion does not seem to have affected Norfolk, for there are no traces of any sympathetic movement in the county. One of his quarters, however, was sent to be exhibited here, as had been also those of another Kentish rebel called Bluebeard, in the previous year. Sir John Fastolf seems to have taken some small part in the suppression of this rebellion, for he sent out a messenger to act as a spy upon Cade. This retainer, whose adventures are fully set forth in the *Paston Letters*,² had some very unpleasant experiences, and nearly lost his head on this service.

On 11 December, 1450, Jermyn, the new sheriff for Norfolk, brought down a message from the king stating that he had heard of the misrule prevalent in the county, and especially of Sir Thomas Tudenham and Heydon, and wished for a full investigation of the matter. The sheriffs urged all who had grievances to come forward and make them known.³ In May, 1451, Justice Prisot was sent down to Norwich to hear the charges against Tudenham and Heydon, who were accused by Norwich and Swaffham and by Sir John Fastolf, John Paston, and others. Unfortunately Prisot was entirely in favour of the defendants, and in their interests moved the case to Walsingham, where they had most supporters. To this trial the defendants came accompanied by 400 horse, with the result that no one dared make any charge except John Paston, who was strongly advised not to do so. Under the circumstances it is not strange that nothing more came of the accusations.⁴ Another good example of the difficulty of obtaining justice at this time is seen in the attempt now made by John Paston to get some sort of redress for the outrage perpetrated by Lord Molyne at Gresham. Paston determined to bring an action against him and his men for the damage done, but soon found out that it would be doomed to failure, as he was informed by the

¹ *Paston Letters*, Introd. xxxi, No. 77, Paston's petition to Parl.

² *Ibid.* Introd. lvii, No. 99.

³ *Ibid.* No. 134.

⁴ *Ibid.* Nos. 92, 151, 152, 158.

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sheriff Jermyn, who was friendly to him, that he had received orders from the king to make up a panel to acquit Lord Molyne.¹

Norfolk does not seem to have taken any important part in the struggle between York and Lancaster, but the confusion into which England was thrown during the reign of Henry VI resulted locally in many feuds, riots, and disturbances. A very graphic account of some of these is preserved in the *Paston Letters*, for the Paston family seem to have suffered considerable annoyance and ill treatment during the period. The year 1452 was apparently an especially unfortunate one in Norfolk. To such a pitch did the troubles rise that the king sent down the duke of Norfolk in this year to restore some order in the county, and we find in the *Paston Letters* a formidable list of the misdoings which had been going on in Blofield hundred. It appears that this district had been put in a state of terror by the behaviour of Robert Ledeham of Witton, Charles Nowell, and others. Robert Ledeham is said to have kept his house at Witton 'in manner of a forcelet'—a little fort—and to have issued out like a moss trooper with six, twelve, or thirty men, as the need were, armed, jacked, and salletted with bows, arrows, spears, and belts, to over-ride the country, oppressing the king's people.² Some of the specific charges against this gang were that they lay in wait for Philip Berney, esq.,³ in Thorpe Wood, shot his horse with arrows, and so beat him that he soon afterwards died. On the same day they attacked Edmund Browne, and 'spoiled' him. Then on 6 April, 1452, forty of them boldly rode into Norwich armed, and tried to get into the White Friars there, 'feigning they would hear service,' but afterwards admitting that they wanted to have out some persons quick or dead, so the friars had to keep their place by force. They also assaulted John Witton in Plumstead churchyard, leaving him in doubt of his life, broke into the house of John Coke at Witton, and not only gave him seven great sword wounds and robbed him, but also cut his poor mother, aged eighty and more, over the head with a sword, her wound never healing; and in fact reduced the whole hundred to such a condition that the principal inhabitants fled for shelter to 'strong places'—Philip Berney and Edmund Browne to Caister, Thomas Holler and John Witton to Norwich, Oliver Cubitt to St. Benet's, Robert Spang to Aylsham, and Thomas Baret and others to 'Much' (Great) Yarmouth.

Another complaint was that twenty of the rioters came out under cover of hunting and broke up the gates and closes of Osborn Mundford, lord of the manor at Breydeston, and that twelve of them with bows bent and arrows ready in their hands lay in wait from seven in the morning until three in the afternoon for his servants. Seven of the rioters chased two of his servants coming home from Acle market so hotly that if they had not been 'well horsed and so escaped they had been dead and slain.'⁴

On the coming of the duke of Norfolk this gang seem to have changed their *modus operandi* from violence to chicanery. One of them, Roger Church, got himself arrested and charged before the duke for unlawful assembly at Postwick Wood. The whole affair seems to have been a bogus conspiracy in which certain respectable people were induced to take part.

¹ *Paston Letters*, Introd. lxvii, No. 155.

² *Ibid.* No. 201.

³ He was connected with Robert Paston by marriage, the latter having married his niece.

⁴ *Paston Letters*, Introd. lxvii, Nos. 201, 179.

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Church offered to turn king's evidence and incriminated a number of innocent and respectable inhabitants of the county, including John Paston. Osborn Mundford¹ was also among those accused by Church. What was the end of this affair and what was the fate of Church is not clear, but Paston is stated to have been exonerated of the accusation against him by John Falgate, one of those who had been deluded into taking part in the conspiracy.²

It is very noticeable that the name of Sir Thomas Tudenham, the arch-oppressor of a few years before, should at this time appear as complaining about outrages of the very class of which he had so recently been guilty. He had shown the common people how easy it was to break the law, and was now, by poetical justice, suffering for his own misdeeds and was making common cause with his old opponents the Pastons.

The coasts of England during this reign suffered severely at the hands of the French, and in 1457 the town of Yarmouth was evidently in considerable danger. In this year the French fitted out two fleets for an attack on England and ravaged Sandwich. A letter was sent from Yarmouth to the mayor and council of Norwich informing them that the enemy intended to attack Yarmouth, and asking for assistance; upon which Norwich, laying aside for a time its old jealousy, sent 200 armed men to aid in the defence.³ In the next year the French were again meditating a descent upon Norfolk; 'Crommer and Blakeney is much spoken of among the French,'⁴ and soon after Fastolf himself, in his new castle at Caister, 'had had the French before him and shot many guns,'⁵ and the council was to be asked to 'refresh Yarmouth with stuff of ordnance guns and gunpowder.' Later on there is evidence of naval preparations, and Paston obtained a commission for his son to be captain of one of the king's ships named *The Barge of Yarmouth*. It appears, however, that he was ousted from this by Gilbert Debenham, who got a commission to the same effect and obtained possession.

In 1459⁶ there was a Commission of Array at Norwich to aid the king against Warwick, Salisbury, March, Rutland, and York, who were all attainted in this year, and the citizens were directed to maintain a standing force of archers for the king's use. This was followed by another commission in the next year, and it was ordered that the city gates were to be locked day and night, except five which were to be well guarded with soldiers.⁷ In 1460 the earl of Warwick, whose naval victory in 1458 had brought him to the front, was holding Calais for the Yorkists. It was expected that he would make an attack on the east coast, so Osborn Mundford, who had already seen service at Calais, was sent against him with 500 men, but being attacked by the earl's forces was seized and taken prisoner to Calais and there beheaded.⁸

In 1461 the charter⁹ of the city of Norwich was once more confirmed, and in the same year the citizens paid the expenses of certain armed men to resist the rebels in the north when the king was there.¹⁰ During this year there are several licences granted to Scotchmen dwelling in various parts of Norfolk,

¹ This Osborn was one of the Norfolk men who, like Fastolf and Erpingham, had seen service in the French wars; he was marshal of Calais and treasurer of Normandy. In 1451 he had been driven from the manor of Breydeston by one Thomas Daniel, a favourite of the duke of Somerset.

² *Paston Letters*, Introd. lxvii, Nos. 177, 179, 180, 181, 201.

⁴ *Paston Letters*, No. 314.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹ Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. vii, m. 5-1.

⁵ *Ibid.* No. 315.

⁸ *Paston Letters*, Introd. i, p. cxxxviii.

³ Blomefield, *op cit.* iii, 161.

⁶ Blomefield, *op cit.* iii, 162.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pt. ii, m. 8 d.

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permitting them to live in the county and enjoy their goods in peace.¹ These were probably friendly Scotch, who for their own safety preferred to inhabit the south.

On the accession of Edward IV there seem to have been 'insurrections and false rumours' in Norfolk, which have escaped the notice of local historians, for in 1462 a commission was sent down to the sheriff of Norfolk and others to inquire into the report that Thomas Brigge and William Willy were stirring up sedition within the city of Norwich and elsewhere in the county.²

In 1465 Paston was attacked by the earl of Suffolk, who had set up a most ridiculous claim by descent to Fastolf's manor of Drayton, which was held by Paston as one of Fastolf's executors. The duke came down on Paston's house at Hellesden, which was presided over during his absence by his wife and son. Finding the garrison rather too strongly posted, the duke drew off his force, and Paston strongly criticized the earl's pedigree and claim, showing that he was descended from 'a worshipful man of Hull grown by fortune of the world,' who had never had anything to do with Norfolk.³ The duke, however, returned later in the year to Hellesden and practically sacked it,⁴ an outrage for which the Pastons in vain endeavoured to get satisfaction from the king.

That the county was in a very disturbed and lawless condition is shown by what took place in 1467, when Paston was returned to Parliament for Norfolk. His election was objected to by Sir Miles Stapleton and Sir John Howard the sheriff. A new election was held and Paston was again returned, whereupon there ensued a violent quarrel between him and Sir John Howard in the Shire House. Paston was assaulted by one of Howard's men, who struck him twice with a dagger, so that he would have been hurt but for a good doublet he was wearing.⁵

A still more remarkable piece of lawlessness was the siege of Caister Castle in 1469—one of the most amazing episodes in our local history. Caister Castle, it will be remembered, was built by Sir John Fastolf, one of the free-lances of this century, out of the ransom, it is said, and on the plans of a knight whom he had captured in the French wars. In August, 1469, John Mowbray, the then duke of Norfolk, a young man of twenty-five, alleging that he had bought the manor of one Yelverton, one of Fastolf's executors, surrounded the castle with an army of 3,000 men. The siege which followed was not a very sanguinary one, but one of Paston's captains, Daubeney, was killed, and the walls were battered before the castle was surrendered, the defenders' victuals and gunpowder giving out.⁶ Two only of the attackers were killed, but the evil effects of the utter lawlessness of the proceeding on the minds of the common people must have been great. During the deposition of Edward IV by Warwick in 1470, the Pastons, by the aid of the earl of Oxford, temporarily regained possession of Caister. It was probably this aid and the lack of sympathy shown them by Edward when Hellesden was attacked which made them join the Lancastrians in the next campaign. John Paston fought on the losing side, and was wounded in the

¹ Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 15; pt. iii, m. 5; Ibid. 3 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 7, 3.

² Ibid. 2 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 16 d.

⁴ Ibid. Nos. 533, 534.

⁵ Ibid. Nos. 410, 411.

³ *Paston Letters*, No. 514.

⁶ Ibid. Nos. 618-22.

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arm at the battle of Barnet.¹ On the restoration of Edward, the duke of Norfolk again got possession of Caister, and the Pastons were not finally reinstated until 1476.²

In 1470, Edward, being deserted by his followers, fled to Lynn and escaped thence to Flanders. When returning in the next year from Zeeland he again touched the Norfolk coast, and on 12 March when off Cromer sent Sir Robert Chamberlain (himself a Norfolk man) ashore to see if he could safely land, but the report being unfavourable he kept on north and landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. The battle of Barnet and the death of Warwick followed in exactly a month, and in a short time the battle of Tewkesbury and the murder of Henry VI in the Tower placed Edward securely on the throne till his death in 1483.

The concluding years of the reign were not of any great importance locally. In 1477 there was a riot on the land of Roger Townshend at Ludham, during which two 'shooting butts' were destroyed,³ this being probably an enclosure riot. In 1478 the duke of Suffolk was again annoying Paston. He revived his claims to Hellesden and Drayton, and sold Drayton Wood to Richard Ferror, mayor of Norwich, who proceeded to cut it down. Paston took the matter into Chancery, and Ferror declared that he had no idea that Suffolk was not in peaceable possession of the property, though as Paston said, this must have been pure pretence.⁴ The duke paid another hostile visit to Hellesden, luckily while Paston was absent. He appears to have held a court there, and, no doubt to annoy, he 'drew a stew and took plenty of fish.' The steward who wrote an account of these proceedings to Paston adds, apparently with some satisfaction, that the duke was so feeble in the hot weather that he had to be kept on his feet by two retainers. He left the pleasant message for Paston that he wanted no better than to meet him with a spear and have his heart's blood.⁵

During the short reign of Richard III no very memorable events took place in Norfolk. The king is said to have visited Norwich⁶ in 1483, and he certainly had a strong local supporter in Sir John Howard, whom he created earl of Norfolk on account of his maternal descent from the Mowbrays and who shared his fate at Bosworth in 1485, his name being imbedded in the rhyme :—

Jockey of Norfolk, be not so bold,
For Dickon thy master is bought and sold.

It may be convenient to point out here that though the Howards were of some antiquity in the county, their first ancestor who can be traced being William Heyward, Haward, or Howard, Chief Justice of Common Pleas in the reign of Edward I, yet they were not of the highest position in it until, partly by ability but chiefly through the great match made by Sir Thomas Howard with the heiress of the Mowbrays, they came to the front in the fifteenth century. That this is the case is shown by the curious letter produced in the Paston Letters when the duchess of Norfolk⁷ wrote that her husband found it necessary that he should have in Parliament only such

¹ *Paston Letters*, No. 668.

² Gurney MSS. xxii, fol. 1.

³ *Paston Letters*, Nos. 814, 815.

⁴ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iv, 173.

⁵ *Ibid.* Nos. 778, 779.

⁶ *Ibid.* No. 817.

⁷ *Paston Letters*, No. 244.

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persons as belonged to him 'and be of his menial servants,' this John Howard being then (1455) one of the duke's nominees.

The reign of Henry VII has but little immediate bearing on the history of Norfolk. The king came down to Norwich¹ at Christmas in 1486 on his way to Walsingham, making one of those royal progresses which always seem to have combined business with pleasure. There was a renewal of the chronic dispute² as to the prior's boundaries, in which the prior got the best of it, but the matter kept on smouldering, and there was so much ill-feeling about it that many of the influential inhabitants in the county, including Henry Spelman, then the recorder (the father of the great antiquary of that name), represented to the king that, unless some final settlement was come to, there would probably be a repetition of the great riot and burning of 1272. The king therefore summoned both parties to appear before him at Westminster under penalties of £200. Nothing, however, came of this, for when in 1493 both sides came before the commissioners they could not agree on the terms for a reference, the balance of unreasonableness being apparently with the citizens.

If Perkin Warbeck's rebellion had come to anything, part of the scheme was apparently an attack upon Yarmouth, for in 1495 the corporation of Yarmouth wrote to Sir John Paston that the rebels meant to take Yarmouth or die.³ There was very little meddling by local men in the state disturbances of the period, the only exception being Sir John Wyndham, who married the daughter of the duke of Norfolk, and was knighted by the king at the same time as John Paston for services at the battle of Stoke. He mixed himself up in the rebellion in favour of the duke of Suffolk, and was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1503.

Meanwhile the Howard family had been growing more and more important, not only in the county but in England generally. Thomas Howard, who was with his father on Richard's side at Bosworth, had after three years' imprisonment been restored in blood and to the earldom of Surrey, and had cast in his lot with Henry VII. In 1489 he had distinguished himself against the rebels in the north, and in 1497 against the Scots. On the accession of Henry VIII he adhered faithfully to the king, and fought well at Flodden in 1513, a battle which was practically won by him. With him on this occasion were Sir Philip Tilney, Sir Richard Appleyard, and other Norfolk men. For this good service he was created duke of Norfolk,⁴ and having filled the offices of Great Chamberlain, Guardian of England (in 1520 during the king's absence in France), and Lord High Steward, he died in his bed in 1524 at the good old age of eighty.

The reign of Henry VIII was one in which Norfolk men and women took a conspicuously large part. In 1510 Sir Edward Howard, afterwards known as 'The Admiral,' rid the seas of the celebrated Scotch pirate Andrew Barton, thus giving a subject for one of the best and most spirited of our English ballads. Whether the victory was partly due to improved mechanical contrivances on the English ships is not clear, but it is not impossible. His gallant death in another sea fight at Brest, after he had unsuccessfully endeavoured to get Henry to come and lead the attack himself, is matter of history.

¹ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 174.

² *Paston Letters*, No. 936.

³ *Ibid.* iii, 175.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 4694.

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In 1515 took place the romantic marriage between the king's sister Mary, widow of the king of France, and the handsome Brandon earl of Suffolk. After their marriage they made a semi-royal progress to Norwich, where they were sumptuously entertained.¹

After centuries of trouble the end of the difficulties between the monks and citizens of Norwich, so often referred to in these pages, was at hand, for Cardinal Wolsey came down in 1517 and began the negotiations which came to a successful ending in 1524.² But no sooner was the city dispute happily settled than there were risings in and near the county, one especially of the workers in cloth, who had lost their living owing to the rich clothiers, mostly in Suffolk, having temporarily ceased manufacturing owing to the heavy subsidies placed upon them. The dukes³ of Norfolk and Suffolk acting together seem to have pacified them, and the exaction of the subsidy either ceasing or being eased, things resumed their normal course, but in 1527 and 1529 there were minor riots at Norwich and Yarmouth owing to the scarcity of corn, which were, however, suppressed, and several men executed for their share in them.⁴

As an account in detail of the progress of the Reformation in Norfolk is given elsewhere it is not necessary to do more than mention it here. That Walsingham, a village which was one of the best known places of pilgrimage in England, should in 1537⁵ be the scene of an insurrection on the lines of the Pilgrimage of Grace of the year before is not to be wondered at, but it appears to have been easily suppressed. Nor was it unnatural that the Catholics should see in the fall of Anne Boleyn a signal proof of divine vengeance. Anne, who was the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, a small Norfolk squire, and the niece of Thomas third duke of Norfolk, had entered Queen Katherine's service about 1552. That she was brought to the king's notice with the idea of furthering the fortunes of her father's family is unquestionable, and probably no scheme of the sort ever recoiled with more deadly result on its promoters.

Queen Jane Seymour having died, and Queen Anne of Cleves having been disclaimed, the king in 1540 formed an ill-omened match with another Norfolk woman when he married Katherine Howard, the niece of the duke of Norfolk, and first cousin to Anne Boleyn, who paid the penalty of antenuptial sins in 1542. There is some reason to believe that the ill-result of this marriage contributed to the disgrace of the duke of Norfolk and the death of his son Henry Howard, the poet-earl of Surrey, in 1547. The latter, as one of the most striking figures in the history of our county, deserves more than a passing notice.

Henry Howard, the poet-earl, heir of Thomas duke of Norfolk, by Lady Anne Stafford, his second wife, and born about 1517, was brought up at Windsor as the boy companion of Henry VIII's natural son the duke of Richmond, and was once thought a fitting match for Mary, afterwards queen. He saw service in Scotland, was wounded at Montreuil, became governor of Boulogne, and earned fame as a soldier of ability and a tilter

¹ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 193.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv, 655. See also for further details Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 195, 197.

³ Holinshed, *Chron.* (Hooker), iii, 891.

⁴ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 197-8.

⁵ Holinshed, *Chron.* (Hooker), iii, 945; *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xii, pt. ii, 56.

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and swordsman of prowess. He travelled much, and it was no doubt during his wanderings in Italy that he conceived the idea of building a house in the Grecian style on the top of St. Leonard's Hill, on the site of St. Leonard's Priory, given to his father on the dissolution of the monasteries, but of which no remains now exist. This site commands the city, which is, as it were, at its feet, and it is noteworthy that Stow¹ attributed Howard's execution to his presumption in erecting two 'bastilions' on the top of 'Mount Surrey,' as the earl called his house, 'so as to overawe the city.' It is true that the excuse given for the execution was the bearing of the supposed arms of Edward the Confessor. However, whether it was the annoyance felt by Henry at the ignominy which attached to him by his match with Katherine Howard, whether it was the assumption of the Confessor's arms, or the planting of cannon against the city, the poet-earl was summarily convicted of treason and executed in January, 1547, his life being the last taken by the king, who was then near his end. Howard's father, the duke of Norfolk, just escaped death, and, though kept in ward during the reign of Edward VI, was restored to property and honours by Mary.

The history of Norfolk during the reign of Edward VI is practically made up of the history of Kett's rebellion, the spoliation of the ornaments of the different churches, and, in the economic sphere, the growth of the worsted and woollen trades. The rebellion, however, is the only point which concerns us here.

On several occasions in the foregoing pages attention has been drawn to the growing dissatisfaction and discontent of the lower classes, and especially of those concerned in agriculture. It has been seen how utterly lawless many of the nobles and squires were in their dealings with men of their own class, and it is easy to guess how entirely they would disregard the rights of those who were their tenants, and especially of such of them as were not 'free' in blood. The growth of the wool industry had greatly increased the value of pasturage, and many a common which had afforded food for the hogs and the geese of the manor-tenants was arbitrarily enclosed by the lords under the general doctrine that provided he left 'enough' for the commoners he could enclose the rest. The extent which constituted a sufficiency as viewed from opposite standpoints furnished, of course, the crux of the whole situation.

For ten years before the great rising there had been ominous signs of disturbance. One John Walker² of Griston in 1540 was going about repeating the tactics of Litester's rebellion, and saying that—

if three or four good fellows would ride in the night and cry in every town they passed through 'To Swaffham! To Swaffham!' that by morning there would be 10,000 assembled at least and that it would be a good thing if there were only as many gentlemen in Norfolk as there were white bulls.

Mutterings and rhymes passed from mouth to mouth. One ran :—

The county gnoffes Hob, Dick, and Hick,
With club and clooted shoon
Shall fill the vale of Dussin's dale
With slaughtered bodies soon.

¹ Two artificial mounds certainly exist to this day. They were probably formed on sloping spurs of the old hill.

² F. W. Russell, *Kett's Rebellion in Norf.* 8.

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To say that the rising was a religious one, as suggested by Lingard and Professor Rogers, is hardly correct; that wire-pullers took advantage of the ill-feeling caused by the recent changes to enlist men disaffected from these sources is highly probable, but the petition addressed by the rebels to the king speaks for itself, and, moreover, Mary, afterwards queen, who was writing from the spot and whose sympathies would have been wholly with a religious rising, said, 'it was touching no part of religion.' Indirectly, of course, the suppression of the monasteries and the way in which monastic lands had fallen into the hands of people more anxious to make the utmost penny out of them than promote the public interest, may have had something to do with the movement.¹

The movement was, in fact, one by men who had real rights over the waste lands held in common and who were injured by excessive enclosures. That there was a real grievance is sufficiently shown by the fact that on 1 June, 1548, a government proclamation against enclosures had been issued, and also against negligence in letting houses fall to decay and unlawfully converting arable land into pasture. This seems to have had a quieting effect for a time, but three parliamentary bills framed in the interests of the commoners were lost.

The rising began by the destruction of the 'fences' with which one John Green of Wilby had enclosed part of Attleborough Common. This took place on 20 June, 1549, and was followed by an interval of quiet until the beginning of July, though it appears that secret meetings were held during this interval.² A 'play' held at Wymondham, in commemoration of the translation of St. Thomas à Becket, was the pretext for another gathering of the malcontents,³ and the leaders held conferences with those assembled to witness the processions and interludes, with the result that a crowd went to one Hobartson's of Morley, about two miles off, and having thrown down some fences returned to Wymondham.⁴ Very soon afterwards some more fences at Hethersett, the property of Serjeant Flowerdew, who appears to have been very unpopular in the neighbourhood, were thrown down.⁵ It happened that Flowerdew was at feud with the Ketts, who also had enclosed lands, and, angry at his hedges being destroyed, he bribed the rebels to destroy those belonging to Kett also.⁶ When they came to Kett's property the latter not only agreed to his own enclosures being levelled but joined heartily in the proceedings, and then led the commons again to Flowerdew's estate and ruined the rest of his hedges which had been previously spared.⁷

It is very noticeable that, as in the former rebellion of Litester, the leaders were men of some position and wealth, who had a stake in the country, which it is not probable they would have risked except for good

¹ Their petition was in the main moderate and reasonable. First and foremost they demanded that there should be no more enclosures. Heavy feudal dues shifted from lord to tenant, the creation of new copyholds, the increase of customary rents by arbitrary fines were other subjects of complaint. In the appeal for the enfranchisement of all bondmen we see the growing consciousness of the value of individual liberty. The multiplication of pigeon-houses and the ravages of the lord's rabbits were vital matters to the small holder. And besides these purely social and economic troubles the commons complained of scandalous, inefficient, and non-resident clergy, and protested against excessive tithes. Harl. MS. 304, fol. 75.

² Russell, *Kett's Rebellion in Norf.* 25.

³ Nevylle, *De Furoribus, Norf. Ketto Duce*, 28.

⁴ Russell, *op. cit.* 25.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷ Nevylle, *op. cit.* 21.

⁶ *Ibid.* 27.

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reasons. Of course there is the alternative that Kett was dragged into it, and after he had been elected leader had no choice but to go on, though this does not appear to have been the case. Kett himself was of a wealthy family known as Le Cath or Knight, settled some time at Wymondham. He and his brother William were well-to-do men, and curiously enough he held a manor at Wymondham of the very earl of Warwick who eventually defeated and captured him.

As soon as Kett took command he seems to have acted with great decision and promptitude. Having done much damage at Wymondham and Hethersett and in the neighbouring villages, he came on 10 July¹ to Bowthorpe and encamped there. Here the rebels threatened to burn down Magdalen Chapel at Sprouston, recently granted to John Corbett, and turned by him into a dovecote.² The quickset hedge and ditches that enclosed the common pasture of the city, called the Town Close, appear to have been destroyed on the preceding day by sympathizers in Norwich, many of whom slipped out secretly to join Kett.³ A passage through the city to Mousehold was now demanded, but Thomas Codd, the mayor of Norwich, boldly refused to let the rebels pass through, 'upbraiding them with many sharp and bitter words for their disorders';⁴ so they worked round by Hellesdon Bridge and Drayton to Mousehold, making their head quarters at the late earl of Surrey's newly-built house on the top of St. Leonard's Hill, called 'Mount Surrey,' and at the chapel of St. Michael⁵ (now in the garden of the manager of the gas works), afterwards called 'Kett's Castle'—two spots of very great natural strength, which would have been practically impregnable from the city, overlooking and commanding the Bishop's Bridge. One of their first acts was to make the minister of St. Martin's at Palace Plain their chaplain, joined with Mr. Robert Watson, 'a new preacher,'⁶ who seems to have been in touch with the court, possibly as an intermediary, for a pursuivant brought him 'a commission for reformation of various things' on 12 July.⁷ They also, either by compulsion or otherwise, persuaded Codd, the mayor, to join in their councils, and actually listened to and sometimes called for his advice.⁸

All this, and the fact that Kett, when he sent out orders to collect provisions, had the orders signed by delegates, two for each hundred, shows in how orderly a way the whole rising was managed.⁹ Meanwhile, the petition given above was prepared and sent to the king, who replied expressing surprise that the petitioners should have risen against him, considering that he had already issued proclamations touching most of the things complained of, promising further legislation, expressing his willingness to receive suggestions for further remedial acts, but pressing them to disperse and go home, even sending them a conditional pardon in anticipation.¹⁰

This reached the camp on 21 July, and the offer of pardon was apparently made viva voce by a herald very boldly and in no measured terms, for on Kett fiercely refusing the offer by saying, 'Kings are wont to pardon wicked persons, not innocent and just men,' and so on, the herald charged him

¹ Neville, *op. cit.* 23.

² Neville, *op. cit.* 23, 24.

³ *Ibid.* 37.

⁴ *Ibid.* 40.

⁵ *Ibid.* 38.

⁶ *Ibid.* 47.

⁷ Russell, *op. cit.* 31.

⁸ Russell, *op. cit.* 33.

⁹ *Ibid.* 39.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 58, 59.

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with high treason and tried to get the city sword-bearer to arrest him.¹ That he should have done this with impunity, and that during all the time the rebels had had the city in their power there should have been no bloodshed, shows a high state of discipline among them.

Hostilities between the rebels and the city now seem to have begun with some ineffective cannonading,² yet on the next day, 22 July, the assailants, being short of provisions, proposed in the most naïve way to the mayor that there should be a few days' truce, during which they should procure provisions, and failing this they would break into the city and destroy all things with fire and sword.³ On the mayor refusing this in the most spirited terms⁴ the rebels attacked the city at Bishop's Bridge, being met with flights of arrows which had no effect in stopping them. The attack must have been most gallant, and it is specially recorded that boys who were with the rebels 'came among the thickest of the arrows and gathered them up'; even though some of them stuck fast in their legs and other parts they drew them out and gave them 'all dripping with blood' to the rebels to shoot back.⁵ Such boldness, it is said, 'so dismayed the archers that it took their heart out of them.'⁶

On the attack being renewed the city gunner 'feared to shoot as there was so great a multitude about him, so he left his ordnance and fled.'⁷ This left Bishop's Bridge in the hands of the rebels, who opened it up and carried the six cannon up the hill to be mounted there.⁸

They then entered the city, and though the king's herald again boldly addressed them and commanded them to lay down their arms they did him no harm, but let him return to London out of the St. Stephen's Gates without molestation.⁹ The mayor and some of the aldermen were, however, arrested and taken to Mount Surrey, the rebels' head quarters at St. Leonard's, where they were bound and kept prisoners.¹⁰ There does not appear to have been any cruelty or bloodshed, for, though they made jokes on the mayor's name (Codd) and said about the city that next day a Cod's head should be sold for a penny, they did not injure him.¹¹ Much of this moderation was due to Thomas Aldrich, a man who seems to have kept his head throughout the whole affair, who persuaded the rebels to stop looting and in some cases to return their plunder, and who at last induced Kett to let the mayor return to the city.¹² The royalist account of the riot says that Kett sat daily under an oak, which they called the oak of reformation, and tried the gentlemen who were prisoners, letting those go against whom the mob had no complaint, and whom they called 'A good man. A good man,' and hanging others.¹³ But I am inclined to agree with Russell in doubting the truth of these executions.¹⁴

As soon as the herald got back, troops, including certain Italian mercenaries, in all about 1,200 or 1,300 men,¹⁵ were sent from London to put down the rebellion, under the command of the marquis of Northampton, Lord

¹ Russell, *Kett's Rebellion in Norf.* 75.

⁴ Ibid. 69, 70.

⁷ Ibid. 81.

¹⁰ Neville says some of them were killed, but he mentions no individual cases, as he would have done if his story were true (op. cit. 76).

¹¹ Russell, op. cit. 84.

¹³ Neville, op. cit. 86, 87.

² Ibid. 78.

⁵ Russell, op. cit. 80.

⁸ Ibid.

¹² Ibid. 84, 85.

¹⁴ Russell, op. cit. 86.

³ Neville, op. cit. 69.

⁶ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid. 82.

¹⁵ Neville, op. cit. 84.

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Sheffield, and others, several Norfolk squires, as Sir Thomas Paston, Sir Henry Bedingfield, and Sir Richard Southwell, being amongst the officers. This force was well received by the citizens, Northampton and others taking up their quarters at Steward's, the deputy mayor's house on Tombland. Some of the Italians were over eager to show their prowess, and one of them being captured was stripped of his costly armour and hanged on an oak on Mount Surrey,¹ no doubt fully in view of the royalists on Tombland. Next day the rebels without waiting to be attacked came down on the king's troops very fiercely, but were beaten back at last.² On the next day the attack was more successful, for they came down the hill again in overwhelming numbers, killed Lord Sheffield and Sir John Clere in a sharp engagement on St. Martin's Palace Plain, and fairly drove the royalists out of the city. Thus ended the first act of the insurrection, and so bitter a lesson had the government received that it was three weeks before the king's troops again reached Norwich. That a populous and wealthy city like Norwich should have been for three weeks in the hands of 20,000 rebels and should have escaped utter pillage and ruin, speaks highly for the rebel leaders. Necessary food and drink no doubt were taken, but nothing more, and even those citizens who had so effusively welcomed the king's troops went scatheless.³ Kett installed himself in the city and used the municipal machinery to keep things in order. He attempted to take Yarmouth, but met with spirited resistance and failed,⁴ Sir Thomas Clere (who had just lost his kinsman) and Sir Thomas Wodehouse taking a prominent part in keeping the rebels out. The king's second force was variously estimated at 12,000 to 14,000, and was commanded by the earl of Warwick, with whom were his son Ambrose and Robert Dudley, Lord Bray, and others.⁵ But the heart of the army—the one 'capable' man—was a Captain Drury 'alias Poignard,' a leader of mercenaries, who throughout the whole fight which ensued saved the situation continually. On the dramatic episodes of the fight, how after one skirmish at St. Andrew's Plain 320 men were killed in about half an acre of land 'and many others found creeping in the churchyards and under the walls' were knocked on the head afterwards, how the Welsh mercenaries fled, how the rebel gunner shot down the king's head gunner, and how the citizens begged Warwick to leave, we cannot enter here. The rebels were at one time clearly winning, but 1,100 *landscknechts* came next day to reinforce the king's troops, and against these trained men the countrymen were useless. Three thousand five hundred of them were slaughtered and the rebellion was at an end. Kett and his brother were hanged and the removal of public grievances was indefinitely postponed. Immediately after the rebellion was over the city walls and gates were strongly repaired, but luckily there was never any further use for them.⁶

On Edward's untimely death, Norfolk was again brought into prominence from the fact that directly the duke of Northumberland, once earl of Warwick, had brought about the coronation of Lady Jane Grey, Mary came down to Kenninghall.⁷ From here she wrote to the lords, on 9 July, 1553, claiming to be proclaimed queen. Round her gathered all the Roman

¹ Nevylle, op. cit. 89.

² The account given by Nevylle of the burning and pillaging at the end of the second day's fight is obviously highly coloured.

³ Russell, op. cit. 111.

⁶ Blomefield, op. cit. iii, 259.

³ Russell, *Kett's Rebellion in Norf.* 94.

⁵ Ibid. 121.

⁷ Stow, *Annals* (ed. Howes, 1615), 610.

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Catholic gentry of the district, Jerningham, Bedingfield, Drury, Skelton, and others. She was further immensely strengthened by a great personal animus felt locally by the county people against Northumberland for his having, when earl of Warwick, suppressed their 'reasonable' insurrection of a few years before. From Kenninghall Mary moved south to Framlingham,¹ a strong castle better fitted to resist any sudden attack than Kenninghall. Measures were taken by the duke of Northumberland to intercept her if she fled the country, and six ships of war were watching the Norfolk coast to stop her, but whatever her faults were, the queen was as dauntless as her sister and had no thoughts of flight. Bad weather driving these ships into Yarmouth, Sir Henry Jerningham boarded them, and finding the sailors and captains well disposed towards Mary quietly took possession of them.² Mary, meanwhile, had again written to the House of Lords requesting their attendance with all the men they could raise, and they, finding how popular feeling went, at length on 19 July, proclaimed her queen in London (she had already been proclaimed at Norwich³ and Cambridge). She now had only to disband her forces, which by this time numbered 14,000, and go to London to take up the reins of government. The only opposition in the county was at Lynn,⁴ where Robert Dudley (who had married Amy Robsart in 1550) proclaimed Jane as queen on 18 July, but met with little sympathy or support, and in the following year he and others were tried for this and sentenced to death, though the sentence was not carried out.

While referring to the proclamation of Jane, it is curious to note that when she was proclaimed in London a potboy called Gilbert Potter⁵ was bold enough to call out that he thought Mary had the better title, for which he was placed in the Cheapside pillory and had his ears cut off. Later on Queen Mary not unnaturally rewarded him, and from the fact that this reward took the form of land in South Lynn,⁶ it may be inferred that this bold lad was Norfolk by birth.⁷

One of Mary's first acts was to release the duke of Norfolk and restore him to all his honours and possessions. She is said to have made promises to her Norfolk supporters that she would tolerate the new religion, and afterwards to have put Mr. Dobbs,⁸ a gentleman who lived near Wymondham, into the pillory for reminding her of them, but this seems more than doubtful. Still there is no doubt that there was dissatisfaction in Norwich and elsewhere at the strong line she took, for in 1554 a man had his ears nailed to the pillory for writing 'unfitting songs' about her, and Richard Sotherton⁹ 'grocer' had to execute a bond not to sell any seditious books against her.

In 1555 a schoolmaster called Clover, of Diss, and three brothers called Lincoln, got up a small insurrection which ended in nothing except the hanging, drawing, and quartering of the four promoters.¹⁰

After the loss of Calais, 2,000 men from Norfolk and Suffolk were to be levied under the duke of Norfolk to help Philip in trying to recover the town and in defending Guisnes, but shortly afterwards the levy was recalled

¹ Stow, *op. cit.* 611.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* 610.

⁴ Mason, *Hist. of Norf.* 144, quotes an ancient roll of Lynn.

⁵ Stow, *op. cit.* 610.

⁶ Parkins, *Hist. Freebridge Hundred*, 165.

⁷ There are still Potters at Gayton who may be his descendants.

⁸ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 268. ⁹ *Ibid.* 269, 270.

¹⁰ Stow, *op. cit.* 628.

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and half the number only raised to protect the counties instead of going on foreign service.¹

Elizabeth was of course gladly acknowledged in Norfolk, her mother's county. The most important local event during her reign, but one which cannot be dealt with in this section, was the settlement in Norwich of the Dutch refugees who fled from Spanish persecution in the Low Countries. The intrigue of the duke of Norfolk with the agents of the pope and his correspondence with Mary queen of Scots led to his confinement in the Tower in 1569, which is said to have caused the little insurrection which took place here in 1570, variously known as Appleyard's, Redman's, or Throgmorton's conspiracy, for which Throgmorton and others were hanged. Whether the primary object of the conspiracy was to aid the duke, as has been suggested, or not, it certainly seems to have been directed against the 'strangers,' as the Dutch immigrants were called. The scheme was to meet at Harleston fair, aided by men from Bungay and Beccles, to come to Norwich on the mayor's feast day, and to expel all foreigners from the city and the county. One of the conspirators—another of the Wymondham family of Kett, who seem to have been the veritable stormy petrels of the period—betrayed the others.² John Throgmorton of Norwich was the chief conspirator, and seems to have done his best to save his friends' lives by stating that none deserved to die but himself, 'for that he had procured them.'³

All the chief conspirators appear to have been men of position, viz. Thomas Brooke of Rollesby, gent., George Redman of Cringleford, gent., John Appleyard, gent., Mr. Hobart, Bryan Holland, esq., Thomas Nalder or Naller, and 'another' who was probably the Marsham who said the queen had had two children by the earl of Leicester.

A newsletter dated the last of August, 1570,⁴ says that one of the objects was the imprisonment of the earl of Leicester. It is very noticeable that the conspirators had prepared a proclamation inveighing against the wantonness of the court and the influence of new men.⁵ John Appleyard, one of the conspirators, was half-brother of Amy Robsart.

Throgmorton was probably of the family of Sir Richard, who was poisoned by or on behalf of the earl in 1571, and who was one of the chief denouncers of Amy Robsart's supposed murder. Is it possible that we have in this conspiracy something nearly resembling a *vendetta* against Leicester?

Printing was first introduced into the city of Norwich in 1570 by one Anthony de Solempne, one of the 'strangers,' who is said to have been made a freeman of the city as a reward.⁶

In 1571 the duke of Norfolk was again sent to the Tower and next year was convicted of treason for conspiring to marry Mary queen of Scots, and to dethrone Elizabeth, for which offences he was beheaded on Tower Hill, on 2 June, 1572. He is recorded to have boasted that when he was at home and in his tennis court at Norwich he thought himself as good as any Scotch

¹ Mason, op. cit. 147.

² The chamberlain's book of 1570 says the conspiracy was betrayed by one Master Hellmes—probably an error for Hellwes or Helwys. The names of the other conspirators and details of the accusations against them are given by Mason. *Hist. of Norf.* 158–9.

³ Stow, op. cit. 666.

⁴ *Norf. Ant.* v, 76.

⁵ *Eastern Counties Collect.* 209.

⁶ Blomefield, op. cit. iii, 295. He was certainly made a freeman, 11 December, 1570, as 'Anthony de Solen, prynter, non-apprenticed,' but whether for this reason is not certain.

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king. Blomefield states that he was greatly beloved at Norwich, and that his execution caused much sorrow among the citizens. During her progress in 1578 Elizabeth came to the county from Suffolk, and the city of Norwich, which she honoured with a visit, welcomed her with great pomp. Here she stayed at the bishop's and visited at 'Mount Surrey' (St. Leonard's Priory) Philip earl of Surrey, the melancholy religious devotee, whose father and grandfather had been beheaded by her father and herself, and who was afterwards himself attainted for having a mass said for the success of the Spanish Armada. She was to have gone on to the bishop's house at Ludham, to Yarmouth, to Thomas Woodhouse at Wroxham (Yaxham?), the Pastons at Paston, Heydons at Baconsthorpe, Butts at Thornage, Sydney at Walsingham, Bedingfield at Oxburgh, Huggyns at Bradenham, Lord Paget's at Woodrising, and the earl of Surrey at Kenninghall; but the progress was altogether changed, for she is said to have gone to Sir Roger Woodhouse at Kimberley, and then on to Woodrising and back by Hengrave into Essex.

While all this feasting and rejoicing was going on mischief was brewing abroad, and it may be that the queen's coming down was to see for herself the ability of the county to resist the Spanish invasion which had been threatened since 1571. The preparations made in Norfolk and all over the rest of England from 1572 to 1588 to resist such an invasion would surprise those who have not studied the subject, and the returns and documents would fill a volume. Norfolk, from the fact that for many centuries its coasts had been happy hunting grounds for foreign pirates, was felt to be exceptionally open to invasion, and for this very reason the readiness to answer the call to arms was great, while the 'foreigners' who were making our eastern counties so prosperous by their new industries had suffered from the religious persecution of the Spanish, and were heartily willing. A few notes on the military resources of the county can alone be given here.

During the reign of Elizabeth considerable attention had been given by the central government to the promotion of efficiency among the county levies, the relations of England with foreign states, and especially Spain, making this matter one of immediate and vital importance. A return¹ of 'able and chosen men' for the county towards the end of the preceding reign (April, 1557) gives a total of 2,670.² The proportions of the various arms are worth notice, 'hagbutters' 40, archers 250, billmen 2,380. Early in the following year the duke of Norfolk³ was levying troops in the eastern counties, and some of the proceeds of the forced loan was used to pay for their 'cotes and conduct.' This military activity would seem to have been unacceptable to certain of the country gentry, and the Council rated John Colby, esq., for his unwillingness to accept a command in the newly raised force, 'signifying unto him that it cannot but seme very straunge and very small consideracion of himself that beinge appointed by the Duke of Norfolk he refused the same.' He is therefore 'required in the Quenes Majesties name to put himself in redynes out of hande to serve with the saide number as he is appointed.' Some six months after, other East Anglian

¹ S. P. Dom. Mary, xi, 19.

² Norwich may not be included. The Norwich contingent was sometimes reckoned with the county, but as often separately. Much the same remark applies to Yarmouth, and occasionally to King's Lynn.

³ *Act, P. C.* vi, 249.

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gentlemen,¹ including Edmund Withypole, William Brampton and William Gresham, were to be summoned before the Council as defaulters in 'setting furth of the demylaunces oute of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk.' Before the year was over Elizabeth ascended the throne to find the treasury empty and the defensive forces of the country weak and disorganized.

Measures were at once taken to place things on a more stable footing, and the musters taken in the summer of 1560 show² for Norfolk, including Norwich, a total array of 9,000 footmen, divided into companies of 300 a piece, with 200 light horse in addition. 'Harquebutters' were to number 1,500, archers 2,500, pike and bill men 5,000. But lack of arms prevented the realization of this ideal. Only 600 arquebuses or coriers³ were available, though 'long bowes furnishede' numbered 2,000, and it would be very unsafe to infer from the firearms in store that there was a corresponding number of trained men to handle them. Apparently there was some falling off in numbers in the course of the decade, as in 1569 the commissioners for the musters reported⁴ to the Council that within the county of Norfolk and the city of Norwich they had 'augmented and increased corslettes to the number of twoe hundred and fiftie, and shotte, as harquibuttes, qualyvers and coriers, to the number of twoe hundred and fourtie more than were before the comynge of the seid comissions and letteres.' 'Haquebutters' were now estimated at 620, archers 1,800, and billmen 4,938, beside 190 light horse, and 40 demilances. The firearms actually available were 789.

Three years later, in 1572,⁵ the 'able and chosen men' of the county numbered 7,600, classed 440 as 'harquibutters,' 1,260 as archers, 1,300 as pikemen, and 4,600 as billmen, but the contingents of Norwich, Yarmouth, and King's Lynn are not included in this array, and would, if added, have brought it up to, even if they did not carry it beyond, the previous estimate.

In 1577 the total number of able men, including artificers, pioneers, and labourers, even without the array of Norwich and Yarmouth, is reported⁶ as numbering 12,032. By instructions from the central government 500 men—a meagre enough proportion—had been specially trained as 'shotte,' and as a result the commissioners find most of them 'verie apte and handsome for that service. The charges whereof none of the poarer sorte haue bene towched withall (for so your honours willed), and therefore it hath bene the greater charge to thos of the better callynge.' To render the training less burdensome care was taken to select places and days 'least to the hyndraunce of the people from their ordinarie labour and travell.'

Already in 1580 preparations were being made to organize the national defence in case of invasion, and 3,000 of the Norfolk levies were allotted to reinforce the county of Suffolk should need arise.⁷ The government also inquired as to the number of horses available, and on 20 September, 1583, a view and general muster of the mounted men of the shire at Norwich showed a total of 53 lances and 325 light horse.⁸ In the following year we hear of 2,000 footmen who were to be properly organized under seven

¹ *Acts, P. C.* vi, 568.

² A variety of arquebus with a longer barrel.

³ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* lxxxix, 28.

⁴ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* cxliii, 3.

⁵ *Ibid.* cxvi, 10.

⁶ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* xiii, 20.

⁷ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* lviii, 9.

⁸ *Acts, P. C.* xii, 103.

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captains¹; of these half were to be 'shott,' pikemen were to number 800, while only 200 were archers. A comparison of the relative proportions here exhibited with those obtaining at the end of the previous reign, illustrates very clearly the passing of the bow—at least for war purposes. Money was also to be collected throughout the county to the amount of £272 15s. 3d. to provide for powder, match, and lead.

At Christmas, 1587, the crisis was felt to be close at hand, and orders were sent out for the training of horse and foot selected in each shire.² In the April following the 'Queen's General' came down to Norwich³ on a visit of inspection; armour was hastily repaired, and arms bought, but there was still a deficiency of powder and match, for which Norwich alone voted £100, and supplies of heavy ordnance and munitions were begged from the Council.⁴ The coast defences were repaired and strengthened, and the beacons watched; but in the early summer⁵ the embodiment of the local levies, and their encampment on the coast, became too burdensome to the county, and relief was granted 'because at this present her Majesties Navies are at the seas which indeede are the defence of the whole realme.' On 23 July Norfolk⁶ was ordered to send up 2,000 men to London by 6 August. A few days later⁷ the number was increased by 1,000 to be ready by 9 August. Apparently the local leaders were rather apprehensive of denuding the county of troops, but received assurance⁸ on 30 July 'that their lordships would take care that they should not onlie be supplied with their owne but also with others.' August still found⁹ them timorous of being left without defence, though the Council, who had changed the rendezvous to Tilbury, assured them that there was no danger to Norfolk 'so longe as her Majesties fleet should be at sea, which did dayly weaken the Spanyshe fleet, and the Lord Steward in the field at the least with 25,000 foote and 3,000 horse.' Later,¹⁰ on 1 August, the order for the dispatch of the Norfolk men was countermanded as the Spanish fleet had been sighted east-north-east of Yarmouth. But it was soon seen that the Spanish Armada was in no mood for testing the valour of Norfolk men, and in the same month came orders for the disbanding of the levies, probably just in time for harvest, though 600 seamen were levied to fill up the waste in the *personnel* of the fleet, Norfolk contributing 150.¹¹

The state papers and acts of the Privy Council for the latter part of Elizabeth's reign contain numerous references to the raising of troops in Norfolk for service in Flanders, Normandy, and Ireland. One instance¹² can alone be quoted here as an example. In September, 1598, 200 men were required from Norfolk for the Irish wars, 48 to be pikemen with corslets, 40 musketeers, and 100 armed with calivers, 'the rest to be abated for dead paies.' They were to be 'apparelled in better sorte then ordynarylie hath been, consydering the winter season doth approche.' The justices were specially charged to see that the constables did not 'take such refues of men

¹ S. P. Dom. Eliz. clxxii, 123. The captains selected were Sir Edward Cleere, Sir Henry Woodhouse, Sir William Haydon, Henry Doyly, Thomas Gawdy, John Payton, and Bassingburn Gawdy.

² *Acts, P. C.*, xv, 310.

³ The fervour of Norwich was doubtless stimulated by the number of alien refugees from religious persecution settled there. See Hudson, *Records of Norwich*, i, 416.

⁴ *Rye, Pop. Hist. Norf.* 83.

⁵ *Acts, P. C.* xvi, 115.

⁶ *Ibid.* xvi, 171.

⁷ *Ibid.* xvi, 195.

⁸ *Ibid.* xvi, 206.

⁹ *Ibid.* xvi, 208-9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* xvi, 210.

¹¹ *Ibid.* xvi, 215, 245, 247.

¹² *Ibid.* xxix, 96, 134.

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as the villages desire to be rydd of for their lewd behaviour.' Many earlier recruits when they reached the port of embarkation had run from their colours. In spite of this warning it was found in October that nearly a quarter had deserted before reaching their haven. The Council, who were probably rather weary of the shocking quality of the recruits and the lukewarmness of the justices, wrote¹ to the responsible parties, 'where we shall laye the faulte hereof we cannot readily tell, and we are apte to beleewe that you did your endevoures for the leavying of sufficient men, but a faulte there must needes be in the choyse, where so many have shewed themselves such lewde persons.'

One consequence of these expeditions was apt to react disastrously on the efficiency of the county trained bands, as arms and harness once carried abroad had a tendency to become permanently alienated from the county, and in default of renewal the residue of the common armour was insufficient for supplying the chosen men, the result of 'an abuse commytted in lending of some of those arms from one band to another, so that yf there were occasion of service there would be great defect and want of armour found amongst those captaines.'² The exemptions claimed by Norwich and other towns from mustering with the rest of the county often led to disputes which probably were no help to efficiency. In March, 1599, when Captain Bosom, whose colleague had gone to the Irish wars, was serving alone as muster-master in such an extensive county, Thomas Eliott was appointed to aid him, and the commissioners were admonished³ by the Council to see that the forces of the shire should be more diligently and oftener viewed and mustered than of late they had been, as both in numbers and equipment there had been a considerable falling off. A return⁴ early in the reign of James I for Norfolk, Norwich, and Lynn, evidently mustered separately but here for convenience taken together, gives a total of 13,400 able men, 6,085 armed men, 680 pioneers, 28 demilances, and 172 light horse.

Elizabeth, dying in 1603, was succeeded by James in March at a time when the plague was raging in England—over 3,000⁵ dying in Norwich alone—an ill omen for his reign which was unluckily fulfilled.

The king's first visit to the county was in February, 1605, when he stayed some time hunting at Thetford. He was good enough to say that 'he liked exceeding well the country,' and seems to have given himself up entirely to the pleasures of the chase and to drinking strong Greek wine—so strong that it upset an ordinary man who tasted it for three days.⁶ Practically the king kept his liking for Thetford and Newmarket all his life, but he seems to have made himself disliked by his arbitrary preservation of game, having in 1607⁷ given directions that all game within a radius of twelve miles should be preserved for him—an order which he was strictly speaking entitled to give, but which showed his arbitrary temper.

Passing from the king's pleasures we may notice that he favoured, as well he might, the Howards who had suffered so much for his mother. Castle Rising and Kenninghall were restored to them, Henry Howard was

¹ *Acts*, P. C. xxix, 224.

² *Ibid.* xxix, 639.

³ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 360.

⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1603-10, pp. 387 (105), 203 (17).

² *Ibid.* xxix, 665. Cf. xxiii, 40.

⁴ Stowe MS. 574, fol. 26.

⁶ Roger Coke, *Detection of the Court and State of England*, 78.

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made Privy Seal and in 1606 lord-lieutenant of Norfolk, in which capacity he wrote a spirited letter to the king complaining of the insufficient forces kept in the county for home defence, with such good results, that matters were much mended by 1621, when some excellent regulations and instructions as to what was to be done in case of invasion were prepared.¹ They provide for the forces to be concentrated on Cawston Heath, the old men and women to be sent inland to Marshland, and in fact do not materially differ from the precautions taken later on during the Bonaparte scare.

The creation of baronets in 1611 was headed by the name of Sir Nicholas Bacon of Redgrave, for whom a Norfolk descent from the Bacons of Baconsthorpe has often been erroneously claimed, genealogists ignoring the fact that Bacon was a very common name all along the east coast of England. Among the Norfolk men who purchased, compulsorily or freely, the title, were Sir Philip Knyvet, Sir Henry Hobart, Sir Roger Townshend, Sir Philip Wodehouse of Kimberley, and later on Sir Richard Berney of Reedham, Sir William Yelverton, Sir Henry Clere of Ormesby, and Sir Henry Jerningham of Cossey—all with two exceptions still represented in the county. All these, however, were men of standing and position, and there is no reason to suppose that this title could have been bought by anyone who found the £1,000 required.

The old sore of illegal enclosures broke out again in 1611, when there was an insurrection, or rather an attempted one, at Norwich headed by Thomas Townsend and Thomas Harrison on this pretext, but it came to nothing, the mayor of Norwich having taken prompt measures and sent the ringleaders up to the Privy Council.²

It was in this reign that traces first appear of a real desire on the part of the Norfolk electors to do their duty in returning members of Parliament, and to petition against improper returns. The merits of the dispute as to the elections of 1614 and 1623 are hard to understand, but it is clear that the organized opposition to the king's or court party was growing. No question of right, however, seems to have arisen, so the incident has no political interest, the disputes being as to facts, but the incidents are worthy of notice as showing that the voters were beginning to value their power of voting.

On the death of James I in 1625, Charles continued the Howards in favour by at once nominating Thomas, earl of Arundel and Surrey, who was resident in his palace at Norwich, as lord-lieutenant. He found the county troubled by the growing impossibility of carrying on either export or import trade in the face of the enormous increase of piracy. It has been said, but most unjustly, that it was to protect the Yarmouth fishing boats and to keep the Dutch from our shores that Charles and his advisers lit upon the notable expedient of ship money, which eventually cost the king his life and crown. Not only was the 'expedient' an old and quite constitutional one, but the proceeds seem to have been honestly applied in ship-building, and that the need for a fleet was a very real and urgent one can easily be shown. The first trace of any organized refusal to pay ship money at all was in 1629. It is singular that more notice has not been taken of the fact that in this year, six years before the general writ for ship money was issued, two ships

¹ Mason, *Hist. of Norf.* 218.

² Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 363.

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of war were demanded of Norwich and were refused. Two writs of *quo warranto* were brought against the city, but were discharged, the citizens 'having proved that they used nor usurped no privileges but what their charters then produced authorised them to do.'¹ That the writ for ship money was constitutional as far as the maritime counties were concerned there can be no doubt, and at first it met with little opposition, and the fleet which its proceeds provided in 1635-6 was eminently successful against the pirates.

In 1629 the House voted the illegality of tonnage and poundage assessed without Parliamentary authority. Irritated at this the king sent his usher of the Black Rod to bring away the mace, but the door of the House was closed against him. He next sent his captain of the guards, but one of the Norfolk members, Sir Miles Hobart, locked the door, put the key in his pocket, and held the Speaker down in his chair while the House adopted the historical protests against levying tonnage and poundage, and declared that anyone paying them should be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England and an enemy of the same. For this, Hobart was apparently sent to prison at the Gatehouse, whence he escaped, but was afterwards tried 'for misdemeanour in his carriage in the House of Commons' and discharged on giving securities for his good behaviour. It is interesting to note that on his death the Long Parliament voted £5,000 to his children in recompense of his services in opposing illegalities in the House.

By 1638 the movement against ship money was rapidly spreading. Crops had been bad for some time and the whole county was impoverished. This is shown by the petition² of the citizens of Norwich in 1635 against having to contribute a third part of the setting forth of two ships from the port of Yarmouth, the cost of which will be £3,000. 'They plead the miserable and desolate condition of the city, by inundations of water, the grievous contagion of the plague there and in London, which has caused them severe losses, so that they are so weakened that they can scarcely bear their own taxations for the relief of the poor. Notwithstanding all this they have contributed to the loan of five subsidies, but they beg discharge of this heavy burden.' Had the times been prosperous the tax would probably have been paid and not more grumbled at than most taxes, but now the payment was inconvenient to all and impossible to many. Still there seems to have been little or no disaffection at this time in the county; the only mention of any disloyalty being a case at Norwich, in 1639. Here a man whose name is not given is said to have been indicted and found guilty, though afterwards respited, for saying that 'the Covenanters have a good cause before God, but an ill cause before men; that they have spoiled a good cause by the ill managing of it, and that they have a good cause to draw their swords in.'³ The county seems to have responded very well to the call for soldiers to accompany the king in 1639 on his marching against the Scots, who were seeking a Parliament of their own, for 15,000 men of the trained bands were, according to the reports of the deputy-lieutenants of Norfolk, handed over to Sir Simon Harecourt for service in the north.⁴ Norfolk and

¹ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 374.

² *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1639, p. 99 (99).

³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1625-49, p. 521 (158).

⁴ *Ibid.* 212 (137).

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Suffolk sent a very large number of their trained bands on this expedition, far more in proportion than other counties.

To the memorable Long Parliament of 1640 Sir Thomas Wodehouse and Framlingham Gawdy were sent to represent Thetford, their unsuccessful opponent being an advanced sectarian, one Tobias Frere. Sir John Holland and Sir Edmund Moundeford were the members for the county (the former afterwards making place for John Potts, esq., and taking his seat for Castle Rising, where his colleague was Sir Christopher Hatton, afterwards replaced by Sir Robert Hatton). For the city of Norwich Richard Harman and Richard Cateline were the members. Framlingham Gawdy took careful notes of the proceedings, which are of very considerable interest.

The friction was increasing daily. On 3 September, 1640, the king's commission of array for Norfolk was prepared, which was afterwards denounced by Parliament, when in 1642¹ it sent down most of the Norfolk members to the county as a committee to suppress the commission.² The letter of directions to the committee boldly stated that it was to be feared that the king intended to make war against the Parliament, and that under colour of raising a guard for his person the inhabitants of Norfolk might be brought together. Sir Robert de Grey was the only prominent person who stood up for the commission.

The Parliament was in touch with the bailiffs of Yarmouth and ordered them, in March, 1641, to watch for suspicious persons coming from beyond the seas and to intercept all letters, &c., and in April, 1642, a similar motion was made as to Lynn, which was seconded by no less a person than Oliver Cromwell. It was in March, 1642, that the king definitely refused the demands pressed upon him, and, when the Parliament's commissioners at Newmarket again pressed him that the militia might be embodied as asked for by the Parliament, he 'swore by God that it should not be so for a single hour.' There were soon two proclamations issued, one by Parliament directing the militia to be put in training, the other by the king forbidding it.

All the summer of 1642 both parties were quietly making preparations for the inevitable struggle. By August Cromwell, himself a Norfolk man by descent on his mother's side, had seized the magazine at Cambridge and intercepted most of the college plate which the university had loyally granted to the king.

In July, 1642, a Captain Moses Treswell came to Norwich with a commission on behalf of the king to raise 100 volunteers to go to Newark, but on beating of his enlistment drums against the orders of the city, he was committed to prison and sent up to London.³

¹ Blomefield, op. cit. iii, 382.

² *Lords' Journals*, v, 252.

³ Blomefield, op. cit. iii, 381. There are a number of curious minutes in the Common Council book of the Norwich corporation referring to this incident. The first, dated 29 July, 1642, states: 'This day Captain Moses Treswell brought a commission under the hand and seal of the earl of Lynsey for the levying of a hundred men and volunteers and conducting them to Newark-upon-Trent. He is required that he might beat up to drum. It was with one gen'all consent agreed that he should not at all beat to any drum and so he was required.' On 30 July: 'Mr. Mayor did give order for the writing of a letter to the earl of Lynsey,' but what the letter contained, or the subject to which it had reference, is not mentioned. On the same date it is recorded that: 'Samuel Vonte did acknowledge that he hath a bag of money sealed up for Captayne Treswell, and his chamberlain said that there was likewise a cloak, bag, and a scarlet coat, and a

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Nor were the king's proclamations sent down in August taken any notice of. The enormous balance of feeling in both county and city was with the Parliament, and the most methodical arrangements were made in order to keep the war out of the district. That much of this was due to the foresight and military genius of Cromwell himself there can be little doubt. It was certainly he who watched all the bridges and ferries to the west of the county, so as to stop all royalist supplies going out or disaffected persons coming into it from the north. A few only of the Norwich citizens opposed the unconstitutional though necessary methods of the Parliament, and they were summarily dealt with, for the mayor of Norwich declining to confirm the seizure of horses for the Parliamentary forces was arrested by Lord Grey, its major-general, and sent a prisoner to Cambridge.¹ There was only one attempt to rise for the king at Norwich, promoted by Augustine Holl, who called a meeting at his house, but Lieutenant Hamond Crask, lieutenant of the volunteers, dragged the heavy city guns to the front of his house, and swore he would open fire on it if they did not surrender, which they very wisely did.²

The king's standard was set up at Nottingham on 22 August, 1642, and the battle of Edgehill was fought on 2 October following. At this battle it will be remembered, was uttered the pithy exordium of our chief royalist, Sir Jacob Astley, so often quoted, 'O Lord! Thou knowest how busy I must be this day. If I forget Thee do not Thou forget me. On boys!'³

In August an order from the Lords and Commons in Parliament had been directed to the bailiffs of Great Yarmouth, ordering that the town should be put in a state of defence and divers other things done to keep it faithful to the Parliament. It was also ordered that the bailiffs and justices of the peace should commit to custody all persons putting in execution any commission of array or sending 'money, plate, or armes to his Majesty for the mayntayning of a wicked and unnatural warre against his Majesty's good subjects.'⁴ In

great coat, which he promised to keep safe and not to part with them before Mr. Mayor was made acquainted therewith, and also that he will keep his two horses in safe custody. The said Samuel Vonte was again before Mr. Mayor and divers of the justices and aldermen the 9th day of August and did acknowledge that he had the Captain's money.' At this time the captain was evidently in custody, for on 20 August it was agreed 'that Alex Anguish and Mr. Matthew Peckover, aldermen, shall go to-morrow morning to carry a letter from Mr. Mayor and aldermen to the King in answer to his Majesty's letter about the imprisonment of Captayne Treswell.' There is again no indication of the purport of the letter. The next entry is as follows: 'Captayne Treswell's sword and dagger and his man Gilbert's sword were this 5th day of September, 1642, delivered to Samuel Vonte and Ellis Browne to be carried to the Parliament, who have entered bond to the city in £100 for the delivery of the said Gilbert and Captayne's two horses and his money up to Parliament.' It appears, therefore, that the captain's property had been confiscated. Finally, there is the following entry: '20 September, 1642. This day Sam. Vonte brought into Court £15, which was allowed by the Parliament for the citizens sending up of Captayne Treswell and he showed the order whereby it did appear that he had delivered in the residue of Captayne Treswell's money and his two horses, and that he had delivered Gilbert the Captayne's man, and therefore he hath a bond delivered out unto him this day for delivering of the said Gilbert, money, and horses up to Parliament. There is twenty shillings this day paid unto Mr. Sheriff Lindseys and the £15 brought in by Sam. Vonte for the hire of the horses for Richard Gilbert that was sent to London.' It is a pity that the connecting links for making up the story are missing, but a fairly clear presentment of the Royalist's difficulties and of the feeling at Norwich is afforded by these extracts.

¹ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 383.

² *Ibid.* 384.

³ He had seen some foreign service, on the strength of which he was made sergeant-major-general of the royal forces, governor of Oxford and Reading, and was a soldier of some ability and few words. He died in 1651, having distinguished himself at Brentford and Newbury more than at Edgehill.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 312.

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October the Yarmouth volunteers under Captain Johnson made an important capture on behalf of the Parliament, securing a king's ship with 140 officers and men, much powder, and what was still more valuable, some of the queen's letters. In acknowledgement of this service the town received a vote of thanks from Parliament, an order stating the lawfulness of the act, and a further order to search for and arrest 'any person or persons suspected to passe from the seas to assist the King in the unnatural warre against the Parliament.'¹ Another Yarmouth capture was of a ship with '200 Irish rebels.' Just at this time the local committee was authorized to disarm Sir Nicholas le Strange, Sir Hamon le Strange, Sir Robert Kemp, Sir John Spelman, Erasmus Earle, esq., and Edward Heyward for not contributing to the common fund. The 'Association of the Eastern Counties,' generally known as the Eastern Association, was formed on 20 December, 1642, and comprised Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Essex, and Hertfordshire, Lincolnshire coming in at a later date.²

There is of course much to be found out before a perfect history of the Civil War in this district can be written. Very little actual fighting took place in the county, and isolated episodes, though interesting, escape attention and cannot always be dated exactly. There is one such episode which occurs in the record of a regiment of foot raised and employed by Sir John Gell from the beginning of October, 1642, to the end of September, 1644. The writer describes³ the services rendered to the Parliamentary cause by his regiment in different parts of the kingdom, and, after speaking of placing a garrison at Burton in Staffordshire, goes on to say, 'We were again commanded to join against Norwich under command of Misser Ballard, whither he sent our men that did their parts, for we beat the enemy out of their works, placed our colours upon theirs, and being competent of taking their . . ., instead of seconds we were called off for some secret reason which we could never yet understand. Whilst part of our forces were yet engaged at Norwich, the unwelcome news came to Derby of the Lord Brook's unhappy death at Litchfield.' The death of Lord Brook was on 7 January, 1643. Ballard is in another part of this document spoken of as 'a papist by religion and beggar by fortune,' and presumably was plotting for the king's side, so that this affair at Norwich cannot be the same as Augustine Holl's attempted rising on 6 March, 1643.

During the early part of the summer of 1643 there was a royalist plot at Lowestoft in which Sir John Pettus, a Norwich loyalist (who lies buried in the church of St. Simon and St. Jude), Sir Edward Barker, Mr. Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe, Mr. Catlyn, jun., and others were implicated. It is said by Blomefield⁴ that in this 'Cromwell was in danger of his person and was very near being taken' had not some Norwich volunteers under Sergt.-Major Sherwood rescued him. From a letter of John Cory to Sir John Potts of Manningtree, dated 17 and 20 March, it would seem that Cromwell himself was at Norwich, and, being advised that certain strangers had been received into Lowestoft, directed that no one should enter into or go out of Norwich that night, and between 5 and 6 o'clock in the morning left, with his five troops and 800 Norwich volunteers, for Lowestoft, where he met the

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 313.

² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 387.

³ *Lords' Journ.* v, 505.

⁴ *Op. cit.* iii, 386.

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Yarmouth volunteers, who brought some artillery 'before which a chain was drawn to keep off the horse.' The Royalists surrendered without a blow.

One Captain Swallow is said to have raised a company of soldiers in Norwich at the charge of the young men and maids of the city, which was horsed by Cromwell.¹ It is probable that this was the origin of the myth of the 'virgin troop' of Norwich said to have been composed of virtuous maidens incensed by the outrages committed on their sex by the Cavaliers.

In the spring of 1643 the weekly contribution of the county to the Parliamentary funds amounted to no less than £1,250,² and this sum seems to have been paid readily enough, thinking men of substance rightly considering that the probable results were worth the money in a commercial sense.

During all the summer of 1643 considerable work was done in fortifying the Castle Hill at Norwich, and it is not at all unlikely that much of the confusion as to the castle ditches may have arisen from their disturbance at this time.

The only spot where the Royalists made head was at Lynn in the extreme east, when the town was held for the king by Sir Hamon le Strange. It is said by the *Mercurius Aulicus* that Lynn had declared for the king as early as 13 May, but it was not until 13 August that public proclamation of this was made. There is a letter from Captain William Poe, dated 19 August, 1643, to the deputy-lieutenants and committee for the county of Essex, as follows :

Six days having passed since Lynn declared against the Parliament, he is surprised that the association has not raised more forces, particularly as the earl of Newcastle is said to have promised to relieve it if besieged. They have chosen Sir Hamond le Strange to be their governor, and he has promised out of his own estate to advance them some thousand pounds, and that twenty others shall raise as much more, with 4 or 5 troops of horse. He advises that the town should be played on with cannon. He vouches that if relief from the sea can be prevented they cannot hold out more than 5 days, altho' they have 40 pieces of ordnance, and can get more from their ships. On Thursday last he left Bury for Norwich, and on Friday at sunset went, by his major-general's commands, to Lynn, to stop the passages. He gives an account of how he repulsed an attack by troops who came out of Lynn on Sunday, and another attack on the 18th, when his lieutenant and three of his soldiers were taken prisoners, and he took some of their's. He is informed that the enemy in Lynn have 12,000 muskets, 500 barrels of gunpowder, with bullets answerable and 3 or 4 troops of horse.³

The place was formally besieged by the earl of Manchester, who borrowed but did not return the ordnance of the city of Norwich⁴—two brass demi-culverins weighing 4,800 lb., one iron ditto weighing 3,400 lb., two brass falconets weighing 600 lb., and two brass falconets belonging to Sir Miles Hobart. It was defended in a half-hearted way until 19 September without much, if any, loss of life, a letter⁵ dated 19 September,

¹ Blomefield, op. cit. iii, 386.

² It was made up as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
County of Norfolk every week	1,129	0	0
City of Norwich	53	0	0
Lynn	27	11	10
Yarmouth	34	16	5
Thetford	5	11	9

³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, App. i, 559.

⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, App. i, 564.

⁴ Blomefield, op. cit. iii, 387.

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1643, stating that the earl of Manchester 'has had King's Lynn delivered up to him without shedding blood.' The relief promised by the earl of Newcastle never came. One cannon ball which smashed into St. Margaret's church during Sunday morning service is still hung up in 'Union Court,' hard by. For his share in the defence of Lynn, Sir Hamon le Strange's estate was sequestered on 24 October, 1643. In a letter,¹ dated 31 August, 1644, he addressed the earl of Manchester, asking the latter to assist him in obtaining reparation for the losses he had sustained 'for the brand and character of malignancy,' especially after the siege of Lynn. He had 'referred himself unto a strict soliloquy . . . and reconciled his opinion to the sense of the Parliament.' What the results of this letter were it is impossible to say, but just about the time it was written another Le Strange was causing trouble to the Parliament. Roger le Strange (son of Sir Hamon and afterwards well-known as a virulent pamphleteer) seems to have gone in December, 1644, to the king at Oxford with a scheme for retaking Lynn, of which town, had he been successful, he was to be the king's governor. His scheme, however, was a poor one, for he took one Captain Thomas Lemon and a Mr. Haggard into his confidence and they promptly betrayed him. He was seized and tried as a spy and, in spite of an able defence, was condemned to death. The Royalists seem to have made great efforts to save him, Prince Rupert writing to the earl of Essex on his behalf, with the result that, possibly through fear of reprisals, he was respited, and eventually escaped in 1648.²

In August, 1645, when the king's forces took Huntingdon and stirred up Cambridge, all the trained bands of the Eastern Association were called out, and, according to Blomefield,³ the city bands marched out as far as the Town Close and then, emulating the king of Spain, marched back again, having done nothing. The county of Norfolk, however, seems to have fully done its share in providing men and money during the war, and on 29 July, 1644, it was ordered by the committee of both kingdoms⁴ that Norfolk and Essex should be cited as an example to the other counties.

In 1648, when the second civil war was in progress, there was a cavalier rising in the county. It seems that the then mayor of Norwich, Mr. John Utting, favoured the Royalist side, refused to help in the defacement of churches, and allowed certain malignant and sequestered ministers to preach in the city. A messenger of the House of Commons was sent to arrest him, but had to flee for his life from the mob, which rose in defence of the mayor. A thousand rioters broke into the sheriff's house and procured arms. The mayor shut the city gates to prevent the entry of the Roundhead cavalry, but the latter eventually forced their way in. Many of the rioters were holding the committee house, which stood on the site of the present Bethlehem Hospital, but ninety-eight barrels of powder, carelessly stored, blew up and killed forty men, doing damage to the extent of £20,000 and injuring the fine churches of St. Peter and St. Stephen. For this outbreak 108 men were tried, and seven or eight shot in the castle ditches.⁵

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, App. i, 564.

² Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 391.

³ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 396; *Commons Journ.* 12 September, 1649. A detailed account of the rising

and a calendar of depositions relating to it will be found in a *History of Bethlehem Hospital* by W. Rye.

⁴ Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.* (1692), pt. iii, vol. ii, 805.

⁵ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Chas. I.*, 1644, 383.

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Norfolk money seems to have had a good deal to do with Fairfax's successful siege of Colchester during this period, for the House passed a special vote of thanks to the county, 'That this house doth take notice of the good affections of the county of Norfolk in their ready compliance and timely supply of monies to the army in the exigent of the siege before Colchester; and that a letter be prepared and signed by Mr. Speaker and sent to them to take notice thereof; and give them the thanks of this house.' The Royalists seem at this time to have had designs upon Yarmouth, for, on 6 July, 1648, there is a letter, dated from 'Leaguer before Colchester,' from General Fairfax to the bailiffs, aldermen, and common council of Great Yarmouth, announcing that the revolted ships, who have declared against the Parliament, are believed to have designs on Great Yarmouth, with a view to making it a garrison and seat of war; and that the writer has despatched a considerable body of horse for the neighbourly protection of the said town, but not to possess it and make it a garrison.¹ The people of Yarmouth, though staunch supporters of the Parliament, appear to have been very unwilling to admit a garrison and to have been quite confident of their ability to defend themselves, for on 17 July Fairfax again wrote to the bailiffs,

Gentlemen, I have by your severall letters received very good satisfaction concerning your resolution to preserve and defend your Town from being made a garrison by any forces against the Parliament. And I againe assure you that it is as much as I desire of you, it being farr from my thoughts to have any of the forces I send that way to be in the least putt into your Town (whiche hath hitherto approved itself so faithful to the Parliament). But onely that in regard of the designes upon it from foreigne partes (whereof there have been very credible informations) those horse should be neere you to oppose the landing of the foreigne forces, And to assist you against them as you shall neede and desire, for which purpose they shall still be ready at hand when you shall call for them during the continuance of the present danger.²

That the Royalist ships did appear before Yarmouth and with what success is shown by a letter written in July, 1648, from Darby House and signed Pembroke, in the name and by the warrant of the committee of Lords and Commons, to the bailiffs, &c., of Great Yarmouth. This letter expresses the committee's lively sense of the devotion of the borough to the Parliament, and also the satisfaction of the committee at 'your letter of the 24th inst., giving notice of the coming of the revolted ships in the Roads before your Town, and of their departure thence.' The letter proceeds, 'Wee thanke you for your care of the public in not admitting the enemy there, and that you kept your town from giving entertainment to the enemy.' Finally, that Yarmouth had its way in the question of the garrison, and the strength of local feeling in the matter, are shown by another letter³ from the committee of the Lords and Commons to the Lord-General Fairfax, dated 1 August, 1648, Darby House, announcing, in consideration of assurances given by the letter's bearer, Mr. Alderman Cobbe, that the writers have countermanded previous orders for troops to march into Great Yarmouth, there being reason for 'fearing least the putting in of forces at this tyme might breede some disturbance' in the said town.

There is a tale that the king was in hiding at the very end of his career for four days at the Castle Inn, Downham, and also slept at Snore Hall, near Ryston. There is no doubt that he reached Downham on

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 313, 314.

² *Ibid.* 314.

³ *Ibid.*

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30 April after his last long ride from Oxford by Uxbridge, St. Albans, and Ryston.¹ In the examination of Michael Hudson it is stated that 'he went to Downham to the "Swan." The king and Ashburnham had like to be discovered by a barber who said "their hayres were cutt with a knife."' ² The king stayed at Downham until 2 May when he rode out by Melton Mowbray to Stamford, and thence to the Scots commissioners.

In October, 1650, while Cromwell was absent in Scotland, there was a somewhat serious conspiracy in and about Norwich in favour of Charles II. When it was first detected Robert Jermy wrote to William Lenthall, 4 December, 1650: ³ 'In the first outbreacking of this insurrection the whole country seemed in a flame—and had been, had not the Lord even in the moment appointed for your and our sure overthrows showed he was God, Our God, who hath saved and would not now forsake us. . . . They had so many parties appointed and in so many places that we could apprehend no place safe. . . . There are many of power and eminency named as engagers with them. . . . But this is too plain that many, yea we justly fear so many of the middle ranks of men are engaged in it, that it will be to no end to try them by jury, but either to make some exemplary by a martial trial, or by the High Court of Justice.' This suggestion as to making some 'exemplary' was adopted by the government, which showed how serious the situation was considered by the steps it took to crush the rising. No less than 4,000 footmen were raised in the county in November, and a special court of three judges was sent down to try the prisoners. The court sat on Friday, 20 December, and condemned six men who had but short shrift, for they were hanged on the following Monday. On Tuesday six more were condemned, and on Christmas Day sentence of death was passed on the Reverend Mr. Cooper, of Holt,⁴ who was afterwards hanged in that town. Five more were condemned the next day, and on Friday a Colonel Saul (Sall) and another, who were hanged at Lynn. On the Monday, Major Francis Roberts and Lieutenant John Barber and two others were condemned and afterwards hanged, and last of all one Mr. William Hobart,⁵ of Holt, who had borne witness against Mr. Cooper, was in turn hanged at East Dereham.⁶ This makes up a total of twenty-five who suffered death for their conspiracy, a number which shows how widespread it must have been.

It is curious how little is known about this formidable conspiracy, but some light is thrown on it by the very ample confession and examination of Thomas Coke, esq., of Drayton in Shropshire, taken in the month of April, 1651,⁷ who begins his statement by admitting that he had 'not long since voluntarily and foolishly made an escape out of a messenger's custody, and not rendered himself according to the time prefixed, stands now by Act of Parliament attainted of treason, and ought thereby to suffer and forfeit as in case of treason.' The confession contains the following references to the Norfolk rising: 'The same day the rising was in Norfolke, one Curtis, Colonell Blake's man, came to this deponent's chamber, and told him of that rising. He, being angry at him, desired him to goe downe againe to appease

¹ Vide map in Gardiner, *Civil War*, iii, 90.

² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. i, 375.

³ *Ibid.* 544.

⁴ He was not the rector there.

⁵ He was brother to Edmund Hobart, esq. of Holt, who was a Royalist and died 1666. 'This is another instance showing how families were divided between the two parties.

⁶ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 399.

⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. i, 576.

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it if he could, which I thinke he did, for I never saw him since. The deponent knew not any person engaged in that commotion. He heard from that Curtis that Sir Henry Felton and Sir Ralph Skipwith¹ were forward men in the king's service there, but he knowes neyther of them. There is one Mr. Cot in Yarmouth, a great confident of Colonell Blake's for delivery of that towne.'² Further on the deponent goes on to state that 'Curtis, Colonell Blague's (Blake's) man, told mee upon the last rising in Norfolke there would fifteen hundred foote and fifteen hundred horse appeare, which were in readiness, and that they had one hundred barrells of powder, and much money att command, and that he receaved this information from Captaine Kitchinman, who was an actor therein. I never heard of one hundred men that appeared there yet. . . . When Blague came over with mee, he brought blanke commissions under the king's great seale for sheriffs of those two counties of Suffolk and Norfolke, but how hee disposed of them I cannott tell. He spoke of Sir Henry Felton for Suffolke and one Mr. Paston for Norfolke if he could get them to accept the same. But whether they did or no I cannott tell.'³

The Long Parliament was turned out in 1652, and the next year Cromwell ordered that the county of Norfolk should send ten members, Norwich, Lynn, and Yarmouth two each, and disfranchised Thetford and Rising, though giving their inhabitants votes for the county.⁴

Risings being threatened in 1654, a local Norwich company of volunteers 120 in number, were enlisted to be ready at any warning, but it does not appear that they were ever called out.⁵

In 1656 ten members were sent to Parliament from Norfolk, but five of them, namely Sir Ralph Hare, Sir William D'Oyly, Philip Wodehouse, John Buxton, and Thomas Sotherton were among the 161 members who were refused entrance to the House because they had not certificates that they had been approved by Cromwell's council. A member was bold enough to move a protest against this outrageous breach of the constitution, but (the 161 not being allowed to vote) it was lost by 29 to 125.

When, on the death of Oliver and the supersession of Richard Cromwell, the way was opened for the restoration of Charles, probably few cities were more glad to welcome back the Stuarts than Norwich. Curiously enough it appears that there was a very good chance of Charles II landing in Norfolk instead of at Dover, for when Hyde was writing to Mordaunt on 3 May, 1659, it was clearly in his mind that Charles might land in Norfolk. He says: 'I should be glad to hear from you, that, in either of the cases I have putt, or any other that is like to fall out, Sir Horatio Townshend would be able to make any notable appearance in Norfolk, which you know lies best for our landing.'⁶ Mordaunt on 27 May, says: 'We humbly leave to your considerations where you will land; and whether in one body or two; in Kent, or Norfolk, or more westward.'⁷ The *History of the Rebellion*⁸ also mentions a plot set on foot by Lord Willoughby of Parham and Sir Horatio Townshend

¹ He had been concerned in Charles I's escape in 1646 and is several times mentioned in the examination of Michael Hudson.

² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. i, 578.

³ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 400.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* x, App. vi, 196.

⁵ Clarendon, *op. cit.* (ed. Macray, 1888), vi, 111.

⁶ *Ibid.* 580.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.* 201.

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in 1659 to seize Lynn as a landing-place for the king. Townshend's share in these arrangements was rewarded by his being made lord-lieutenant¹ of the county directly Charles came back to the throne.

The citizens of Norwich hastened to show their loyalty on the succession of Charles by executing a deed of resignation of the fee farm rent of the city (£132 18s. 3d. per annum) which they had bought of the Commonwealth: they probably realized that they were not giving much away by so doing. They also gave him £1,000 in cash and a congratulatory address, and were introduced to His Majesty by Henry Howard, whose father was in 1661 restored to the dukedom of Norfolk, for which local honour all the Norwich bells were rung.²

In April, 1662, Miles Corbet, one of the regicides and perhaps the most prominent Norfolk man who took part in the king's execution, was put upon his own trial. He was an honest lawyer. His defence was that he had not at first taken part in the trial, but on the contrary had resolved not to do so, and had given reasons against the bill in the House, but becoming fully satisfied of the lawfulness of the execution, his conscience would not let him stay away any longer, 'and were it to be over again he would not abate an inch.' His conduct on the scaffold was most bold and resolute, and he died as bravely as any religious martyr could have done.³

During the year 1662 the militia was being organized into four regiments, viz.: Sir Ralph Hare's, rendezvous Swaffham; Sir William D'Oyly's, Norwich; Lord Richardson's, Norwich; Sir John Holland's, New Buckenham. Among the captains were members of nearly every Norfolk family of position, such as Wodehouse, Le Strange, Hare, Walpole, Kemp, and Windham. There was very soon need for these regiments, as war was declared with the Dutch in 1665, and our coast, being as heretofore especially open to attack, very great precautions were at once taken to resist, and the militia were practically in arms all along the coast. Though a great victory at Sole Bay (Southwold) on 3 June put great heart into the nation, there was no relaxation of watch and ward, very interesting particulars of which will be found in Mason.⁴

In 1667 and 1668 two Norfolk men received the king's pardon for acts of violence, which they were lucky enough to commit in times when their rank protected them more than it would now. Sir Thomas Pettus, finding a man injuring his woodland at Rackheath, struck him on the head with a stick, inflicting a fatal injury. There is an order from the king to the justices of assize for Norfolk commanding them to forbear execution of the sentence of burning in the hand or any other against Sir Thomas Pettus of Rackheath, Norfolk, if he be found guilty of the murder of Thomas Baxter, until further pleasure, and release him on security to sue out his pardon.⁵ Sir Thomas had been a well-known royalist in the late troubles and probably had but little difficulty in obtaining this order. Bernard Howard got a pardon for all crimes committed by him, especially for the murder of William Jenkins, and all assaults, batteries, and woundings done upon Francis earl of Shrewsbury and Sir John Talbot. Howard was the earl of Shrewsbury's

¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1661-2, p. 64.

³ Cobbett, *State Trials*, v, 1315.

⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1667, p. 240 (71)

² Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 403.

⁴ *Hist. of Norf.* 338.

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second in his memorable duel at Barn Elms with the duke of Buckingham, who had for a long while intrigued with the countess, so at least Pepys tells us. How it came about that Howard, if he were on Shrewsbury's side, should have wounded him and his other second is extremely difficult to understand. Jenkins was certainly on the side of the duke of Buckingham.

The king visited Norfolk in September, 1671, coming from Newmarket to Scole, where he breakfasted at the famous 'White Hart,' and then on to Yarmouth, where he was well received, £1,000 being spent in entertaining him, and £250 in making four gold herrings and a chain to present to him. He 'fed heartily' on the local herrings and proceeded to Norwich, where he was nobly lodged by Lord Howard in the duke's palace. There is a most interesting account¹ of the whole reception, but it is too long to print here. Two incidents strike the modern as curious, viz. that some one dropped a valuable pearl necklace, and that the finder who was 'a poor cavalier courtier' actually called out and returned it to its owner, 'such a surprising act of generous virtue that it has for ever gained him immortal fame and reputation in this city,'² and that Howard's butler averred that in about £5,000 worth of plate 'they have not lost one ounce.'³ From Norwich the king went to Sir Robert Paston's at Oxnead and thence back to Euston. The most memorable event of the visit was the knighting of Sir Thomas Browne. Possibly as some reward for his welcome in Norwich, Lord Henry Howard was created earl of Norwich and duke of Norfolk the next year.⁴

Some time after 1680 a most extraordinary story⁵ was told by one John Mendham of Thetford, who alleged that William Harbord, M.P. for Thetford, endeavoured to get him to join a party which was supposed to consist of so many members of both Houses that they were worth £500,000 a year, and were determined to go well armed to Oxford and have a skirmish with the king and his guards, for they were resolved to know what the king would be at, and they must have better security than his word, which he had broken so often they would not take it for a groat. This was supposed to be pointed against the accession of the duke of York, but it is extremely doubtful if there was any truth in the tale. The informant goes on to say that Harbord had shown him a double-barrelled gun, and was going to have more made, saying that he would soon be at the head of a regiment, and that they would never get on until they had hanged most of the bishops. Nothing came of the information, which may either have been pure invention or the malicious report of the ravings of a disappointed cavalier.

In 1681⁶ the duke of York visited Norwich while on his way from Yarmouth to Newmarket. He was received with much ceremony and firing of cannon and other demonstrations of loyalty, and was lodged in the bishop's palace. The result of this visit was seen soon afterwards in the address sent up by the city to the king, approving of the dissolution of Parliament and abusing the House of Commons in such terms that it was actually presented by the grand jury of Middlesex as a public libel, though the court of King's Bench took no notice of the presentation. The interests of the court were well looked after at this time both in the city of Norwich and in the county

¹ D. Turner, *Visit of King Charles to Norwich*.

⁴ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1672, p. 667.

⁵ Mason, *op. cit.* 366.

² *Ibid.* 17.

³ *Ibid.*

⁶ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 417.

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by Robert Paston, the new-made earl of Yarmouth,¹ whose son married one of the king's natural children. It was mainly through his exertions that Norwich was brought in 1682 to surrender its charter by a majority of forty to twenty-two in the council, to the great indignation of the freemen, who presented a petition praying the council to keep the liberties they had entrusted to them.²

The elections we have had to consider hitherto were in the earlier days practically farces, by which the electors returned anyone nominated by the dominant families, glad enough to do so if they could thereby save the payments then made to members, though in later days earnest endeavours were made to send to Westminster men who would protect their freedom and interests. But at the period we are now entering upon the wire-puller and the avowed professional party agent come on the scene, and it is far more difficult to understand why certain persons were or were not returned. There were nominally two parties, the court and the anti-court party; but, at all events in Norfolk, there seems to have been very little patriotism or personal loyalty to the court, and a great deal of private greed and ambition and competition between the greater families. Robert Paston, the first earl of Yarmouth, seems to have been an able and selfish supporter of the crown, possibly originally from cavalier propensities, but certainly later on, like the great Robert Walpole, for his pocket's sake. Both may have considered that the labourer was worthy of his hire, and certainly, though men of totally different classes, both worked their hardest and received lavish rewards. Mason very correctly says³ that 'it seems to have been quite a recognized thing that the lord-lieutenant should put up whomsoever he pleased, and that any others who might be brought forward were regarded as opponents of his and the king.'

There is a very interesting account preserved in an unsigned letter⁴ of the county election of 1675, which is very typical of the way in which elections were conducted at the time. The two nominees were Sir Robert Kempe, put forward by the lord-lieutenant, Lord Townshend, William Paston (afterwards earl of Yarmouth), and some deputy-lieutenants of the county; and Sir Nevill Catlyn, 'put up by a loyal party of gentry, clergy, and commonalty, much against his own will and inclinations.' It is rather curious to learn from a letter from J. Hurton to Lord Yarmouth⁵ that 'all the godly party, whether Presbyterians, Independents, or Quakers, are for Sir Robert Kemp.' This seems to have been an inversion of the usual order of things, and can only be explained by the supposition that the High Church party feared that the court meant to give indulgence to dissenters. The election seems to have aroused considerable feeling, for Hurton goes on to say,⁶ 'I remember the election which was in the first year of the late king, which is 50 years, and I have taken notice of many elections since, but did never hear that men's minds were so strangely moved as in this.' The Kempe party proved too strong for their opponents, and out-manœuvred them in various ways. The Catlyn party having bespoken the 'King's Head'

¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1673, p. 480.

² *Hist. of Norf.* 356.

³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, 371.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 417.

⁶ *Ibid.*

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at Norwich as their head quarters, were jockeyed out of it by the influence of the lord-lieutenant, and the letter describes how on the polling day

the Lord-Lieutenant was placed in a chair proportionable to his greatness in the Market Cross, over against the 'King's Head' Gate, where many of the Catlynes expected their rendezvous and entertainments, but coming hither unexpectedly found the Lord-Lieutenant and his party there, what discord and advantage this might put upon Sir Nevil Catlyne's party may be easily understood.

The winners appear also to have broken some agreement as to checking the voters, to prevent their voting twice, and the account finishes with this indignant remark :—

And now, good Sir, whether you will communicate to your brethren of the House of Commons how the militia of Norfolk govern their poor countrymen, or whether you will publish this paper to any of them, I leave it freely to your choice and discretion, with the assurance that if these irregularities be brought in question in the House of Commons, this relation will seem but a shadow to what will appear by the proofs.

At a bye-election in 1677 Paston had an unwilling opponent in Captain Augustine Briggs,¹ who was put forward by the sectaries,² from which it appears that the dissenters had soon left the court party. The captain was easily beaten, although no less than 330 faggot votes were created among the freemen to support him. By the next county election (1678) Paston had become lord-lieutenant, and threw in his interest with Sir Nevill Catlyn and Sir Christopher Calthorpe. It has been said that he used all his influence against the party with whom he co-operated in 1675, but there seems to be no proof of this ; he gives as his reason for supporting these two candidates that as ' they are persons of undoubted loyalty and worth, having declared their intention of standing for this county, he (Lord Yarmouth) has engaged all his interest to promote their election.'³ It is quite probable that Catlyn had come round to Paston's views. The Paston interest carried the day and his two candidates were declared elected, but a fresh election was ordered at which Sir John Hobart, son of the resolute Sir Miles Hobart (who had sat in 1645, 1654, 1656, and 1673) came out at the top of the poll, and Sir Nevill Catlyn only secured second place, Calthorpe and Windham being the unsuccessful candidates. Hobart in turn was unsuccessfully petitioned against. The Parliament only sat a very few months, and when the new writ was sent down to the sheriff it seems to have been handed over to and delayed by Paston, which brought down a letter from the Lord Chancellor to Paston warning him against this kind of procedure.⁴ Hobart and Sir Peter Gleane, a Norwich citizen, were elected practically without opposition to this and the following Parliament of 1681. Paston, earl of Yarmouth, died in 1683. Of the election of 1685 Evelyn writes in his diary, ' The truth is there were many of the new members whose elections and returns were universally censured, many of them being persons of no condition or interest in the nation or places for which they served, especially in Devon, Cornwall, Norfolk, &c. said to have been recommended by the Court.'⁵ This is certainly not fair to Norfolk, whatever may have happened in other counties, for nearly every one returned was of considerable position, viz. : For the county Sir James Astley, bart., and Sir Thomas Hare, bart. ; for Norwich, Robert

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, 384.

⁴ Mason, *op. cit.* 361.

² *Ibid.*

⁵ Evelyn, *Diary* (ed. Bray), ii, 223.

³ *Ibid.* 389.

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Paston and Sir Nevill Catlyn; for Yarmouth, Sir William Cook, bart., and John Friend, and so on, all elected being men of high standing.

The duke of Norfolk had married Mary, the daughter of Mordaunt, earl of Peterborough, a woman whose gallantries were notorious, among her reputed lovers being King James II. Possibly the private wrong may have made the duke so active a participator in bringing over William of Orange. He was the first to declare the prince in the county, riding into Norwich market-place at the head of 300 knights and gentlemen and declaring for a free Parliament.¹ He raised a regiment in the county, which was presently sent to Ireland to assist in the reduction of that kingdom, and which was in all probability engaged in the celebrated battle of the Boyne.² To Norwich he was a good friend, for he brought back its charter which had been so disgracefully surrendered to Charles II.

From the accession of William III the history of the county is really the history of the elections and the growth of farming, for none of the various attempts made by the Stuarts came to anything in Norfolk, though, as will be seen, one man suffered for his participation in them. The duke of Norfolk for the good service done by him was at once made lord-lieutenant of the county,³ and was taken into favour by William. He died, however, in 1701 without issue, and the title devolved successively on his nephews Thomas and Edward. But the connexion of the Howards with the county was practically over when in 1708 Thomas, eighth duke of Norfolk, in a fit of petulance pulled down the new palace (commenced by Henry the duke in 1602) in St. John Maddermarket, because Thomas Havers, then mayor of Norwich, declined to allow his private company of comedians to enter the city in state with trumpets blowing. Of late years, however, the present duke has taken considerable interest in the city, and has practically built the new Roman Catholic church on St. Giles' Hill.

About the time the Howards ceased to be dominant in Norfolk the Walpoles began to come to the front. They were descended from a knightly family of no great estate long settled at Houghton. One of them, Edward Walpole, married the daughter of Sir Terry Robsart and heiress to her grandfather Sir John Robsart, the noted free lance of the reigns of Henry IV, V, and VI. A later Walpole married one of the Bacons of Hessel, of the Lord Chancellor's family. One of the next generation married the daughter of a lord mayor of London, the issue of which match, Sir Edward Walpole, was practically the first of the family to enter public life, becoming M.P. for Lynn in 1660, and voting for the return of Charles II. His eldest son, Robert Walpole, member for the pocket borough of Castle Rising until 1700, was a prominent local Whig, but will be chiefly known to posterity as the father of the great Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards earl of Orford. The latter when only twenty-four married the daughter of Sir John Shorter, another lord mayor of London, and became M.P. for Lynn in 1702.

When he succeeded to his father's estate soon after his marriage it is said to have been worth over £2,000 a year, and no doubt he had a substantial fortune with his wife. It is impossible to enter here into the story of his career and the accusations made against him, but it must be admitted that he

¹ Blomefield, *op. cit.* iii, 424.

² *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1689-90, p. 20.

³ Mason, *op. cit.* 429.

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could not possibly out of his own patrimony and his wife's fortune alone have built the enormous pile at Houghton, made his priceless collection of pictures, and kept up the state which he did. His weekly expenditure when at Houghton was calculated to be no less than £1,500.¹ From 1708 to 1742 he took a great part in public affairs, being for the greater part of that time in office and almost indispensable to the country. In 1742 he was created earl of Orford and died in 1745; neither his public nor private life can be described as irreproachable, but both were very characteristic of his time.

The election of 1714 was stubbornly fought, the winners being Sir Jacob Astley and Thomas de Grey, who polled 3,059 and 3,183 against Sir Ralph Hare and Erasmus Earle, who had 2,840 and 2,635 votes. In October, 1714, the letters patent constituting the duke of Ormonde lord-lieutenant of Norfolk and Norwich were cancelled, and Charles Viscount Townshend was again appointed to that position. At this time, with a Norfolk member for prime minister, and Townshend, a Norfolk peer, the next chief minister, the representatives of the county enjoyed many advantageous and lucrative appointments in the royal and public service.²

The rising in 1715 does not appear to have affected the county, but in 1722 there is some slight evidence that there was a stir among the Jacobites in Norfolk. A letter is printed by Mason³ in enigmatic language to the effect that the 'Tanners' (Tories) of Norfolk would stand by the party and offer to bear expenses. Whigs were called 'Waggs,' the duke of Norfolk 'Mrs. Jones,' and letters are said to have been sent by the aid of Mrs. George Jerningham. The only man in Norfolk who had the courage of his opinions and suffered for the Jacobite cause was Christopher Layer, a man of good family at Aylsham, though he was a Londoner by birth. In a manuscript in Mr. Rye's possession called 'Acta Norvicensia,' and compiled by W. Massey, it is said that he was brought up by his uncle and was 'in his temper splenetic malicious and vengeful.'

It seems he was drawn into y^e conspiracy for which he suffered, by his going into Italy in 1721 about some affairs in his way of Business and his Curiosity leading him to Rome he became acquainted with and had several interviews with y^e Pretender. On 24 August being returned again into England at a meeting at Leyton House in Essex, Mr. Layer with other of his accomplices enlisted several persons for the service of the Pretender, and a few days after was apprehended and committed to the Tower.

He was tried on 31 October⁴ and found guilty, but not executed until 17 May, 1723, dying very courageously, and avowing that he was 'certain the nation can never be happy nor easy until the lawful king is placed upon the throne.' There is no doubt a good deal of cautious treason had been going on for some time, for the same MS. says under the date 10 June, 1720, 'this being the anniversary of the Pretender's Birthday it was observed here by the Jacobites as openly as they durst by wearing the White Rose and clean White Gloves.' The Whigs on the other hand showed their sentiments by burning effigies of the pope and the Pretender in Norwich market-place on 5 November, 1725, 1726, and 1728.

¹ Mason, *op. cit.* 447.

² *Ibid.* 440 gives a list of them.

³ *Ibid.* 441.

⁴ Howell, *State Trials*, xvi, No. 463.

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The amours of George II once more gave the county a left-handed alliance with royalty, his first mistress, Mrs. Howard, afterwards countess of Suffolk, being a daughter of Sir Henry Hobart of Blickling—whose brother was rewarded for his sister's dishonour by being made Lord Hobart and earl of Buckingham. The king's second mistress, the Walmoden, was created countess of Yarmouth.

Mr. Rye has in his collection a MS. which has never been printed, giving the following interesting account of the Norwich election of 30 August, 1727 :

This day was the election of Members of Parliament for this City ; About ten o'clock Waller Bacon and Robt Britiffe Esqres, went from the hall in St. Andrew's to the Hall in ye Market at the Head of about 1400 Gentlemen, Clergymen, Freeholders and Freemen ; At the Hall they were declared by the Sheriffs and the united voices of great numbers of people ; But a poll being demanded for Richd Berney and Miles Branthwait Esqres (and Cheques being ordered as usual) they went to polling. The Business was managed with Temper for some time, but the Mob of the different Parties at length began to affront one another, and tho' I was a spectator in the Market-place most of the time I cannot say which side began first ; which I suppose is ever hard to be determined in Cases of great and sudden Tumult. After the mixed Multitudes had commenced the Fray by throwing dirt, oyster shells, stones or whatever else their Fury could lay hold on, a warm Engagement ensued among ye Staff-men, who laid on all that stood in ye way with passion and violence, and it was with much difficulty and Danger that the Sheriffs got the Proclamation read to quell and disperse them. One of ye Sheriffs (Mr. Yestes) said in my hearing that some of the mob cry'd out Kill the Sheriffs. D — n 'em kill 'em and then we shall get the Election ; This Disturbance caused some delay and Interruption in ye Business, but they grew more cool again in a little time and continued voting till about Nine o'clock at night, when the polls were thrown up and were as here described : Robert Britiffe, Esq. 1628. Waller Bacon, Esq. 1542. M. Branthwait, Esq. 1265. Richd Berney, Esq. 1188. It was secretly resented by many of the Whig party, that Mr. Berney should oppose the old Members in this choice, For he had lately been made Recorder of this City and principally by their Interest. They could not forbear thinking yt some of ye ole Leaven of the Tories still lodg'd in him, whose party he had formerly been of, but seem'd to have abandon'd them for some time past. It was indeed expected yt Mr. Lombe of Melton would have stood Candidate, for he had treated such of the Freemen as would go to his House with a generous hospitality. But ye Party (the Tories) whose Interest he rely'd on merely deserted him at ye Last and put up those others in his stead. This ill usage he complained of in a Letter he sent Mr Britiffe the night before the Election, and resented it so much, that he promis'd him and Mr Bacon his vote, and what Interest he could then make for them against the other side.

No doubt it was in anticipation of the election of 1734 that Robert Walpole himself came down to Norwich, and was made a freeman and presented the city with a splendid silver mace.¹ The members elected for the city were Horatio Walpole and Walter Bacon. Another memorable election took place the same year, when Sir Edmund Bacon and William Wodehouse were returned for the county, beating Robert Coke² and William Morden (ancestor of the Suffields), by 3,224 and 3,153 against 3,081 and 3,147. This election is said to have cost Walpole £60,000, and what the late voters got to secure a majority of six must be left to imagination.

The Walpole interest in the county did not cease with Robert Walpole's death, for until 1826 a Walpole was nearly always sitting for Lynn. Their half of the pocket borough of Castle Rising was of course

¹ Blomefield, op. cit. iii, 448.

² He was son of Thomas Coke of Holkham, had sat for Norfolk in 1722, and was created Viscount Coke of Holkham and earl of Leicester in 1728 and 1744. Dying without issue, his estates went to his sister's son Wenham Roberts, who took the name of Coke, and was father of Thomas William Coke, the agriculturist, better known as 'Coke of Norfolk.'

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a close preserve for them or their nominees until it was extinguished by the Act of 1832.¹

A striking example of the lawlessness of the period occurred in 1775, when the Norwich coach was 'held up' in Epping Forest by seven highwaymen, and the guard was shot after he had killed three of his opponents.

'Coke of Holkham' in 1780² presented a petition praying the House to guard against unnecessary expenditure, to abolish sinecure places and pensions, and to resist the increasing influence of the crown. In the election of the year Astley and Coke at last came together at the head of the poll, Coke beating Grey by six votes only, Wodehouse being last.

The election of 1784 was a triangular duel between Astley, Coke, and Wodehouse. Coke was in this election severely lampooned and attacked for certain game prosecutions and actions for trespass which he had brought, and there is no doubt that his overbearing ways and fondness for game preservation did him more harm at the poll than all his services to agriculture did him good. He must have lost many votes, too, by the accusation that he had sold his party for a peerage, or as the election ballad put it :

Your countenance told us,
For a peerage you sold us.

Ultimately, finding his case hopeless, he wisely withdrew, apparently taking a very despondent view of the position of the Whig party, saying,

While I lament the loss of your confidence as it affects myself, I feel a more serious concern for the consequences of that loss to the Whig interest, which my family was in this county brought forward to support in the year 1768, and which now seems threatened with a total overthrow by the machinations of its enemies and by the temporary prejudices of many who should be its supporters.³

He was, in spite of his forebodings, re-elected in 1790, and continued a member till the Reform Bill of 1832, forty years in all, becoming the father of the House.

The French Revolution at first greatly excited the quasi-revolutionist party in Norwich. Banquets were given at the 'Maid's Head' and elsewhere, and the 'Rights of Man,' the 'Philosophers of France,' &c., were toasted. But the atrocities of the Revolution soon caused a great revulsion of feeling in the more thinking classes, and by 1792 pledges were freely and publicly entered into by many to support the constitution of King, Lords, and Commons. A great deal of inflammatory placarding and excitement to revolt was kept up for some time by local 'Simon Tappertits', and, indeed,

¹ How this place ever came to return members is a mystery. It first sent members 5 January, 1557, but there was never any trade or population to justify a single member. There was 'never a grant of a borough or of any municipal rights there.' Mr. Beloe (*Norf. Arch.* xii, 185) says that in 1642 and 1649 there were only twenty-five burgesses, and that the burgess tenements had been bought up partly by the Howards, partly by the Cholmondeleys of Houghton; a few remain in the family of Howard of Westacre. But the whole thing was a perfect farce, the Howards electing one member and the Walpoles the other.

² 'Coke of Holkham,' who 'gloried in the reputation of being the first commoner in England,' was by birth a Roberts, being the son of Wenham Roberts, who changed his name to Coke on succeeding to the Coke estates in 1759. The services he rendered to Norfolk agriculture can hardly be overestimated, for though he did not, as is generally said, introduce the turnip, he very thoroughly exploited it. A full account of his work will be found in the *Trans. Roy. Agric. Soc.* (3rd ser.), vi, 1-14.

³ Mason, *op. cit.* 454.

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the state of the county seems to have caused the government some uneasiness, but this feeling was probably more due to the prevalent condition of alarm and panic among the ruling classes than to any real danger. In 1793 the Hon. H. Hobart presented a petition signed by 3,741 inhabitants of Norwich pressing for parliamentary reform.

By 1794 the French war had caused the necessity of home defence to be much greater than many had thought, and to emphasize this a county meeting was called in the Shire Hall to consider what steps should be taken. The Townshends, Lord Walsingham, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Jodrell all moved or supported resolutions for forming volunteer corps of cavalry, and for subscribing to maintain them. 'Coke of Norfolk,' the agriculturist, moved an amendment protesting against the war altogether, and stating that it was the duty of the meeting to refuse to subscribe. It was impossible to say whether the amendment or resolution was carried, but no less than £11,000 was subscribed in the room, and in 1797 a Light Horse Association under Mr. John Harvey, and a Loyal Military Association under Mr. John Patteson, were successfully organized. Mason, in his *History of Norfolk*, prints very much interesting matter as to the preparations made to resist invasion, and especially the letters and projects of General Money, who seems to have been by far the most able local man, and a commander of ingenuity and resource. His plan for mounting light guns weighing 20 cwt. on strong corn waggons capable of carrying 60 cwt. is very interesting.¹ Very careful arrangements were made to send the women, children and old men, and all the most valuable property inland by a regularly planned service of carts in case of invasion, and not a few printed placards of instructions can still be seen occasionally in farm-houses.

In 1797 there were meetings and counter-meetings urging the king to dismiss and support his ministers, and Thelwall, a well-known revolutionary agitator, came down and tried to seduce the military. At Yarmouth there was a meeting on board the fleet. Next year, however, the naval successes put people in a better humour, and Norwich received with effusion a Spanish admiral's sword won by Nelson,² Norfolk's great naval hero.

In 1802 the Hon. W. Windham lost his seat at Norwich, and was to have put up for the county (Wodehouse reluctantly retiring in his favour), but a safer seat was found for him elsewhere, and Wodehouse reappeared in the Tory interest. After a close contest for second place, Coke was easily first, and Astley beat the Hon. John Wodehouse by ninety-six, which must have been the more annoying to the latter as he had been in front for the first five days.

The threatened invasion of England in 1802-3 made much stir here, and a regiment of volunteer infantry numbering 1,400 was raised at Norwich, as well as a rifle corps under the captaincy of Mr. R. M. Bacon, then editor of the *Mercury*, who wielded sword as well as pen. Much of the credit for the preparations for defence is due to William Windham, who pointed out the risk of a local landing most forcibly to the government, and 'plainly

¹ Mason, *op. cit.* 468.

² Nelson, son and grandson of country parsons, was aided in coming to the front by his descent from the Walpoles, from whom he took his Christian name. Paternally he was descended from a family settled at Scarning in 1664, which probably came from the adjoining village of Wendling. The alleged earlier descent from a family at Maudesley in Lancashire, said to be armigerous, is more than doubtful.

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threatened an impeachment of the ministers should any great stroke be struck in Norfolk for want of those precautions which had been pointed out to the honourable gentlemen.’¹ By 1804 there were 32,000 men of all ranks ready for the reception of any invading army, though, happily, they were never called upon.

In 1806 the Wodehouse party was again severely beaten at the polls, ‘Coke of Norfolk’ and William Windham being easily successful, though unseated on a petition. In the next year Sir J. H. Astley (ancestor of Lord Hastings) and Edward Coke, esq. of Derby were elected, probably by arrangement. Later in the year, however, ‘Coke of Norfolk’ took his kinsman’s place, a seat having been found for Edward Coke at Derby.

There were of course great rejoicings at Norwich and in the county generally at the news of the victory of Waterloo, but the happiness of this year was greatly marred locally by the Corn Law riots. These were most serious at Downham, where the military had to be called out, and at the subsequent trials sixteen of the rioters were condemned to death, though two only were executed. In 1822 there were serious rick-burning riots and much open destruction of threshing-machines, but these troubles were suppressed without loss of life. There were also the weavers’ riots in 1826, and renewed rick burnings in 1831, which were probably not unconnected with the agitation which brought in reform. The Reform Bill in 1832 disfranchised Castle Rising and divided Norfolk into two divisions, each returning two members. In 1867–8 Thetford and Yarmouth were disfranchised, and the county received two members more. This arrangement was again changed by the Redistribution Bill of 1885, which divided the county into six single-member constituencies, North-Western, South-Western, North, East, Mid, and South. Yarmouth, which had been disfranchised in 1867 for notorious corruption, now received one member from King’s Lynn. The latest incident in the political history of Yarmouth is fresh in the memory of all.

During the reign of the late Queen Victoria the only signs of any local trouble or political ferment were those seen at the time of the Chartist movement in 1839 and 1841. The movement seems, however, to have found but very little support in Norfolk, and the subsequent political history of the county has been that of the various contests between the two political parties of the day.

The two regular battalions of the present territorial regiment are furnished by the old Ninth Foot, which in its early days had no connexion with Norfolk, having been raised in Gloucestershire during Monmouth’s rebellion, though Sedgemoor was fought and won before the new corps was ready for the field.² It then saw long and honourable service at the passage of the Boyne, in the Peninsula,³ with Galway, at Belle-Isle, Havannah and elsewhere, though fated to share the bitterness of Burgoyne’s surrender at Saratoga.⁴ As early as the reign of Queen Anne, the Ninth bore the famous regimental badge of Britannia, but armed with a spear, which was officially confirmed to it in 1799.⁵ The *Irish Army Lists* after 1746 mention its

¹ Pellew, *Life of Lord Sidmouth*, ii, 232.

² At Almanza the regiment was nearly annihilated.

³ Lawrence-Archer, *British Army*, 173.

⁴ *Hist. Rec. of Ninth Reg.* (1848), et seq.

⁵ *Hist. Rec. ut supra*, 37.

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facings as orange,¹ while in 1751 they were ordered by royal warrant to be yellow. The king's colour was to be the great union, and the regimental of yellow silk with the union in the upper canton.²

It was not until the year 1782 that the Ninth was directed to bear the style of the East Norfolk Regiment of Foot, with a view to encourage local recruiting ; and in the following year men enlisted from the county as well as from Wales helped with repatriated prisoners of war in bringing the corps up to its proper strength.³ In 1799 the regiment was divided into three battalions, having swollen to over 3,000 men by an influx of volunteers from the Gloucester and other militia corps. The two new battalions were disbanded in 1802.⁴ When the hope of a permanent peace was disappointed and war broke out, a second battalion was again formed, with head quarters at Sherborne in Dorset. Both battalions did good service in the Peninsular war, while on a fatigue party of the first devolved the sad duty of digging the grave of Sir John Moore at Corunna. This is commemorated by the black line in the officers' lace approved by Her late Majesty Queen Victoria in 1881.⁵ The first battalion showed conspicuous courage and extraordinary discipline at Busaco and many other battles of the Peninsula, while at the passage of the Bidassoa it won the signal honour of being thanked⁶ on the field by the marquis of Wellington in person, and received mention in dispatches.⁷ From this time may date the regimental nicknames the 'Fighting Ninth' and the 'Holy Boys.' Of the second of these, two explanations have been given. The first and more complimentary explains it from the fact that our Spanish allies mistook the regimental badge of Britannia for the image of the Blessed Virgin ; a less pleasant derivation suggests that the corps won it as an ironical allusion to their habit of selling their bibles for liquor, and to their activity in despoiling convents.

Neither battalion was at Waterloo, though the first landed at Ghent in August, 1815, and till 1818 formed part of the Army of Occupation in France. Meanwhile the second battalion had at the close of the war been disbanded about Christmas, 1815.⁸ For nearly thirty years the regiment saw no war service, but in 1842 formed part of the avenging army which marched into Afghanistan, 'the chief meed of praise being only justly due to that noble corps the Ninth Foot, and their gallant and chivalrous leader, Colonel Taylor.'⁹

A few years later the regiment bore an honourable part in the great Sikh war, and at Ferozeshah, when the first attack had been repulsed, charged the enemy's guns and their infantry escorts with the bayonet, and restored the fortune of the day.¹⁰ A little later the Ninth saw service in the trenches at Sebastopol, and in 1858 a second battalion was raised for the third time, which twenty years after took part in the Jowaki expedition of 1877-8 and the Afghan campaigns which followed.¹¹

During the late South African war the second battalion did hard and most useful work in the seventh division, and saw some sharp fighting at Karee Siding, while the smart defence of Zuurfontein in January, 1901, by

¹ Lawrence-Archer, *op. cit.* 173.

² *Ibid.* 33.

³ Rudolf, *Short Hist. of Terr. Reg.* 90.

⁴ Gurwood, *Wellington's Disp.* vii, 50.

⁵ Low, *Life of Sir G. Pollock*, 258.

⁶ Archer-Lawrence, *op. cit.* 175.

⁷ *Hist. Rec. ut supra*, 23.

⁸ *Ibid.* 41.

⁹ *Hist. Rec. ut supra*, 71.

¹⁰ *Hist. Rec. ut supra*, 79.

¹¹ Rudolf, *op. cit.* 92.

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120 men of the Norfolk regiment and a few of the Lincoln was a creditable episode of garrison duty.¹

On the radical army reorganization of 1881, the regiment was directed to bear the style of the Norfolk Regiment instead of the East Norfolk. The present facings are yellow in accordance with the precedent of the eighteenth century.²

The third and fourth battalions of the Norfolk Regiment are formed from the Norfolk militia. Incidental reference has already been made to the county militia, but a few facts may be added here.³ In 1697 the infantry numbered 4,532 divided into the Blue Regiment (Colonel Sir Jacob Astley, bart.), the Yellow Regiment (Colonel Robert Walpole), the Purple Regiment (Colonel Edmund Wodehouse), the White Regiment (Colonel Sir Richard Berney), each comprising seven companies, while Norwich, Yarmouth, and Lynn furnished further contingents of six, four and two companies respectively. Six troops of horse mustered 335 strong, bringing the county establishment up to very nearly 5,000 men.

As the necessity for a standing army was gradually though reluctantly accepted by the nation, the old constitutional force suffered neglect, but during the Seven Years' War, when every linesman that could be spared was employed abroad, the government determined to call out and reorganize the militia. In 1758 the Act for the better regulating of the militia passed in the previous year was first put into execution, and the quota fixed for Norfolk was 960 men, of which Norwich furnished 151. On 21 June, 1759, the First or West Norfolk Regiment was commanded by Colonel the Right Honourable George Townshend, and the Second or East Norfolk Regiment by Sir Armine Wodehouse, bart. Soon after this George II ordered that every mark of his favour should be shown to the Norfolk militia as 'being the *first* which offered to march wherever they might be most serviceable to the public defence.' Furthermore, when passing the Norfolk men in review His Majesty called Lord Orford from the head of the regiment and was graciously pleased to inquire of him the names of the individual officers as they marched past, 'and on their paying the military salute His Majesty condescended to pull off his hat to every officer.' In 1796 an Act was passed authorizing the raising of supplementary militia by ballot, partly for the purpose of feeding the regular, or as they were often styled from their frequent embodiments the marching militia, and partly for local defence. In Norfolk four such regiments were raised. The behaviour of the Norfolk Militia at its various garrisons was most favourably mentioned, and in 1802 on the disembodiment of the East Norfolk Militia, according to a statement of the *Ipswich Journal* (1 May, 1802), 'In a few hours after the men had delivered up their arms and accoutrements, they were observed in perfect sobriety taking the roads that led to their respective families,' although it was the day of the fair, so that 'scarce a single soldier of this respectable corps was to be seen in the street on the evening of Friday.'

In 1808 local militia were raised in Norfolk and in other parts of the country, while great numbers of the volunteers transferred their services to the newly raised corps. The May of the next year witnessed the first

¹ Rudolf, *op. cit.* 93.

² See *Official Army List*, Oct. 1905.

³ These are mainly derived from Sir C. Harvey's *Hist. of the Fourth Battalion of the Norfolk Regiment*.

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assembling of six regiments of local militia to perform twenty-eight days' exercise ; they were stationed at Yarmouth, Lynn, Swaffham, and Norwich. In the summer of 1811 the East Norfolk Regiment of Militia volunteered for Ireland, and in the early autumn arrived at Cahir 'a fine body of men about 700 strong,' according to the *Limerick Gazette*.¹ After Waterloo had given peace to Europe the Norfolk volunteers were disbanded, while the trainings of the regular militia were held at irregular intervals. In 1831, after a lapse of five years, the Norfolk Militia were again called out, and this action may have been due to the political unrest then existing, but there was no further training till the reorganization of the early fifties. The later history of the county representatives of the old Constitutional force, though full of interest, local and regimental, cannot be told here, but we may mention that the third battalion of the territorial regiment, the old West Norfolk Regiment of Militia, was embodied from 25 January, 1900, to 11 April, 1902, and served in South Africa ; the fourth battalion, the old East Norfolk Regiment of Militia was embodied from 1 May, 1900, to 17 July, 1901.

Besides its infantry militia the county possesses the Prince of Wales's Own Norfolk Royal Garrison Artillery, with head quarters at South Denes, Yarmouth. It was originally formed in 1853 by men drafted for the purpose from the East and West Norfolk Militia.

The county regiment of Imperial Yeomanry, the King's Own, has the distinguished honour of claiming as honorary colonel His Majesty the King. Their uniform is blue with yellow facings.

Mention has already been made of the activity of Norfolk men in coming forward during the war with Napoleon to aid in national defence. The same spirit is still alive in the county, and four volunteer battalions of infantry, with head quarters at Norwich (first and fourth), Yarmouth and East Dereham, furnished service companies for South Africa in the years 1900-2. To the third battalion is attached a cadet corps from Gresham's school, Holt. The First Norfolk Royal Garrison Artillery (Volunteers) comprises five batteries and six companies.

¹ 15 Oct. 1811.

MEDIAEVAL PAINTING

AN account of the remains of Mediaeval painting in the county of Norfolk is, in point of fact, an epitome of the art as practised throughout England in the middle ages, but the reason for the introduction of the present paper in this place lies in this, that in none of the other English counties do the relics of the art exist in such numbers, or of so varied a kind.

The examples of painting to be described may be broadly divided into two classes. The first includes pictorial representations of events in sacred history, of legends of saints, or of single figures of saints, and of sacred allegories. Under this head may be placed most of the mural paintings and the work upon the screens. The second class comprises all purely decorative ornamentation such as that which covers a certain number of church roofs in the district in question, and which also adorns the upper divisions and framework of the screens.

It must be premised that the examples to be treated of are only to be found in the churches, for outside of them painting practically did not exist.

The pictorial representations of scriptural and other subjects on the walls of the churches are often of the rudest character. There seldom appears to be any definite scheme of arrangement, nor are the compositions always placed within definite boundaries, but are often executed somewhat at random on any convenient wall surface. The more ambitious attempts, however, are sometimes confined within bounding lines of simple bands of colour or of scroll work, and in the later examples, in which the details become more realistic both in figures and backgrounds, this is certainly the case. Taken as a whole, from the point of view of art, the wall paintings of the Norfolk churches leave much to be desired; nevertheless, they are interesting for their *naïveté*, the direct way in which they tell a story, and now and again for a certain purity of line and delicacy of drawing, especially in the draperies of the figures. Their value archaeologically, however, cannot be called in question.

Traces of paintings have been found on the walls of over fifty churches in Norfolk, but anyone who wishes to study those traces on the spot will, in very many instances, be disappointed. The rage for so-called 'restoration,' and the carelessness or misdirected zeal of incumbent or churchwarden,

Besides information derived from personal observation, the principal works consulted for the following account are *The Archaeological Journal*, vi. & xix., *Norfolk Archaeology*; Blomefield's *Hist. of Norf.*; *A List of Buildings in Great Britain and Ireland having mural and other painted decorations*, &c., issued by the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, edited by C. E. Keyser, M.A., F.S.A., ed. 3, 1883, and *Emblems of Saints*, by the Rev. F. C. Husenbeth, D.D., V.G., ed. 3, edited by the Rev. A. Jessopp, D.D., (Norf. and Norw. Arch. Soc.). Information has also been obtained from the Sacrist rolls of Norwich Cathedral and from the Dawson Turner Collection of drawings, &c., illustrating Blomefield's *Hist. of Norf.* Add. MSS. B.M. 23024-23051.

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have swept away most of them, and often those of greatest interest. Records of them have to be disinterred from archaeological publications, in which occasionally representations of them may be seen, but these are seldom of a satisfactory nature, either from want of skill on the part of the copyist or from the inadequate scale of the copy, or from both. There is room in this account for the description of only a small selection; those here given being chosen as the best and most typical of the many which exist, or have existed, in the county.

Taking these examples in order of date, as the most convenient for purposes of description, the first and earliest is to be found, as might be expected, in the Cathedral Church at Norwich (Pl. I.). It was discovered in 1898, and the colours are still fresh after being hidden for centuries beneath the various coats of yellow wash with which the interior of the great church was covered until that year. Unfortunately only a small portion of the painting remained, but enough was left to show that the period in which it was executed was the latter half of the twelfth century. It occurred on the Norman vaulting and on one transverse arch of the first bay of the south aisle of the nave west of the quire screen, and adorned a chapel in this bay, the dedication of which is now unknown. Originally, outlining each triangle of the vaulting, was a broad dark red line bordered on each side by a yellow one. A band of greyish white came next, and within it the ground was a bright blue. A small portion of the design painted on this ground exists in the western triangle, and shows part of a throne on which is seated a king with perhaps another figure beside him. He is represented in a pale green robe, and has purple shoes. Before his feet is a footstool. Beneath this personage are traces of two youthful male figures standing and looking upwards. One wears a long green tunic with yellow sleeves, and a green mantle fastened on the left shoulder. The other is clad in a short purple tunic edged with blue, a yellow mantle with border of the same colour, and tight green hose. The broad surface of the transverse arch separating the compartment on which is this painting from that next to it on the west, has been adorned with a series of roundels, of which only three remain. These are formed by narrow interlacing stems upon a ground approaching the colour of emerald green, and scrolls with flowers of various shades, slaty grey, gold colour, and white on a blue ground, fill the spaces between the roundels. The ground of the roundels is blue, within broad bands of greyish white and buff alternately, the subjects painted upon them filling the whole circle, and encroaching upon and in places covering the white bands. These subjects though much injured can be made out fairly well. The first and lowest represents a church with central tower. The masonry of the aisle wall and of the triforium is gold colour, while that of the clerestory with an arcade of semi-circular arches is greyish white, as is also the masonry of the tower. The roof of the church and the pyramidal roof of the tower are coloured green. In the next roundel above is a seated mitred figure wearing a blue robe, with a cope of reddish purple over it. The hands are clasped as if in prayer, and a crosier rests against the body in the bend of the right arm. To the right are traces of a standing figure habited in a green robe. Upon the buff-coloured border of the roundel and close to the mitre of the former figure are some letters in white of an

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inscription, now destroyed. What is left appears to read INTIMA P. The third and last roundel represents a clerk and a layman seated, one at each end of a table. The clerk is habited in white, the layman in green tunic and purple hose, purple being also the colour of the table. The clerk appears to be handing over a number of silver coins, which the other is counting.

The subjects of these paintings are doubtful, owing to their very fragmentary condition. It may be guessed, however, that the centre of each compartment of the vaulting had a group of two figures with other groups in each of the angles. The colouring of these paintings is rather gaudy, and the reds and yellows usually associated with work of the twelfth century are here replaced by crude greens. It might almost be imagined that the paintings were the work of one more accustomed to glass than wall painting. The flesh tones of the figures are cadaverous, with the usual abrupt application of the high lights characteristic of the painting of the time. The colours are solidly applied on a coarse sandy friable plaster with much hair in it.

The paintings just described are not the only specimens of the art of the twelfth century to be found in the cathedral church of the diocese. The whole of the quire and its aisles and appended chapels, and possibly even the transepts, were adorned in this period, not with figure painting but with a simple yet effective scheme of ornamentation, traces of which may still be detected in various places. The whole of the walls and vaulting of the aisles was coloured a broken white, on which was painted a diaper of a simple masonry pattern, covering all the surfaces with a net-work of lines in black and red. The broad transverse arches between each bay of the vaulting of the aisles were edged with a vandyked pattern in red, and the arrises formed by the intersections of the vaulting were covered in alternate bays with a broad band of grey with vandyked borders of black, and with a yellow band imitating marble with a vandyked border of dark red. At the crowns of the vaulting geometrical figures were placed; in one instance there is a quatrefoil enclosing foliage in blackish green on a white ground, in another the Holy Lamb is painted. These details, however, have rather the look of a later addition to the earlier scheme of ornament. The mouldings and capitals of the wall-arcading of the lateral chapels of the apse, and probably those of the aisles of the quire, were fully coloured. Traces of such colouring were visible enough in 1875, but have faded or almost disappeared since that date. When freed from the yellow wash which had covered them for ages the following colour arrangement could be made out on this arcading. The face of the string-course over the arches had originally been painted a slaty blue with roundels of white at frequent intervals; each roundel containing a centre spot of brilliant orange red. The chamfer beneath this face showed a vandyked border of white and chocolate colour. In the centre of each spandril was a large six-leaved flower of a brilliant orange red with a white centre, while the cushion capitals of the shafts had a half flower of the same colour on their vertical faces, the ground being bordered by a line of slaty blue. The necking of each capital was also of a brilliant red, and the chamfer of each abacus vandyked alternately in blue and chocolate. The roll moulding of the arches of the arcade showed a dull greenish blue

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ground splashed with white and bright red, evidently an imitation of some marble, perhaps serpentine. The capitals of the double columns supporting the transverse arches between the bays of the vaulting in the aisles had been treated in much the same way as those of the arcade, but the division beneath the vertical faces of each capital had been coloured to imitate yellow marble.

The same system of decoration as that which adorned the aisles was employed in the triforium of the quire, with the additional enrichment afforded by coloured diapers upon the shafts supporting the arches, the mouldings of which latter were covered with different simple patterns. The work in the triforium is not so easily to be made out as that in the aisles, but the scheme of the Norman colouring is still distinguishable, and it is possible to realize in imagination its effect when perfect. The fact of the imitation of various marbles to be seen in the work is worthy of note, as it shows the persistence of the idea of the use of such materials, brought down from the Roman period.

Comparatively few traces of the painter's art of the thirteenth century are to be found in the county, and these belong to the latter half of the century. There is a certain quantity of ornamental detail, but no great figure compositions, and only one small example of such compositions can be cited. This occurred in the back of a large recess in the west wall of the nave of Starston Church in Southern Norfolk. It was discovered in 1872 when that wall was taken down to build a north aisle, and was consequently destroyed. The recess was 2 feet from the floor, about 4 feet wide, and the same in height to the apex of the arch. Judging from a copy made at the time it was uncovered the subject of the painting filling this recess appears to have been an entombment. It was painted upon the back wall on a green ground, which possibly had originally been blue, but which had suffered a chemical change. A tomb, on which lies a pink pall, is shown in the foreground, the space at its head being occupied by an altar covered by white drapery. The composition contains many figures, the prevailing colours being pink of various shades, purple and yellow; black and white are also freely used.

It should be noted that the hair of the characters represented, with only two or three exceptions, is bright yellow, the flesh tones being only a broken white with a slight colouring in the cheeks.¹

When describing the Norman colouring in the choir aisles of Norwich Cathedral mention was made of the quatrefoils painted at the intersections of the vaultings. These are apparently thirteenth-century work, as may be the elaborate masonry pattern on the soffit of the arch of the apse of St. Luke's chapel in the same church. The voussoirs of this arch are painted alternately grey and red with a leaf pattern in white running through them. The soffit of the arch of entrance to the same chapel bears also traces of a pattern of lozenges, white with two bordering bands, one vandyked red and white, the other grey. Each lozenge held some device, the only one remaining showing a red lion rampant.

Of far more interest than these fragments of decorative work were those discovered in 1889 in the deanery. When the floors of two rooms over the kitchen were under repair beams a foot deep and ten inches wide were exposed. These were covered on the sides with paintings, as doubtless were their

¹ See *Norfolk Archaeology*, vii, 300.



G. E. Fox, del.

PLATE I—PAINTINGS ON THE VAULTING OF A BAY OF THE SOUTH AISLE OF THE NAVE, NORWICH CATHEDRAL

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soffits, which unfortunately could not be examined. The patterns were as follows :

1. On a green ground red roundels containing white lions, alternating with yellow roundels containing black eagles.
2. On a blue ground red quatrefoils margined in white.
3. On a red ground white lions facing right and left alternately.
4. On a brownish black ground red lions.

In all cases the roundels, lions, etc., are divided from each other by upright white lines.

5. On a ground of red and white chevrons, blue panels containing yellow quatrefoils in which were grotesque busts.

These beams were, with very little doubt, some of the rafters of the flat roof of the Prior's hall. If the spaces between them were as fully coloured as their sides the whole effect of the ceiling must have been rich indeed, approaching an almost Oriental intricacy of colour and form.¹

Entries in the sacrist's rolls of the cathedral under the years 1277-79 mention several painters, and this work may well have been executed by them.²

An almost complete scheme of decoration is to be found in the church of West Walton, near Wisbech, a good specimen of the architecture of the thirteenth century. The walls are grounded in a buff tint covered by a simple masonry pattern ; upon this in the spandrils of the nave arcade were painted sexfoils outlined with red lines and a band of blue or black dots. The ground of the sexfoils was red, having a buff disk in the centre, and the cusps ended in large fleurs-de-lis. Each sexfoil was surrounded by a circular band of red lines divided into squares each enclosing a flower. Between the windows of the clerestory, on the same masonry pattern ground, are still to be seen representations of hangings—flat rectangular panels of tapestry covered by geometric diapers which strongly recall both in colour and design the tile pavements of the period. A few of the more elaborate may be here noted :

1. Red and buff hexagons in alternate rows.
2. Horizontal bands of red and buff ; on the former pairs of doves in buff ; on the latter red fleurs-de-lis.
3. On a red ground rows of griffins in buff alternating with rows of buff fleurs-de-lis.

All the tapestries have narrow borders of red and dark blue. The patterns are said to have been scratched upon the plastering and then filled in with colour.³ The shafts of the nave arcade are of purbeck marble, the dull greyish black of which was an element of considerable importance in the colour scheme, which was of the simplest description—red and dull blue or black upon a ground of buff. In effect, when perfect, the arrangement must have been like much architectural work of the period, dry and rigid and wanting in the colour of an earlier and the graceful forms of a later age.

For a specimen of work of a somewhat later date, that of the early years of the fourteenth century, reference must again be made to paintings remaining in Norwich Cathedral. The chapel of the Relics, formed in one of the bays of the north aisle of the presbytery of that church, exhibits on its

¹ For illustration of these beams see *Norfolk Archaeology*, xi. 179, 181.

² See p. 23.

³ For illustrations and description of these paintings see *Gothic Ornaments shown from Existing Authorities* by James K. Colling, Architect, i. plates 58, 62, 63, and *The Builder*, 1864, p. 724.

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quadripartite Norman vaulting, and on its western transverse arch, paintings of this period (Pl. II.). The arrises of the vaulting, as in the twelfth century work previously described, are covered by a broad band of greenish grey, much like Purbeck marble in colour, edged by a narrow red line. At the point of intersection at the crown of the vault these bands are covered by a circular space greyish drab in colour, equally edged with a red line. On this ground is painted a seated figure, probably of our Lord, vested in blue, and a branching vine in white springs from one side of the circle, and curves in a graceful scroll behind the figure. Concentric with this circular space, at a distance of two feet from it, is a band of dark grey between two and three inches wide. The interval between this band and the circular space is filled with interlacing scrolls of a pale green delicately outlined with black on a ground of broken white, with flowers of an orange red on stems springing from the scrolls. Outside this band were painted, on a broken white ground like that of the scroll work just described, a group of three standing figures in each division of the vaulting. Of these groups only that to the east is fairly well preserved. The name of each figure was painted above it upon the grey band mentioned, but can now be read only here and there. Still, with the aid of the inscriptions and in other ways, the identity of the personages represented could be made out when the paintings were first exposed. The late Dean Goulburn, in his description of the chapel, says: 'In the southern section (of the vaulting) the central figure is that of a bishop, who has St. Edmund on his right hand and St. Lawrence on his left. St. Edmund is presenting a sword to the bishop, or the bishop to St. Edmund; the painting is so defaced that it is impossible to say which. In the western section are represented the Blessed Virgin and the Divine Child, having St. Catherine on the left hand and St. Margaret on the right. The Child seems to be looking up earnestly into the Mother's face, and grasping at an apple which she holds in her hand. St. Catherine carries her wheel; St. Margaret, under whose feet are seen the twining folds of the dragon, holds a crosier in her left hand and a palm-branch in her right . . . In the northern section are three bishops (or abbots) with pastoral staves . . . These bishops have all low-peaked early mitres . . . the names over their heads (one all but effaced) show them to be St. Martin, St. Nicholas, and St. Richard of Chichester.'¹ The identifications of the figures may be correct, but only those in the eastern section are sufficiently preserved to enable any judgment to be formed respecting the colour and style of these compositions. In the section named, St. Peter stands with St. Andrew on his right and St. Paul on his left hand. He is vested in amice and albe, a green dalmatic, and a pale blue chasuble, with pall, stole (?), and fanon. On his head is the papal crown, which in the fourteenth century only showed one circle, and in his hand he bears the keys. St. Paul, robed in green with an undergarment of red, turns sideways towards St. Peter, holding out towards him the sword of his martyrdom. St. Andrew habited in blue stands with his cross before him.

The ground on which all these figures are painted is a broken white, sufficiently dark to allow of the nimbus of each saint showing white upon it. This ground is covered with delicate branching scroll work of vine leaves in

¹ *Norf. Arch.* (1884), ix. 275, *et. seq.*

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blue, giving the effect of a diaper. The figures show dark upon the light ground. Their flesh tones are but a trifle darker and warmer than the ground. The western transverse arch of the vaulting was adorned with twelve figures in pairs, some of which remain, each pair under canopies supported by green columns. The tracery of such of these canopies as are preserved is in outline on black, and the figures are painted on a delicate bluish grey ground. The figures themselves are nimbed and carry alternately an emblem and a scroll, the colours of their draperies being a dull green, dull purple, and a slaty blue. In all the groups of figures mentioned there is a great deal of delicate outlining both in the draperies and in the features. In fact, throughout these paintings, it is form, not colour, which is insisted upon, and the contrast in this respect between these subjects of the early fourteenth century and those in the same church of the late twelfth century, previously treated of, is very striking.

Following down the course of time the next examples to be cited are the paintings of pictorial character, possibly executed about 1360, upon the walls of the church of West Somerton, lying between Martham Broad and the sea coast. This single-aisled church is rich in pictured walls, but the paintings which were uncovered in 1867 are in a greatly decayed condition. When revealed in that year there were to be seen on the north wall of the nave the Entry into Jerusalem, the Flagellation, and the Resurrection, and on the south wall, the Doom. The last-named picture appears to be the only one of which any copy has been made.¹ It is very fragmentary, a large portion of both upper and lower parts having disappeared. It is situated between two of the windows, and occupies a space 12 feet in length, framed by a narrow border with a waved line upon it. The figures are painted upon a dark red ground sparsely powdered with white rosettes. In the centre of the composition was our Lord, seated upon the rainbow with the Earth beneath His feet; His figure is unfortunately lost. On the right kneels in intercession the Blessed Virgin before her Divine Son, her right hand pressed to her bosom. Behind her, and supporting her, stands an angel. Another female figure which cannot be identified owing to its ruined condition, also kneeling and supported by an angel, balances that of the Virgin. Below and on either side of the picture stand the angels of the Judgment, robed and crowned, and blowing the trumpets of the Doom. Between them the dead of all qualities and conditions, some naked, others in their habits as they lived, kings and priests and peasants, are rising from the grave. If an opinion may be ventured from the slight illustration existing of this picture, it may be said that the composition is not wanting in a certain dignity and earnestness; and that it is superior to others of the same subject of more pretension and of a later time.

With the close of the fourteenth century examples of mural painting begin to multiply in number, though from the point of view of art they can scarcely be said to improve in quality. On the north wall of the church of Limpenhoe, near Reedham, in the valley of the Yare, was discovered in 1852 a series of three paintings possibly dating from the end of the century named, which represented the martyrdom of St. Catherine. The paintings occurred between the windows of the nave, and were bordered above and

¹ *Norf. Arch.* (1872), vii. 256.

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below by bands of thin foliage with a leafage of trefoil. Each episode of the legend was displayed by groups of three or four persons, ending with that of the miraculous fracture of the wheel, the decollation of the saint, and her burial on Mount Sinai. The figures throughout were poor in drawing, the faces caricatures, and the grouping childish.¹

Another painting of the same subject, but more elaborately treated, is to be seen on the wall of the south aisle of the nave of the church at Sporle, near Castle Acre, in central Norfolk. Here, a rectangular panel 11 feet 5 inches in length by 7 feet 8 inches in height is marked out on the wall surface, having as a frame a border composed of a zigzag ribbon, red and white on a black ground. The space enclosed within this frame is divided by red lines into twenty-two squares and three double squares in chessboard fashion. Each square contains a separate scene of the story, which is illustrated by the painter with an emphasis absolutely grotesque. The series of pictures is of some value as giving examples of the costume of the time; but as a work of art it has no value. The prevailing colour is red and the general effect crude.² Yet these paintings at Limpenhoe and at Sporle represent the average merit of the pictorial art in the village churches of the period in question.

Far more interesting were the paintings formerly to be seen in another of the churches of the district of the Broads, that of Catfield.³ These were found in 1840, but at a subsequent period they were ruthlessly whitewashed over. The various compositions occupied the wall spaces over the nave arcades, on the north side somewhat irregularly disposed, but on the south side as a frieze in compartments, the depth of the frieze occupying the space between the cornice of the roof and the tops of the arches on that side.

Most of the subjects depicted were of no unusual character, but the first three, which belonged to the class of moral allegories, were interesting and worthy of note, as also was the completeness and order of the scheme of pictorial representation. The first picture of the series on the north side, in the half spandril at the west end, represented Fortune, a crowned female figure in crimson robe and overmantle of green lined with fur, her hands resting on the spokes of a huge wheel in front of her, which she was in the act of turning. Within the wheel a part of an inscription remained, which, when perfect, evidently read *FORTUNAE ROTA*. From the eastern side a king, in robes of light green and gold colour, is falling. He is still crowned, but his sword is dropping from his hand. A label near him has the word *Regnavi* upon it. Beneath, lying as if in death, is another kingly figure, a label beside it declaring *non regno*. The next spandril contained a picture, much damaged in the upper part, of what is known as the Tree of the Seven Deadly Sins. From a gigantic head with jaws armed with formidable teeth, occupying the point of the spandril, rose the trunk of a tree bearing seven branches, three on each side, with one upright formed by a continuation of the trunk. These branches ended in dragons with bats' wings and huge heads furnished with gaping jaws. Behind each head stood a fiend grasping

¹ These wall paintings have been long since destroyed, but illustrations of them may be seen in *Norfolk Arch.* (1859), v. 221.

² *Norfolk Arch.* (1872), vii. 303, *et. seq.*

³ *Norfolk Arch.* (1847), i. 133, *et. seq.*, and the Dawson Turner collection, Add. MSS. B.M. 23027, pp. 149-168.



G. E. Fox, del.

PLATE II—PAINTINGS ON THE VAULTING, CHAPEL OF THE RELICS, NORWICH CATHEDRAL

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a figure representing a vice and thrusting it into the throat of the monster, through whose body it passed to be cast naked into the mouth of hell below. Over the head of each vice was a label with its name. *Avaritia*, *Ira*, *Socordia*, and *Invidia* were the only ones preserved. Falling headlong from the topmost branch, dragged down by chains hauled by demons grotesquely habited, was a figure richly clothed and crowned, probably meant to represent *Superbia*. On each side of the topmost branch of the tree stood two angels (only one of which remained) clothed in parti-coloured tunics and blowing trumpets as if to call attention to the scene passing beneath. The colours employed were principally brown, purple, and red, the dress of the falling figure being of this hue. Little could be made out of the next composition, which is supposed to have represented the Virtues opposed to the Vices of the demon tree. In the third division the Seven Sacraments of the Church found a place, and then on the remaining wall spaces followed a Crucifixion, the Salutation of the Virgin, and the Nativity. The subjects in the frieze above the south arcade comprised the Martyrdoms of St. Lawrence and St. Catherine, the history of St. John the Baptist and St. Margaret.

All these latter pictures showed varied colouring, the figures relieving dark off a light ground, but not strongly so. The general ground appeared to have been a golden buff slightly darker than the natural tone of the wall plaster. Some of the draperies were slightly shaded, the folds of others were only indicated by lines. The flesh tints were pale. The same element of the grotesque which characterized the paintings at Limpenhoe and at Sporle was visible in those at Catfield, offering in this respect a contrast to the spirit in which those at West Somerton were conceived, though they all belonged to the fourteenth century, those at West Somerton being of the middle, while those just described were of a quite late date in that century.

As the years progressed, the art of painting became more realistic, and by the time the early and especially the middle part of the fifteenth century was reached, the accessories of any given scene represented gained in importance. They ceased to be mere symbols, there was a greater attempt at light and shade than in the previous periods, and the subjects had rather the appearance of pictures hung upon a wall in the modern fashion than of being part and parcel with it. Something of this character might be seen in the paintings brought to light in 1859 on the north wall of the church at Witton, near North Walsham, unhappily now all again whitewashed over. On this wall, close to the north door, was depicted the popular legend of St. Christopher bearing the Divine Infant on his shoulder across a turbulent river, the fish playing about his feet. To the right of the Saint, who supports his steps with a staff made out of a huge palm tree, and over the door, the hermit by whose means Christopher was converted to Christianity stands, throwing a light from his lantern over the dark waters of the river. The dress of the Saint was represented as loose and flowing and treated unconventionally. The figure was upwards of 11 feet in height. Beneath the painting was a band on which an inscription in black-letter with many contractions gave the first line of a Latin hymn to St. Christopher. The work was executed in tempera as usual, but, as is not usual, upon the rough plastering. Effigies of St. Christopher were extremely common in the churches of the middle

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ages.¹ As many as twenty-four have been brought to light in those of Norfolk alone, and doubtless others still remain beneath the whitewash with which the walls of the churches in the county are thickly coated.

In this same church, adjoining the picture of St. Christopher, was a large painting of St. George overcoming the Dragon. The subject represented the well-known legend of the rescue by the saint of the daughter of the king of Selene in Lybia from a dragon which ravaged the country round, living upon the sheep offered to it by the inhabitants, who, when all these had been consumed, were compelled to give their children to the monster, the king himself at last being constrained to sacrifice his daughter. St. George, like some knight-errant, appears upon the scene, and fights with and wounds the dragon, which he binds with the princess's girdle. It is then led by the princess, St. George accompanying her, into the neighbouring city, whose inhabitants, at the sight of such a miracle, all become Christians, and afterwards the dragon is slain. The following sentences describe this picture and are quoted from an account of it as it appeared when still fresh from the whitewash, which has now covered it again:² 'The saint is mounted on a white steed, his head is encircled with a coronet of eastern design, in the forefront of which is the red cross; his armour, which is of the period of Henry the Fifth, . . . consists of a *jupon* with a red cross on the breast; beneath this appears the *haubergeon* or mail shirt; his arms were encased in steel, as also his legs; with a sword raised above his head the saint is dealing a final blow at the dragon, which must have formed a conspicuous feature; but the greater part of the monster, together with the legs of the champion, disappeared in the process of development (in cleaning the painting). The housings of the horse are of a dull red colour with ornaments in yellow. . . . ' The ground for this picture had been prepared with a thin coating of whitening on the plastering of the wall. It is possible that it was subsequent in date, but not very much so, to the St. Christopher, which, as noted previously, was executed on the bare roughcast.

Although this painting was destroyed with the rest in Witton Church some years ago, another of the same subject and of the fifteenth century was discovered in the year 1862, and is still to be seen on the west wall of the north aisle of St. Gregory's church in Norwich. Although injured by restoration it is as good an example of fifteenth-century work as can be found within the limits of the county. A few facts from a notice of the painting contributed to the *Archæological Journal* may be quoted here.³ The writer of the notice says, 'The figures of the horse and of St. George . . . are as large as life . . . the Dragon is on the ground, a portion of the spear appears within its open jaws, but the weapon seems to have been broken, for between the hind legs of the horse and the tail of the dragon is seen the broken spear, leading to the conclusion that St. George has failed in

¹ The opening lines of the hymn just referred to show the reason why. They are as follows:—

'Christophori sancti speciem quicumque tuetur
Illo namque die nullo languore tenetur.'

In fact the sight of the image of the saint was practically a charm against illness, and his painted effigy was in consequence placed in a conspicuous position in the churches, usually (though not always) at the western end of the north wall opposite the principal entrance, so as to be in full view of all as they entered.

² Account of the paintings in Witton church: *Norf. Arch.* (1864), vi. 42, *et seq.*

³ *Arch. Jour.* (1862), xix. 81.

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overcoming the monster with his lance; the view is borne out by the circumstance that the champion is represented as having drawn his sword, and he is preparing to deal a heavy blow with it. The ornamentation is profuse, the red cross of St. George glows on the breast of the saint, and a series of small shields with the same device are apparent. The Lybian princess Cleodolinda kneels on a rock to the right holding a lamb by a ribbon. In a cavern underneath her are seen the progeny of the scaly monster. . . . At the top of the picture appear the King and Queen of Selene, her parents, as if looking out from a tower within the city. . . . Beneath the painting is part of an inscription: "Pray for the soul of—," which may have recorded the death of the donor, but it is to be regretted that the name is now irrecoverably lost. . . . The extreme height of the painting is 17 feet and the width 9 feet 9½ inches. . . . The parish authorities have thought fit to oil and restore it by repainting some portions.'

The description would apply almost as well to the Witton painting, which is ascribed to the beginning of the fifteenth century. This at Norwich must have been executed towards the latter part of that century, perhaps in the reign of Edward IV. The cult of St. George flourished in Norwich over a considerable period, and the Guild named after him had great influence and power in the internal affairs of that city.

It would take up too much space, and be needless to note further instances of the wall paintings of the fifteenth century, especially as the art of painting received a greater development upon the screens of the East Anglian churches than upon their walls in this period, and it is to these rather than to the wall paintings we must turn to watch its further progress. Before doing so, however, and as an introduction to the subject of the screen paintings, it is necessary to give some consideration to the traces of the painter's art to be found on church furniture of the latter part of the fourteenth century yet existing in Norfolk. For instance, in the church of St. Michael at Plea in Norwich, worked up in the modern reredos of the altar, are to be seen portions of two painted panels representing the Betrayal and the Crucifixion. The figures are delicately executed, and the backgrounds are of stamped and gilded gesso work. The date of these fragments may very well be late in the century just named, and they are possibly contemporary with a work of far more consequence, viz., a 'table' or reredos preserved in the cathedral church of the same city (Pl. III-v). This is a work of capital importance, and if ever any full history, or one worthy the name, is written on mediæval painting in this country, the description and illustration of it will occupy a prominent place, owing to the extreme rarity of such remains, and, it should be added, the beauty of the example in question. Mutilated and battered, it was rescued from base uses in 1847, and is now taken care of in the ambulatory of the apse of the cathedral. Formed of oak boards, it is framed into five panels enclosed by mouldings, a flat band with further mouldings surrounding the whole. All the upper portion is wanting. The subjects painted in the panels, commencing on the left, are the Flagellation, our Lord bearing the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension. The centre panel showing the Crucifixion was taller than the others, rising above the straight upper line of the frame, the band and mouldings of which, no doubt, were carried round it. The compositions are

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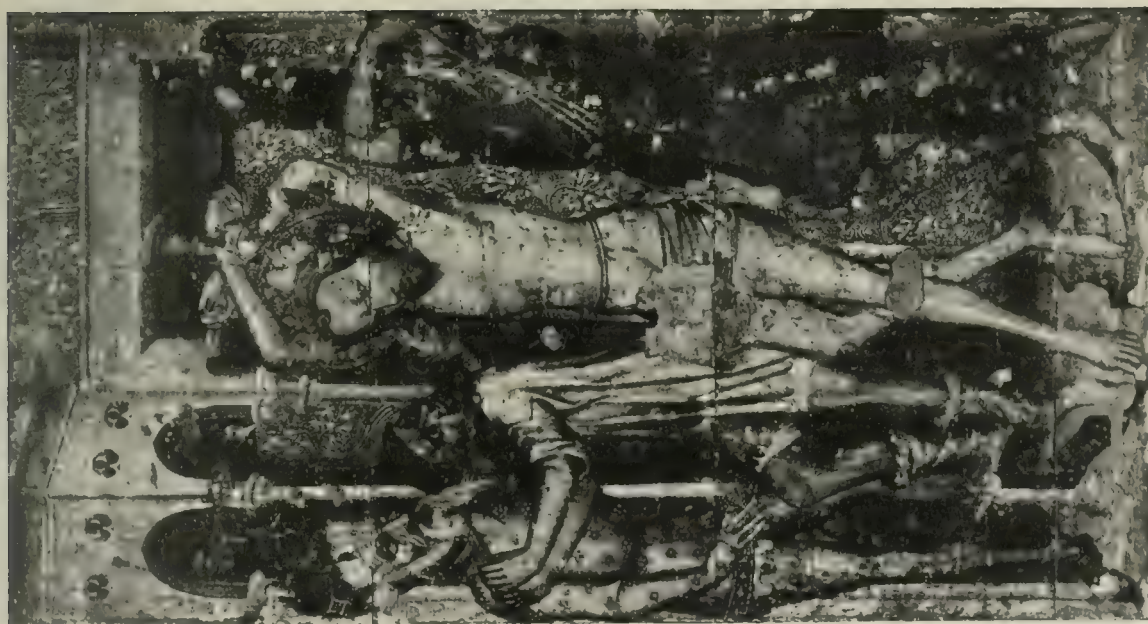
infinitely superior in every way to the specimens of mural paintings previously cited as showing the art of the end of the fourteenth century. Of such of the figures as are preserved, the heads are expressive, well modelled, and the flesh tones are warm in colour, but the treatment of the forms where uncovered is feeble and wanting in knowledge. In the draperies the prominent colours are the primaries blue and red, which tell strongly in the general effect. The backgrounds to the figures are of gesso stamped in low-relief with exquisite scroll work of trailing vines and oak branches or in floral patterns geometrically arranged, the ground of the relief work being broken up by punching, and the whole richly gilt. The band of the frame is treated in the same material in little panels divided from each other by square painted banners of arms, each covered by a plate of glass.

The character of these paintings is so good and the examples of such 'tables' so rare in this country, that when this example was rescued in 1867 from the plumbers' workshop belonging to the cathedral, where, turned upside down, it had served as a table, opinion amongst antiquaries was that such a work could only have come from the hands of some student of the Italian painters, possibly of the Sienese school of the end of the fourteenth century. A recent and more critical examination of the work than it has ever before received may fairly be said to have shown that it is by English hands. More than this, some of the heraldic bearings amongst such of them as can be made out are those of individuals playing an important part in the insurrection in Norfolk of John the Dyer, which took place in 1381, and Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, in his admirable and exhaustive paper on the *tabula*,¹ ventures the supposition that it was a thank-offering for the suppression of that insurrection, the arms of the donors being shown upon its frame.

The evidence derived from documents is sufficient to show that the practice of panel painting for the adornment of either churches or private chapels was well known in the eastern counties in the early years of the fifteenth century. Such panels painted for the retables of altars appear to have been the precursors of the paintings on the church screens for which Norfolk is famous, but it cannot be ascertained when the practice of adorning their panels first began. It probably took its rise in the first half of the century just named, and as that century progressed every screen of any importance received this pictorial completion. There is no need to describe these screens in detail, as their forms are well known. They are always of woodwork, and for the most part chancel screens. The upper portion beneath the rood-loft showed open tracery more or less elaborate, supported by mullions, the lower part being solid and usually divided into twice as many panels as the screen contained bays. The tracery and mullions were treated with colour, often delicately ornamented on the larger mouldings with conventional flowers and parti-coloured grounds, and occasionally with the flat surfaces of the main uprights covered with stamped gesso work. But the important part of each screen, and that on which all available resources of enrichment was lavished, was the lower division with its range of solid paneling, and it is to the pictorial arrangement of such panelling that attention must now be directed.

As a rule each panel of a screen contained only the single effigy of a

¹ *Norf. Arch.* (1897), xiii. 293, *et seq.*



THE SCOURGING



THE BEARING THE CROSS

PLATE III—PANELS FROM THE PAINTED REREDOS IN NORWICH CATHEDRAL



THE CRUCIFIXION

PLATE IV—PANEL FROM THE PAINTED REREDOS IN NORWICH CATHEDRAL



THE RESURRECTION



THE ASCENSION

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saint, although the panels of the retables of the end of the fourteenth century previously described are filled with compositions of many figures. It might be expected that this example would be followed in the later and similar work of the next period, but this is not the case, and compositions comprising several or many figures are very seldom to be found. When they do occur, they indicate a late date, sixteenth rather than fifteenth century work.

The question of the date of the painted figures on Norfolk screens is a most difficult one to decide. In some instances, in late work, the costume affords a means of determining the period at which they were executed, but for the generality the purely conventional treatment of the draperies scarcely allows a guess as to date. The armour borne by warrior saints is invariably of plate, but there is a fanciful element in its representation which renders judgment as to date by no means easy. Repaintings have also to be taken into account, and the fact that the panels of any given screen may possibly not have been all executed at once, but were the gifts of various donors, so that the completion of the adornment of a screen might be deferred for years.

In the following list the dates can only be fixed, in most instances, approximately; though in some cases inscriptions on the screens themselves afford a certainty as to the period of the execution of the paintings upon them.

The earliest to be named here is that given by Carthew, the historian of the Hundred of Launditch, to the work in the church of Litcham, which he conceives was of the time of Henry VI., about 1430, but he adduces no evidence for this date.¹

As to the next we are on somewhat surer ground. The screen of the Lady chapel in the south aisle of the church of St. John Maddermarket in Norwich had, as usual, its panels painted with various saints. Above the figures white shields were depicted bearing alternately a capital letter S, the initial letter of the name Segrym, and a merchant's mark. Ralf Segrym, whose mark and initial were thus displayed, and who from this circumstance was doubtless the giver of the painted panels, perhaps of the screen itself, was Mayor of Norwich in 1451, and it may be conjectured that the work in question was executed about the date of his mayoralty. After the destruction of the screen some of the panels came into private hands, from which they passed to the Victoria and Albert Museum, where they may now be seen.

More certain than either of the dates just cited is that of the paintings at Burnham Norton, for the screen there bears, or bore, the following inscription: *Orate pro animabus Willelmi Groom et Johanne consortis sue qui istam fabricam fecerunt depingi in honore . . . Anno Dni. Millesimo CCCCLVIII^o quorum animabus propic[ietur Deus Amen.]* Here both the names of the donors and the date of the paintings are given.²

The erection of the screen at Cawston, one of the most interesting of these fabrics in Norfolk, can also be dated with certainty, though the years in which the major portion of the paintings was executed are unknown. An inhabitant of the village, a certain John Barker by name, 'gave ten marks in 1460 towards building the rood-loft commonly called the candle beam.' An

¹ Carthew, *Hist. of the Hundred of Launditch*, pt. ii. 419.

² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* (1807), vii. 17.

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inscription, now almost defaced, painted upon the panels of the north side of the screen could be read in Blomefield's time as '*Pray for the sowlis of William Atereth and Alice his Wyff the weche did these 1111 Penys Peynte be the Executoris lyff . . .*' The date which followed is unfortunately lost, though the names of donors are preserved. A second gift to this screen is recorded, and the date by good fortune remains. In 1504 Richard Browne of Cawston 'gave four marks to paint a pane of the rood-loft.'¹ This statement is borne out by the appearance of the paintings, which are evidently of two dates, those of the north side of the screen being probably the gift of Atereth and his wife, and of an earlier period than others on the south side.

The screen with its paintings at Poringland has been assigned to the year 1473, and is supposed to have been given to the church by the rector of the parish, Robert Peresson, about that date.²

The curious panels from the wreck of the chancel screen preserved in the church at Sparham can scarcely be earlier than 1490, judging from the costume of one group of figures upon them.

Yet another dated screen of the fifteenth century may be named, viz. that of Ludham, which bears upon it the inscription: *Pray for the sowle of John Salman and Sysyly his wyfe, that gave forte pound, and for all other benefactors, made in the yeer of ower Lord God MCCCCXCIII.*

The screen paintings at Barton Turf, Edingtonthorpe, Harpley, Potter Heigham, Houghton-le-Dale, Lessingham, Ranworth, and Walpole-St.-Peter, have all been assigned to the fifteenth century, but for most of these a more critical examination than they have yet received would have to be attempted before any decided opinion as to their correct date could be ventured upon.³

With the opening of the sixteenth century dated examples become more frequent, and the inscription, instead of being painted at the base of the panels, is sometimes given in raised letters on a scroll twined round a roll moulding and filling a large hollow of the rail above them. A fine specimen of this arrangement may be seen on the screen at Trunch, the inscription beginning with the words *Orate pro animabus omnium benefactorum istius operis, quod factum fuit anno domini millesimo quingentesimo secundo*, etc. etc. In this case the donors' names are omitted, but the date of the work, viz. 1502, is clear enough.⁴

In the screen at Aylsham, which is of somewhat later date (1507), the inscription is only painted at the foot of the panels and is very fragmentary. What remains of it runs thus: *Orate pro animabus Thome Wymer, Johanne et Margarete uxorum eius qui hanc partem . . . Johannis Jannys et . . . bujus operis deaurari fecerunt qui obiit Anno Domini Millesimo CCCCXVII.* Several donors have here contributed to the work, and mention is specially made of the gilding.

The poorly painted but large and elaborate chancel screen in the church at Worstead has an inscription commemorating the donors and the date of the work. It is carved like that at Trunch on a scroll in the top rail above the panelling, and is as follows: *Orate pro animabus Johannis Alblastyr et Benedicte uxoris eius qui hoc opus fieri fecerunt quorum animabus propicietur Deus.*

¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.*, vi. 264, 266.

² Ibid.

³ *List of Buildings having Mural Decorations* (Science and Art Department, South Kensington Museum), edited by C. E. Keyser, M.A., F.S.A.

⁴ *Norf. Arch.* (1855), iv. 298.

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Amen. Quod opus factum erat et finitum Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo duodecimo, sit gloria, laus, honor, et majestas Amen. The first five words of the inscription had been erased, but a modern restoration in paint supplies them as here given. All the rest of the lettering is perfectly to be made out. The work therefore dates from 1512.

A fragment of an inscription in painted letters, beginning with the usual formula and interesting only from its connexion with figures of the donors represented in the first two panels of the screen, is to be seen at Fritton. It refers to a certain John Bacun and his wife, the donors, whose portraits are painted beneath it, and who lived between 1510 and 1520.¹

Another similar example existed on the screen of a private chapel in the church of Edgefield, also over the figures of donors. It read: *Orate pro animabus William Harstong et uxoris ejus. Anno Dñi MCCCCXXIIIIII.* Fortunately in this case the date was preserved.²

Yet another, and the last which need be quoted, is to be found at North Burlingham. Each of the panels of the screen in this church has the name of its donor painted on it, and one bears the name of Robert Frennys, whose brass in the church records his death in 1528, about which date or somewhat previous to it the panels may have been executed.³

Thus much for the periods at which the screens and their paintings were made. These notes of remaining inscriptions may however serve in some sort as a guide in examining the undated examples which form the great majority of the Norfolk screens. As has been stated, little reliance can be placed on an examination of the paintings themselves, though style and costume may in rare instances aid in judging of their dates.

As to the figures depicted in so many churches, it may be said that they fall into various classes, which have now to be treated of. From the extent of the subject only a brief description can be here given. To begin with, the effigy of our Lord is of very rare occurrence. He is however figured occasionally as an infant in the arms of the Blessed Virgin, and a series of pictures representing events in His life fill the panels of the screen at Loddon.

The representations of the Apostles are exceedingly common, so much so that twenty-two out of sixty of the Norfolk screens which have been noted were devoted to them. In some of these which consist of only twelve panels they fill them all, in others where more than twelve panels are to be found they occupy the chief place. They are also associated with the Fathers of the Church, these latter being usually painted on the panels of the doors, where such exist.⁴ On some screens the Apostles bear, in addition to their usual emblems, scrolls with sentences from the Creed.⁵

In a series, more or less, the prophets of the Old Testament are occasionally represented, though representations of them are far more uncommon than those of the Apostles. In one instance, if not in more, they are shown bearing scrolls with sentences inscribed.⁶

¹ *Illustrations of the Rood Screen at Fritton* (Norf. and Norw. Arch. Soc.), 1872, with notes by the Rev. Richard Hart.

² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.*, ix. 387.

³ *Norf. Arch.* (1852), iii. 19.

⁴ Cawston, on the doors; Gooderstone, Potter Heigham, Lessingham, Sall, Tunstead, Worstead, on the panels.

⁵ Mattishall, Ringland St. Peter, Thetford, Weston Longville.

⁶ Harpley (repainted). Poringland, Thornham.

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A most remarkable instance of a subject exhibited by a series of single figures may be seen on the chancel screen at Barton Turf. Nine out of the twelve panels are filled by single figures representing one of the divisions of the heavenly host, as, Powers, Virtues, Dominations, Seraphim, Cherubim, Principalities, Thrones, Archangels, and Angels. Two of the figures in this series are of special interest as they are in full armour, which, although it shows a mixture of early and late forms, places the date of the paintings, judging by the later forms displayed, between 1480 and 1490. The subject of the Heavenly Hierarchy is of extreme rarity, and this example is, as far as can be ascertained, the only one of the kind to be found in Norfolk.¹

Putting aside the Apostles, Prophets, and the representation of the Heavenly Hierarchy just named, and coming to individuals, as opposed to classes, between sixty and seventy different saints as single figures have been counted on the panels of the Norfolk screens.

These may be divided into local and other English saints, saints of distinctly foreign origin, saints whose worship was common throughout Christendom, and some few personages to whom devotion was paid, but who could scarcely be said to have attained to the dignity of sainthood. The local saints and those associated with eastern England rank first for mention. St. Walstan may very well head the list, as his shrine in the church of his native village, Bawburgh, was a place of some resort. He was called the patron of field labourers, in fact, of all engaged in agriculture, and his remarkable legend records powers possessed by him which might be attributed rather to some pagan divinity than to a Christian saint.² St. Withburga, again, was peculiarly associated with Norfolk. She was the virgin daughter of Anna, King of the East Angles, and is said to have founded a convent in the woods of Dereham, where she and her nuns, so the story goes, were miraculously supported in a time of scarcity by the milk of two does, who came of their own accord from the adjacent forest. She lay entombed at Dereham until the year 1106, when the monks of Ely committed the pious theft, as it was called, of carrying off her remains in order to enshrine them beside those of her more famous sister St. Etheldreda, also often figured on the screen panels, in the great monastery of the Fenland.³ Another saint, intimately associated with Norwich, whose effigy is to be seen on various screens, and whose martyrdom is pictured upon that at Loddon, was St. William, the boy saint of whom the legend ran that he was crucified by the Jews in mockery of the Christian religion, and buried in a wood on the borders of Mousehold, the heath which bounds the city on the north-east. The body was, it is said, miraculously discovered, and afterwards enshrined in the cathedral church, the offerings at the shrine bringing profit and reputation to the Benedictine monastery of which that church formed part. It may be remembered that a similar boy martyr had his shrine in the Minster of Lincoln.

Representations may be occasionally seen of a saint known in Essex, St. Osyth, daughter of Freewald, a Mercian king, and virgin spouse of

¹ *Nor. Arch.* (1852), iii. The same subject is to be found, however, on the screen at the end of the north aisle of Southwold church, Suffolk.

² Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.*, ii. 387.

³ St. Withburga with her does is to be seen on the screen at North Burlingham.

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Suthred the last king of the East Angles, the foundress of the monastery of Chich, who was martyred by the Danes in one of their inroads.¹ Far better known, however, and the saint to whom the greatest devotion was paid in East Anglia, was St. Edmund, who is frequently represented in the screen paintings. He usually appears crowned and in royal robes, and carrying an arrow, the instrument of his martyrdom, but in these paintings no incidents of his legend seem to have been portrayed.

Of other English saints figured, but not peculiar to Eastern England, may be named St. Oswald, St. Dunstan, St. Edward the King and Martyr, St. Edward the Confessor, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and St. John of Beverley.² As to the foreign saints it seems likely that the representation of some of these may have been due to the intercourse between East Anglia and the Low Countries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Amongst those placed in this class may be named St. Gudule,³ St. Hubert,⁴ and St. Genevieve of Brabant,⁵ St. Wandragesilus,⁶ and St. Willebrod⁷; but with others the reason for their selection is not so clear, such as, for instance, St. Louis, St. Catherine of Siena, St. Joan of Valois, and St. Wilgefortis. It is possible that the pictures of the patron saints of certain trades might have been the gift of persons practising those trades; for example, St. Blaise,⁸ the patron of wool combers, might have been offered by a member of that trade, an important one in Norfolk in the middle ages. Another reason also may account in part for the great variety in the choice of saints figured on the screens, and that is that many paintings may represent patrons of the donors. Some instances can be cited for this view. On the screen at North Burlingham, where in each panel the name of the donor is given with the usual prayer, one in which occurs the figure of St. Cecilia has the inscription *Joannis Blake et Cecilie uxoris suæ* upon it, a fact sufficient to show that the wife of John Blake had, with her husband, given the painting of her patron saint.⁹ Again, though not so clearly but yet with scarcely less certainty, the same conclusion may be drawn, where, on the screen at Aylsham, the figure of one of the donors of the work, Thomas Wymer, has accompanying it in the very next panel the effigy of St. Thomas, quite out of order with the rest of the company of the Apostles there displayed. It would occupy far too much space in this paper to enumerate the many saints who, revered throughout the Christian world, are pictured upon the Norfolk screens, and it must suffice to refer to those works in which a list of such may be found.¹⁰ But some exceptional personages represented upon them may receive a passing word of notice. Though they may not be considered saints, considerable devotion was paid to them, and pilgrimages made to spots honoured by their remains. Master John Schorn, a canon in the Augustinian Priory at Dunstable, and Rector of North Marston in Buckinghamshire in 1290, was the chief of these, and his effigy is to be seen on several screens. The waters of a well at Marston were through his

¹ Figured on screens at North Elmham and Barton Turf.

² The last-named is portrayed on the screen at Hempstead.

³ Screen at Walpole St. Peter's.

⁴ Screen at Litcham.

⁵ Horsford St. Faith's; the identification is somewhat doubtful however.

⁶ Screen at Horsford St. Faith's.

⁷ Oxborough.

⁸ Screen formerly in St. James's Church, Norwich, and another at Hempstead.

⁹ *Norf. Arch.* (1852), iii. 19.

¹⁰ F. C. Husenbeth's *Emblems of Saints* (Norf. and Norw. Arch. Soc.).

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intercession gifted with healing powers, and he himself had those powers over gout and ague. He is represented in one of the later paintings on the Cawston screen, and again on that at Gateley. In both instances he is habited as a doctor of divinity, holding in his left hand a boot out of which a devil appears to be emerging, a reference to the legend that he once conjured the devil into a boot.¹

Another of these holy personages was the saintly king Henry VI., who not only appears on four of the screens but in various wall paintings also. The reverence for him probably came in with the victory of the Red Rose on the field of Bosworth, and continued through the reign of the seventh Henry.

Yet another exceptional personage was the Holy Maid of Ridiboun or Redbourn in Herts, of whom two accounts are extant: one, that she was probably a crippled girl of fifteen restored by recourse to the relics of St. Amphibalus, which were discovered in 1178 at the village in question; or that she was a girl who in 1344 fell into the stream at that village, and being drowned in passing beneath the wheel of the mill was restored to life by St. Alban at the invocation of her parents. The image appears on a panel of the screen at Gateley.

It has been said that the panels of the Norfolk screens seldom exhibit groups of figures, and that their narrow limits contained only single effigies. This is true as a rule, but there are exceptions, and these are of considerable interest. A panel of the screen at Poringland contained, perhaps still contains, a painting of the Fall of Man, and on another the Expulsion from Paradise. The life of the Blessed Virgin has full illustration, though her figure does not often appear alone, but generally with the divine Child. Instances occur representing St. Anne instructing her. A remarkable representation of the Annunciation is to be found on the screen at North Walsham (Plate vi.). Our Lady stands in one panel, the flowering lily before her and the Holy Dove descending towards her, while in the next panel the Archangel Gabriel, a strangely winged figure, bends in reverence to deliver his message. The same subject is painted on the Loddon screen. The panels of that at Houghton-le-Dale exhibit quite a set of Holy Families; St. Salome with St. James and St. John, St. Mary Cleophas with St. James, St. Joses, St. Simon, and St. Jude, and St. Elizabeth with St. John the Baptist. The first two of these three groups are to be found again on the south reredos of the screen at Ranworth.²

On a fragment of another screen at Tacolneston is painted the temptation and death of St. Anthony and the Annunciation.³

The most curious of all these picture subjects are two on a portion of the screen yet existing at Sparham. The first exhibits two skeleton or corpse-like figures standing side by side: the one, a gallant of the time of Richard III. attired in the height of fashion of that period, holds in his fleshless right hand a flaming torch round which is twined a scroll bearing the words *Sic transit Gloria mundi*; the other shows a lady, judging from her

¹ His figure appears on the walls of Witton Church amongst others, and on the screens at Barton Turf, Binham Abbey, Litcham, and Ludham.

² *A List of Buildings having Mural Decorations* (Science and Art Department, South Kensington Museum), edited by C. E. Keyser, M.A., F.S.A.

³ *Arch. Journ.* (1901), lviii. 47. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xix. 142.



G. E. Fox, del.

THE ANNUNCIATION

PLATE VI—PANELS FROM THE CHANCEL SCREEN, NORTH WALSHAM CHURCH

MEDIAEVAL PAINTING

rich fur-trimmed robe and peculiar headdress, who proffers a posy of flowers to the male skeleton. Above and between the figures are scrolls with the inscription in rhymed lines, *Natus homo muliere brevi tempore parvo, Nunc est, nunc non est, quasi flos crescit in arvo*. The second picture represents the interior of a church. In the foreground is a tomb from which rises a corpse. The shroud fastened over its head hangs loosely about it. The right hand points to a font in the background, over which on a scroll are the words *De utere*. Upon another scroll proceeding from the mouth of the figure is inscribed *ffuissem quasi non essem*, and yet another, held in its left hand, bears part of a sentence, *translatus ad tumulum job 10*, the various inscriptions making up the nineteenth verse of the tenth chapter of Job.

The two compositions have been called part of a 'Dance of Death,' but they do not resemble in any way those of the Danse Macabre. They were meant doubtless to enforce the teaching so common in the middle ages of the vanity of all earthly things, and of the all-conquering and resistless power of death. No other example of this class has been found, it is believed, on the screen panels of Norfolk churches, but the same moral was enforced by the late fourteenth-century wall paintings of the Church of Wickhampton, where the legend of 'Les Trois Vifs et les trois Morts' was represented. It was found again upon the walls of the Church of Belton, which, though in Suffolk, is close to the Norfolk border. The prevalence of this setting forth of man's mortality may be seen in many monuments of noted families in English churches, where, beneath the effigy arrayed as in life, the shrouded figure of the personage above lies extended in the tomb.

Subjects as distinguished from single figures are, if anything, indicative of work of the sixteenth century, and the paintings mentioned at Tacolneston, perhaps, and those at Loddon certainly, are of especial interest on this account. The screen paintings at Loddon, though battered, partly scrubbed out, and in some cases perhaps only partly finished, show, in the realistic treatment of the groups of figures and in the backgrounds, a great advance upon the single figures on purely conventional grounds. Such of the subjects as can be made out portray the martyrdom of St. William of Norwich (Plate VII.), the Annunciation, the Presentation in the Temple, the Circumcision, the Adoration of the Three Kings, and the Ascension. Figures, too, of this century painted on vellum or on paper and glued over older work are to be found, notably on some panels of the Cawston screen and on that at Gateley. They are superior from an artistic point of view to the paintings they have superseded.

Some, perhaps many, screens have received only a purely decorative treatment, the panels being covered by patterns ranging from a simple sprinkling of golden flowers on coloured grounds to elaborate diapers copying the fine woven tissues of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries¹ brought from the Low Countries. Into this branch of decorative work it is impossible to enter from lack of space, but the division which comprises the painted roofs cannot be completely passed over, the colouring of the elaborate roofs of the Norfolk churches requiring at least a passing mention. Omitting any description of the font covers, the pulpits, occasionally adorned with painted figures, and other furniture of the churches in the county, all more or less painted and gilt, we can deal here only with the roof paintings. These fall

¹ A fine example of this purely decorative treatment may be seen on the screen at Great Massingham.

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naturally into three classes. Of the first little need be said. It consisted in picking out the main features of the woodwork with colour, leaving the natural oak to form a background, or advancing a step further, by covering the whole roof with a coat of one colour and treating the carved details with others. An example of this latter method may be seen at Knapton, where the whole roof was painted yellow, and the figures of angels and the mouldings treated in green, red, and white. In the second class a further advance was made, and painted ornament was largely introduced. Of this class the nave roof of Sall offers a fine example. The general ground is white, the main lines a brilliant red, while the soffits of the rafters and the interspaces are richly diapered with the crowned letter M alternating with the sacred monogram I. H. C. in red and black. Angels holding scrolls with passages from the Creed, now almost obliterated, are painted on the cornice. In the third class the rafters have been boarded over and panelled, thus affording a larger space for the painted work. A good and comparatively simple example of such work is to be found in the roof of the chancel of the church now converted to the uses of the Great Hospital in Bishopgate Street at Norwich. The general ground of this roof is a yellow or dull gold colour, the dividing mouldings of the panels and the finely-carved bosses at their intersection being treated in gold and colour, and in each panel is displayed a boldly-designed black eagle. The portion of the building in which this roof occurs is known by the name of the Eagle Ward. Far richer in the character of its ornamentation is the ceiling of a small chapel in the church of East Dereham (Pl. viii.), the ground of which is tinted a delicate green. In the centre of each of the panels into which it is divided a green wreath is painted, containing a representation of the Holy Lamb reclining on a book, and issuing from the wreaths is elaborately branching leafage which fills the corners of the panels. The whole composition looks as if it were copied from a page of an illuminated manuscript of late fifteenth-century work. More interesting, and still richer in effect, are those arrangements in which demi-figures of angels are combined with wreaths in the adornment of the panelling. A specimen of this kind may be seen in the roof of the Lady chapel in the church of St. John Maddermarket at Norwich. The general ground was originally white or pale buff, now much darkened by damp and time. The most easterly of the panels each contain an angel rising from clouds and wearing a wonderful turban-like headdress. Each angel holds a scroll on which is inscribed a sentence of the Angelic salutation. The field of the panels on which the angels are painted is powdered with flowers and crowned monograms of the Holy Virgin in black and red. The panels furthest from the east end of the chapel are filled with groups of wreaths containing within them the sacred monogram I. H. C. in red. The effect of the whole, relying as it does on the colours black, red, and grey, is sober and decidedly pleasing.¹

It is as difficult to ascertain the date of the roof decoration as it is that of the screen paintings. A conjecture may be ventured as to the period of execution of the two following. The paintings upon the now destroyed screen of the Lady chapel in St. John's Maddermarket, the roof of which has just been described, were certainly given by Ralf Segrym, who was

¹ All the painted roofs mentioned in this account are still in existence.



THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. WILLIAM OF NORWICH

G. E. Fox, del.

PLATE VII—PANEL FROM THE CHANCEL SCREEN, LODDON CHURCH

To face page 548

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Mayor of Norwich in 1451, and it is probable that at the time the screen was painted, the roof may have received its ornamentation. It may therefore possibly date about the middle of the fifteenth century. The second instance is that of the nave roof of Knapton, previously noted. This roof is known to have been 'erected by one John Smythe in the year 1503,' the colouring doubtless being added shortly after. Blomefield gives the following curious facts respecting the roof of the nave of Garboldisham Church, a church long since fallen into ruin. He says, it was boarded and painted all over with the names of Jesus and Mary, and this in the midst :—

‘ Betwex syn yis and
Ye Rode Loff ye yongling
Han payd for yis cost,’ etc.¹

Unfortunately no date remained.

But enough has been said with respect to these painted roofs, and we must now return to the screens to consider the system of colouring employed upon them and of various details connected with this subject. Without very full illustrations and of some size, it is difficult to give an idea of the effect of much of the work treated of, yet this account could scarcely be considered complete unless such an endeavour were made.

Generally speaking, then, the aspect of the ranges of panel paintings which form the principal part of the Norfolk screens is governed by the colours employed in the grounds on which the figures are executed. As a rule the alternate panels were painted a full red and a deep green, and this background simulated a flat tapestry hanging, without folds, often powdered with conventional flowers in white and gold. A narrow band, sometimes of gesso gilt, drawn across the panel at the line of the springing of the traceried head served as a border to this tapestry, and the space above it, edged by the cusping of the tracery, was of a different colour ; for instance, if the tapestry background were red the space above would be green, and vice versâ. Sometimes, though rarely, it is blue or black. Occasionally, figures of angels were painted on this space as if holding up the tapestry hanging beneath. In the more elaborate screens colour is exchanged for gilt gesso work. Not infrequently the under robes of the figures painted upon them represent cloth of gold covered with the richest patterns in black or red line. The tints of the draperies, however, of most of the figures belong to the secondary or tertiary order. Blue is by no means commonly to be found. Out of twelve or sixteen effigies upon the panels of a screen, two or three at most may show this colour more or less conspicuously, and now and again it seems to have been employed in the heads of panels, or upon moulded work. Perhaps red gives the predominant note in most of the screens, and looking at them as masses of colour, a decided difference of effect is perceptible between the work of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and that of the fourteenth century, as for example, in the Norwich retable, previously described, in which the primaries are distinctly the prominent colours. This follows a well-known law, that the earlier the work the more the primaries are employed. With respect to the figures themselves, the draperies are fairly well arranged, more especially in those of the sixteenth century. The drawing of the extremities,

¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* (1805), i. 268.

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hands and feet, is however very feeble even in the best examples. In many instances, the heads are in proportion to the rest of the body with the features fairly well drawn, but occasionally, even in screens of importance, they are disproportionately large.

The lower division of the screens has been dealt with, but it must not be forgotten that the traceries of the upper parts, when they exist (which is not very often the case), are in most instances fully covered with gold and delicate ornament in colour. Of the comparatively perfect screens remaining in the county, that at Ranworth (Pl. ix.) best exemplifies what such features of a church were like in their pristine condition, although in the quality of its paintings it is not equal to others which might be named. The screen at Worstead, an indifferently painted but large example, the finer one at Cawston, and that at Aylsham, of which only the lower panels remain, may be noted for the gesso work upon them. This substance, which has previously been spoken of in the description of the Norwich *tabula*, is a species of plaster, reddened as a ground for gold, and is exceedingly hard and tough. It was applied in a thin layer upon the flat faces of the mullions forming the main divisions of a screen, and was evidently stamped when in a plastic condition with moulds, the patterns of which exhibit flat niches filled with tiny figures alternating with traceries. The moulds employed at Cawston were on an average 6 inches long, as may be seen by the traces of the joinings in the gesso. As has been mentioned, backgrounds in this material of figures in the panels still remain, and the screens last mentioned afford good examples of this sort of work. In these cases the layer of gesso was exceedingly thin, and the impressions of patterns upon it, if the patterns were formed by stamping, have much the effect of an engraving. The figure surrounded by such a ground would seem to have been outlined first, and then the layer of gesso applied about it and trimmed to the outline either before or after being impressed with the moulds. The gesso work is always gilt (Pl. x).

The processes employed in painting can be fairly made out. The ground of the panel to be worked on (all the painting was on oak boards) was prepared with several layers of gesso mixed with parchment size, which, when rubbed down, presented to the painter a smooth white field on which he proceeded to outline his figure in strong black line. The grounds, whether in colour or in gesso were then applied, and the figure was carried forward. It is by no means certain what was the medium employed in these paintings, whether the colours were mixed with oil, or whether being ground in water, size or white of egg or some other glutinous medium was added to bind the pigments. Oil may have been employed, especially in the sixteenth century, but after a certain lapse of years it is impossible to tell which of the two mediums, tempera or oil, has been used. There is an indication that a glue or size derived from fish may have been employed by certain painters in the neighbouring county of Suffolk, who were engaged upon the adornment of the chapel of Mettingham College in that county.¹ In the fabric accounts of this college occurs an entry under the date 1417-18 that Thomas Barsham of Yarmouth, who appears to have been a painter and carver, received 'pro soundis piscium 17d.', and in the same accounts under date 1418-19 Reginald

¹ 'Original documents : Extracts from the Ancient Accounts of Mettingham College, Suffolk.' Communicated by the Rev. C. R. Manning in *Arch. Journ.* (1849), vi. 65, and in note p. 67.

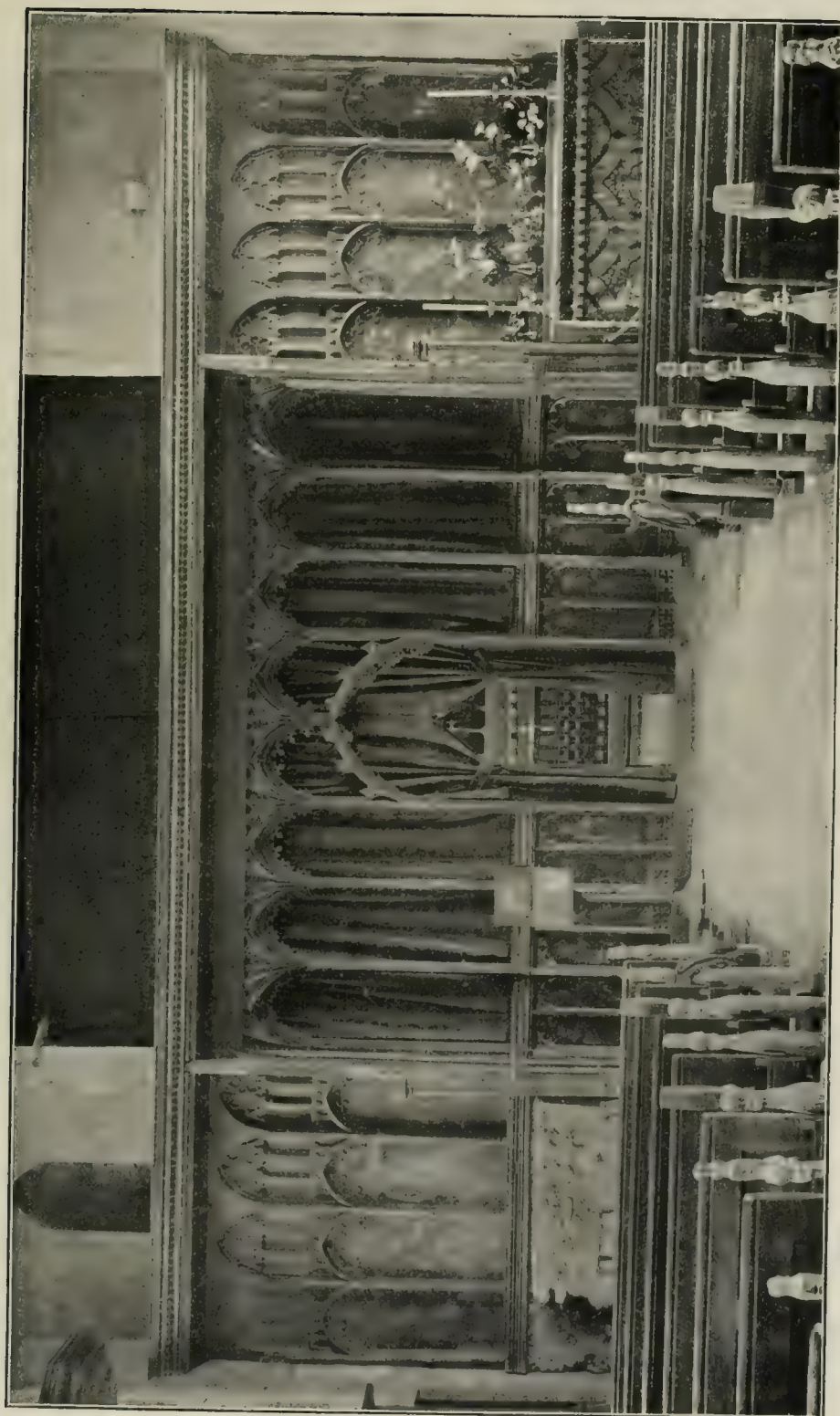


PLATE IX—GENERAL VIEW OF THE SCREEN IN RANWORTH CHURCH

MEDIAEVAL PAINTING

Wythe is paid 'pro 50 soundis piscium 2d.'¹ Be this as it may, in many of the paintings there is a crispness of touch in certain details which might lead to the conclusion that they were executed in tempera rather than in oil and possibly afterwards varnished. It is probable, however, that with the sixteenth century oil painting had been generally adopted. The mechanical aid of stencilling was resorted to, but mostly in the monograms and wreaths and some other details of roof-decoration. The fine work upon the screens was effected in great measure by hand, as may readily be seen.

The history of the painters of the Norfolk screens and mural pictures has not been handed down to us. No English Vasari has written the lives of these obscure artists. Yet some records remain of them in various old documents from which room may be found here for a few quotations. The earliest mention of painters and painting in these documents occurs in the sacrists' rolls, or fabric accounts, of the cathedral church of Norwich. As yet nothing has come to light with respect to the executants of the twelfth-century mural decoration which covered the quire and its aisles, and which, though simple in character, was on so extensive a scale, but under the date 1275² is a notice in the rolls of colours bought for painters, and in 1277 a Master William, apparently a carver as well as a painter, is mentioned, and further purchases recorded of colours, oils, and varnish.³ In 1279-80 gold was bought, and more colours, and the painters William and Philip, John and Matthew, received their wages; in John's case for 20 weeks and in Matthew's for 6 weeks.⁴ In 1288-9 Master Richard, John le Noreis, John de Deford, Henry the painter, William the painter, and Simon Cok, were paid wages for work upon a certain *tabula*.⁵ In 1305-6 gold was bought, and colours, to be employed upon the shrine of St. William the boy saint, and Simon the painter and his apprentice received wages and the cost of their board for 9 weeks.⁶ After this last date the entries in these rolls become less frequent and of little importance.

Another source of information may be drawn upon however, viz. the Court rolls, preserved in the Norwich Municipal archives, dating from 1285

¹ Fish glue was used in joinery in the middle ages, but as the material is mentioned here as supplied by a painter, it may have been used properly diluted as a medium in painting.

² 1275-6. Pro azur' ad pictorem et pro vermeliun et pro lineis pannis ad opus pictoris et alijs coloribus ad opus ejusdem. xxxjs. viij*d.* ob.

³ 1277-8. Magistro Willelmo pro factura yna iiij*lib.* vjs. viij*d.*
Eidem pro factura xxj. panellorum et pro depictione unius panelli et pro tabernaculo x*lib.* viijs.
Pro azur' et vermeliione. vertegriz xiiij*c* argent' xv*c* & di aur'. croco. albo plumbo. oleo. verniz et petris v. *lib.* xxiiij*d.*

⁴ 1279-80. Pro auro empto petr' stangno et coloribus xv*lib.* ijs.
In stipendiis Willelmi et Philippi pictorum ad festum Sancti Michaelis usque ad Pentecost. lvijs.
In stipendio Johannis pictoris per . xx. septimanas xviijs.
In stipendio Mathei pictoris per vj septimanas iijs.

⁵ 1288-9. In stipendiis circa tabulam. Magistro Richard. v. marcas. It. Johanni le Noreis xx*s.* ij*d.*
Item, Johanni de Deford x*s.* x*d.* Henrico pictori x*s.* Willelmo pictori v*s.* viij*d.* Item, Simoni Cok, xxviij*d.*

⁶ 1305-6. In C et xl foliis auri emptis ad feretrum Sancti Willelmi v*s.* viij*d.*
Item in C et dimidio argenti x*d.* Item in xij libris albi plumbi vermici' et Orpyment ijs. ij*d.* In oleo ad depingendum x*d.* Item in stipendiis et victualibus Symonis pictoris et garcionis sui per ix septimanis xxv*s.* v*d.*

My thanks are due to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope for the extracts quoted from these rolls.

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to 1298. In these, under the head of *Pictor*, or 'le Peyntur,' occur the following names :

Thomas de Lint.
Lawrence de Kirkestede.
Ralph de Attleburg.
Roger le pictor, son of Wm. de Racheya 'le peyntur.'
Giles le Fleming of Bruges.
John le peyntur
Richard pictor.
Olyve le peyntur.
Alan pictor.¹

Furthermore, from the publications of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, the following list, furnished by Mr. L'Estrange, of painters, stainers, and glaziers in Norwich extending from 1373 to 1539, may be quoted in illustration of the subject. It runs thus :²

1373-6 .	Johannes de ffrenge Peyntour. Johannes de Bradewelle Peyntour.	1445-6 .	John Maughtild Peyntour. Willelmus Castleacre steynour and Peyntour.
1378 . .	Johannes Leggard Peyntour.		Robertus Mayhew Steynour.
1386-7 .	Stephanus ffrenge Peyntour. Robertus ffrenge Peyntour. Thomas de Ocle Peyntour.		Thomas Chapel Steynour. John Roo Steynour.
1407 . .	Robertus Ocle Peyntour.	1452 . .	John Longys Peyntor.
1414-15 .	Robertus Sylverne Peyntour.	1454 . .	Robert Hykelyng Peyntor.
1415-16 .	Robertus Grey Peyntour.	1467-8 .	William Warner, Steynor, appren- ticed to John Stonhawe Steynor.
1419-20 .	George Knot Steynour.	1481-2 .	Nicholas Peyntor Glasier. William Skynner Steynor.
1428 . .	John Stonhale Steynor. John Pery Steynor.	1487 . .	Robert Hervy Steynor son of Tho- mas Hervy.
1434 . .	John Garner Peyntour.	1498 . .	John Terry Steynor.
1442 . .	Thomas Hervy 'Peyntor' proved the liberty of William Hervy Graver his father.	1509 . .	Richard Euxston Payntour.
		1539 . .	William Moton Steynour.

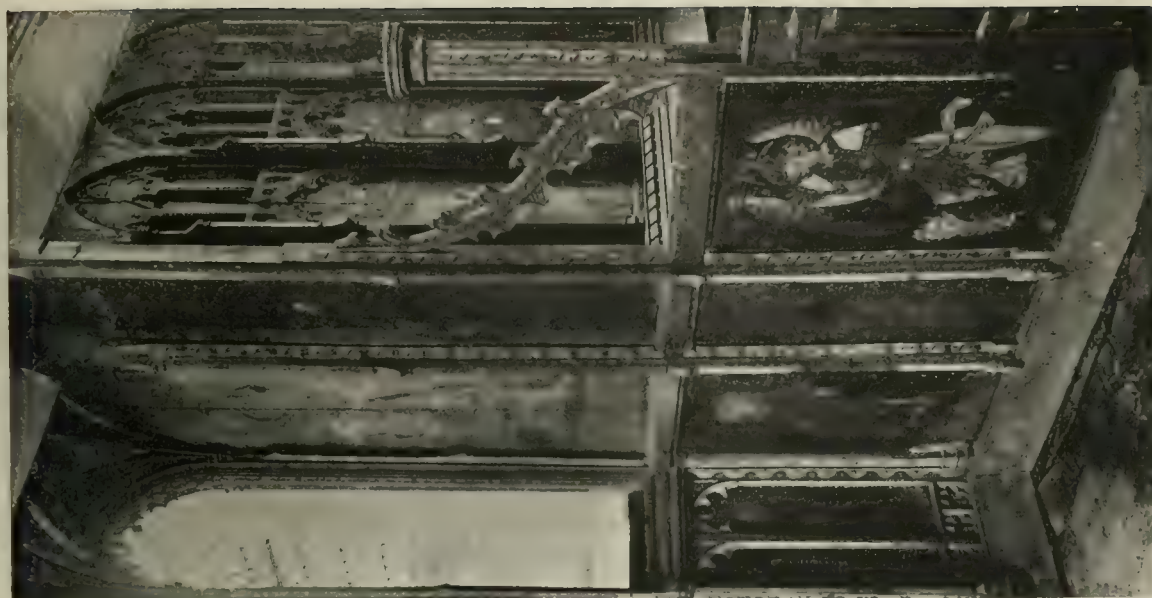
The same authority gives an extract from the will of Margaret, widow of Sir Robert Berney, knight, dated 1416, from which it is to be learnt that the painter Robert Okyll of Norwich received 34*s.* 4*d.* for painting a certain table or panel with the history of St. Catherine, probably a small altar piece for a private chapel.³ The name Okyll occurs twice in the long list of Norwich painters just given, though with somewhat different spelling, the second entry being dated 1407. It is possible that this was the same man who in the fabric accounts of the College of Mettingham, previously cited, is put down as receiving in 1413-14 66*s.* 8*d.* in part payment for painting a table (*tabula*) for the high altar of the chapel of the college, the sum remaining due to him being paid up three years after.⁴ Thomas Barsham, or Thomas of Yarmouth, another painter and carver whose name has also been previously referred to, figures in these same accounts as having received £6 10*s.* in part payment for making and painting two images. The next year £8 10*s.* was paid him for further work upon and about them, and for executing a table (*tabula*) for the altar, and a similar entry occurs the following year with

¹ I owe the list given in the text to the kindness of the Rev. W. Hudson, M.A., F.S.A.

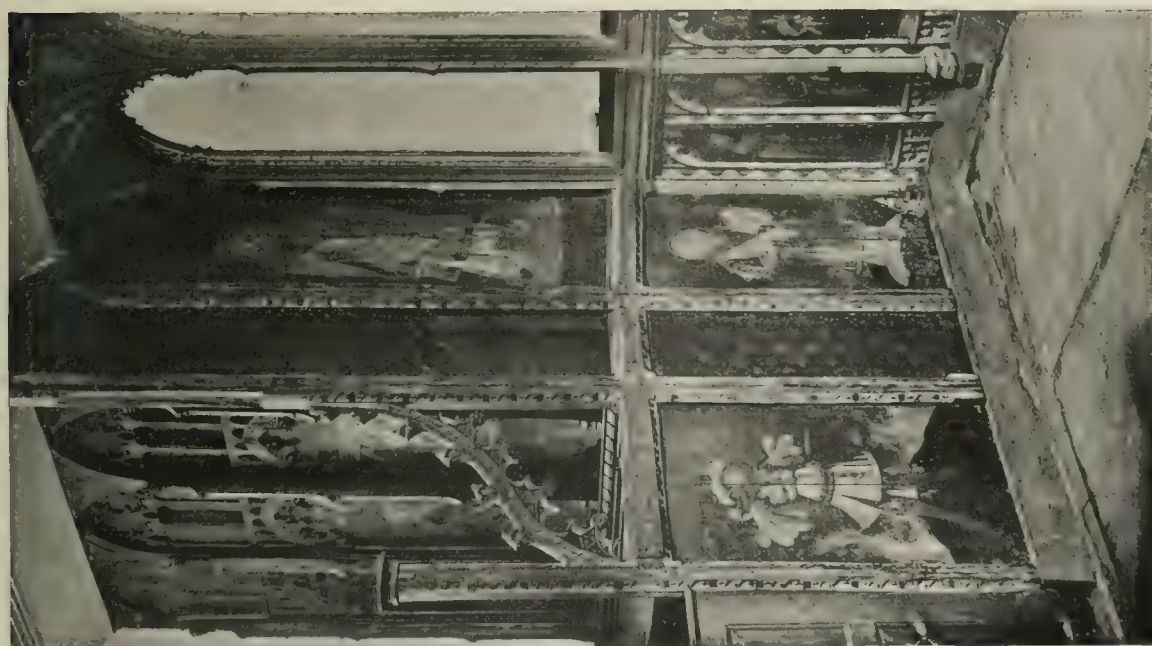
² *Illustrations of the Rood Screen at Barton Turf* (1869), p. 14.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ 'Extracts from Ancient Accounts of Mettingham College, Suffolk,' *Arch. Journ.* (1849), vi. 64.



SOUTH SIDE



NORTH SIDE

PLATE X—PORTIONS OF THE SCREEN, RANWORTH CHURCH

MEDIAEVAL PAINTING

payment of a sum of 100s.¹ From these accounts yet another painter's name and mention of his work may be recovered. Under date 1420-21 Edmund Bradwelle was paid 10s. for painting the panels of the *pulpitum* or quire screen, and at some later date he is said to have received £13 6s. 6d. for decorating the roof of the church.²

Possibly further search in Norfolk wills, or in documents preserved in the municipal archives of Lynn or Yarmouth, would reveal the traces of other painters, but from the lists here furnished a conclusion may be drawn that in Norfolk through the middle ages a class of native artists did exist, and that to them is due the painted work yet to be seen on wall, or roof, or screen, in the various churches of the county.

Foreign influence is said to be visible in the screen and other paintings. If so, it must have been an influence from the Low Countries. Of Italian influence there is not a shadow. But whatever there may have been of any foreign element, there is little that can be clearly traced. In the lists given only one foreign name appears, viz., Giles le Fleming of Bruges, and that at a date (1285-98) when painting on the screens had as yet no existence. All the other names are distinctly English, many of them being derived from those of villages in the county or in the next one, as Frenze, Bradwell, Castle-acre, Acle (Ocle), Hickling, etc. If the view be accepted, and it is difficult to see why it should not be, that the art of painting in Norfolk throughout the middle ages was practised by natives of that county, with very little of influence from abroad, we have a development of that art which, although it cannot be compared in artistic value with the corresponding art of Flanders or of Italy, should have for us a real and abiding interest.

The great political and religious changes of the sixteenth century put a stop to any further progress in the art of painting here as elsewhere throughout England, so far as it served the Church, but in the later screens in Norfolk, the portraits of donors showed the line in which it was possible for it to continue, and in the direction of portrait painting it probably went on at least into the seventeenth century, if not later. Two undoubted contemporary portraits of citizens of Norwich, one of John Marsham, Mayor of that city in 1518, and the other of Robert Jannys, Mayor in 1517 and again in 1524, are examples of the beginning of the change in the native art when it was ceasing to be occupied with the illustration of religious subjects. Both portraits, with many later ones of prominent citizens of Norwich, are hung in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall of that city. That of Jannys, if it were not for its size, might almost have been taken from a screen panel. Unlike the paintings at Sparham previously described, it really does represent an episode in the subject of the Dance of Death so much in vogue in the early part of the sixteenth century. The grisly phantom, holding a silver mace in one hand, grasps with the other the right arm of the worthy mayor (who is depicted in his robes of office), as if to drag him reluctantly away, while the first line of an inscription in black letter on a label at the base of the picture declares :

‘ffor (despite) all welth, worship, and prosperite
fierce death ys cūin and restyd me.’

¹ ‘Extracts from Ancient Accounts of Mettingham College, Suffolk,’ *Arch. Journ.* (1849), vi. 64.

² *Ibid.* vi. 67.

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It is curious to note for how long a time representations of the Dance of Death continued. A similar one to this at Norwich was to be found in the portrait of John Carter, Mayor of Yarmouth in 1627, a full century later than the date of the Jannys portrait, in which the same ghastly skeleton stands waiting for his prey and repeating the words 'remember thy ende.'¹

The subject of the continuance of pictorial art in Norfolk in the changed form of portrait painting does not however enter into the scope of this account of mediaeval painting, and with this slight reference to the Jannys portrait as marking the end of one period and the beginning of another in the painter's art in the county, it may very well be brought to a close.

¹ An engraving from this picture is in the Dawson Turner Coll., Add. MS. B.M., 23,051, f. 122.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

ANGLO-SAXON SCULPTURE

BEFORE the Norman Conquest Norfolk formed part of the kingdom of East Anglia which was converted to Christianity by Felix the Burgundian in the reign of King Sigebert (*circa* A.D. 630), and episcopal sees were established at Dunwich¹ and Elmham.² The pre-Norman Christian monuments now in existence in Norfolk belong to a much later period, none of them being probably older than the tenth century. Examples have been recorded at the following places :—Cringleford, Norwich, Rockland All Saints, and Whissonsett.

During the progress of some extensive alterations made at Cringleford church in 1898, six fragments of Anglo-Saxon sculpture were discovered—two forming part of the staircase leading up to the roodloft and the remainder built into the south wall. The fragments are of hard sandstone. The largest measures 3 feet 1 inch long by 1 foot 1½ inches wide at the top, and 8 inches wide at the bottom by 5½ inches thick, and the rest vary from 1 foot 2 inches to 7 inches wide and from 11 to 7 inches long and average 6 inches in thickness. The largest fragment and two of the smaller ones have been fitted together so as to form one half of a recumbent³ cross-slab, the remainder of which has been reconstructed in outline. This restored slab is now fixed in an upright position against the west wall inside the church. The three other fragments (which are also preserved in the west wall, but on the north side) appear to be portions of a second sepulchral cross-slab, similar to the restored monument. The design in both cases consisted of a cross, with expanded ends to the arms, extending the whole length of the slab, and having panels of four-cord plaitwork on each side of the shaft. These fragments have been described and illustrated by the Rev. T. S. Cogswell in a paper ‘On some Ancient Stone Fragments found in Cringleford Church,’ in *Proc. Norf. and Norw. Arch. Soc.* xiv, 99.⁴

Two pieces of a recumbent cross-slab of the same type as those at Cringleford were found about the year 1860 at Rockland All Saints church—one beneath the pavement of the porch, and the other amongst the soil which had accumulated round the foot of the tower on the south side. The

¹ On the coast of Suffolk between Southwold and Aldborough, called Domnoc by Bede in his *Ecc. Hist.* ii, 15.

² Probably North Elmham between East Dereham and Fakenham, in Norfolk.

³ i.e. the original position of the stone lying on the grave.

⁴ Three more fragments of cross-slabs have since been discovered (1905) in the course of repairs to the chancel. Two of them belong to a slab, with a crosshead having expanded ends to the arms, like that at Rockland, and plaitwork panels on each side of the shaft, and the third is probably part of the upper end of a more elaborate slab. Information from Rev. T. S. Cogswell.

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Rev. A. B. Hemsworth, the rector, preserved the stones from destruction, and caused them to be placed together in the floor of the chancel, where they now lie. The slab, which is of sandstone, measures (now that the two parts are joined) 5 feet 3½ inches long, by 1 foot 9 inches wide at one end and 1 foot 3 inches wide at the other. It is 5 inches thick in the centre, sloping away to 4 inches at each side. The ornamental features consist of almost circular crosses (with expanded ends to the arms) at each end of the slab, connected by a flat band 2 inches broad, running along the central axis, having two panels of four-cord plaitwork on each side. The crosses and the connecting band between them are sculptured in relief above the rest of the surface of the slab. The plaitwork in two of the panels has been partly defaced by the initials I.M. of a certain J. Mansfield, over whose grave this half of the slab at one time stood as a headstone. The monument at Rockland has been described and illustrated by J. R. Allen in a paper on 'Recent Discoveries of Pre-Norman Sculptured Stones' in the

Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc. xli, 269.



CROSS SLAB AT ROCK-
LAND.

The Pre-Norman cross at Whissonsett was found on 24 April, 1900, by the sexton whilst digging a grave in the churchyard, at a depth of about three feet beneath the ground. It is at present in the organ chamber, but the rector, the Rev. Francis Lane (to whom I am indebted for the particulars here given), proposes to fix it more permanently within the chancel at the first convenient opportunity. The cross is 2 feet 5 inches high by 1 foot 6 inches wide across the head and 11 inches across the shaft, by 4 inches thick. It is sculptured on all four faces with interlaced work. The arms of the cross on the head have expanded ends and are connected by a circular ring, the round hollows between the arms and the ring being pierced right through the stone. There is a circular raised boss in the centre of the head, and the interlaced work, which fills up the remaining space, terminates in a Stafford knot on each arm. The front of the shaft is ornamented with a pattern composed of a double row of Stafford knots, and on the narrow face with

a three-cord plait. I am informed by the rector that the designs on the back and opposite narrow face are similar. This cross appears to be Celtic rather than Saxon in style.

For many years a portion of a pre-Norman cross-shaft was to be seen in the city of Norwich, built into the angle of a house attached to a stable yard at the north-west corner of the junction between Rose Lane and Cathedral Street South. The surface of the stone was, however, so thickly coated with whitewash and paint that the designs sculptured upon it were not sufficiently apparent to attract the attention of rambling antiquaries, and it was not until the house, of which it formed part, was pulled down in 1896, and the stone cleaned, that the true character of the ornament could be discerned. Although the carving was thus obscured until recently, the stone itself must have been noticed by the Ordnance surveyors, for they have cut one of their broad arrow bench-marks upon it. After being removed from the house into



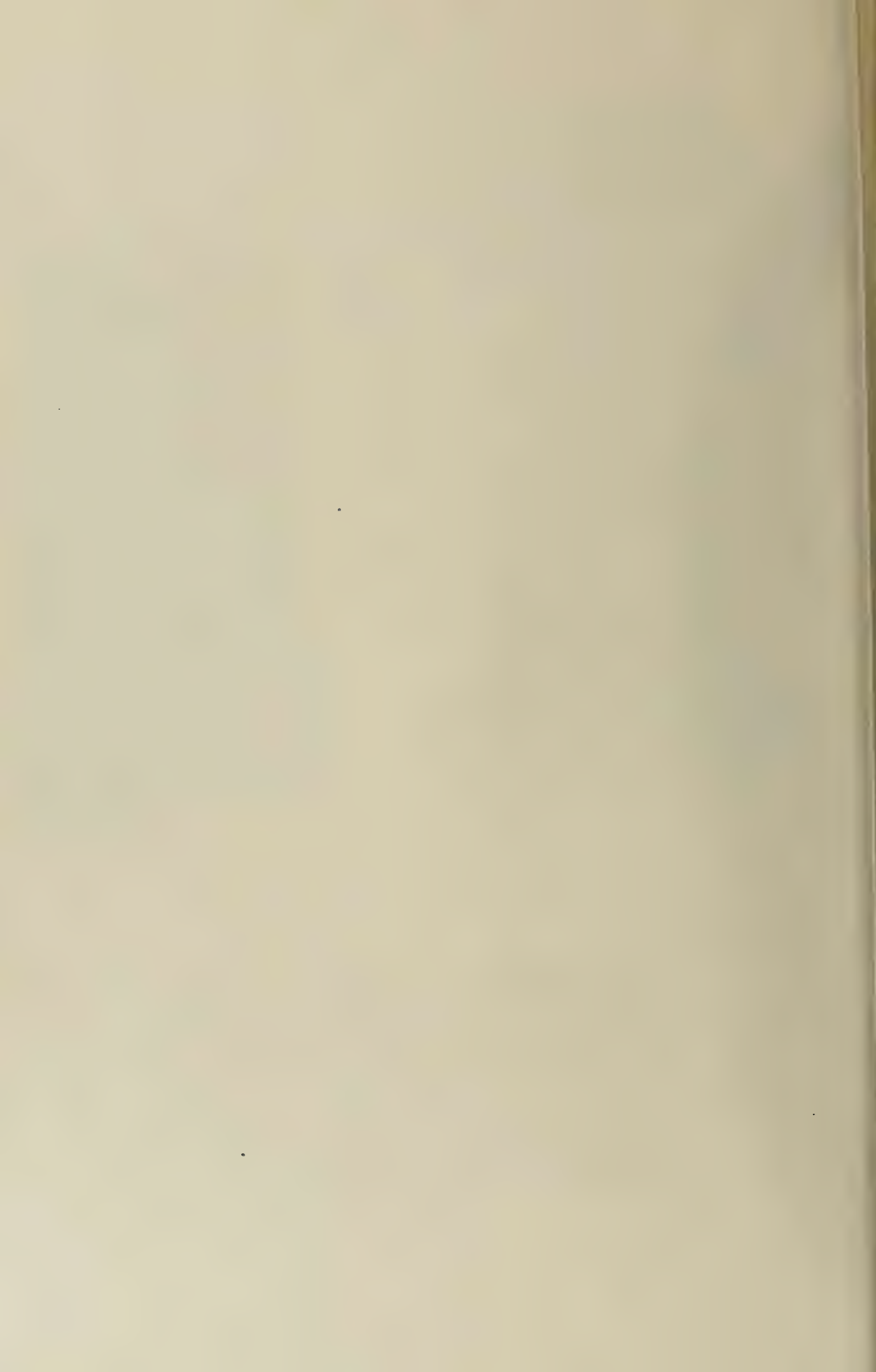
CROSS AT WHISSONSETT



CROSS-SHAFT FROM SITE OF ST. VEDAST'S
CHURCH, NORWICH



CROSS-SLAB, CRINGLEFORD



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which it was built, it was presented by Mr. F. B. Crowe to the Norwich Museum. The house in question was not a very old one, but it stood on the site of the church of St. Vedast, and the part of the wall where the stone was found may have been the remains of the enclosing wall of the ancient churchyard. The fragment of the pre-Norman cross-shaft, which is of hard sandstone, measures 2 feet $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches high by 1 foot 5 inches wide at the bottom, and 1 foot $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide at the top by from 1 foot to 7 inches thick. Two of the faces of the shaft are damaged, and the remaining two faces are sculptured with round-headed panels containing zoömorphie decoration. The panel on the wider face is complete, but that on the narrower face is partially cut away. The design in each of the panels is similar, although not identical, and consists of a pair of beasts placed one above the other, the background being filled-in with the interlacings of their tails. The heads of the beasts in the complete panel are bent backwards, and shown in profile, whereas those of the beasts on the other, or incomplete, panel are seen in full face. The bodies of the beasts in the complete panel have a double outline and conventional spirals where the limbs join the body. This monument has been described and illustrated by the Rev. W. Hudson, F.S.A., in a paper 'On a sculptured stone recently removed from a house on the site of the church of St. Vedast, Norwich,' in *Proc. Norf. and Norw. Arch. Soc.* xiii, 116.

The pre-Norman sculptured monuments of Norfolk which have just been described are of two kinds, namely, recumbent sepulchral cross-slabs and erect free-standing crosses. The cross-slabs belong to a type which is found within a sufficiently well-defined geographical area.¹

The peculiarities of these slabs are (1) that they are long and narrow and wider at one end than the other: (2) that they have crosses at one or both ends with a shaft extending along the whole length of the central axis of the slab, and (3) that the backgrounds of the crosses are decorated with panels of three- or four-cord plaitwork. The proportions of the slabs and their similarity to the sepulchral recumbent monuments of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries suggest that they were either placed horizontally over the grave of the deceased, as body-stones, or that they served in some cases as the covers of stone coffins. This theory does not rest on mere conjecture, for when the ancient Saxon burial ground beneath the north transept of Peterborough was uncovered during the course of the restoration in 1888, slabs of this kind were discovered in situ with the remains of the upright head- and foot-stones at each end. The finds at Cambridge Castle in 1810 (which included two stone coffins and several small head-stones bearing crosses) seem to point to the same conclusion.

With regard to the date of this class of sepulchral monument, it does not appear likely that they are much earlier than the tenth century, and the fact that several of them were got from beneath the ramparts of Cambridge Castle, which was built by William the Conqueror, shows that they cannot have been

¹ *Cambridge*.—Six complete slabs and two broken ones dug up on the site of the castle, one of which is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (*Arch.* xxvii. 228 and *Arch. Jour.* xii. 201).

Ixworth, Suffolk.—Two slabs found under the floor of the church and now at the abbey (*Proc. Suff. Inst. of Arch.* iii (1863), 298).

Peterborough Cathedral.—Two slabs found in situ under the floor of the north transept (*Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.* vol. xix).

Lincoln Cathedral.—A slab now in the cloisters. *London*.—Portion of a slab in the Guildhall Museum.

Milton Bryan, Beds.—A slab dug up near the church (*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* ser. ii, xx, 356).

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much later than the end of the eleventh century. The most ancient type of recumbent slab found in Great Britain is of small size, rectangular in shape, and more nearly approaching a square in its proportions than an oblong.¹ The slab was generally sculptured with an ornamental cross, and had the name of the deceased inscribed on the background. Such tombstones were used to mark the position of the burial place, but were not intended to indicate the size and shape of the grave, as in the case of the later recumbent body-stones. The sepulchral slabs of Norfolk, therefore, belong to the long and narrow type of the recumbent monument which was prevalent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, rather than to the short and square type of the eighth and ninth centuries. The ornament on the Norfolk slabs consists exclusively of plaitwork, indicating that the earlier and more elaborate forms of decoration, such as knot-work, key-patterns, spirals, and zoömorphs, had quite died out in consequence of the degradation of the Hiberno-Saxon style which set in after the Danish invasions began in the ninth century and culminated with the Norman conquest in 1066.

The small erect cross at Whissonsett was probably sepulchral, although it bears no inscription showing that such was the case. The form of the cross is more Celtic than Saxon, the circular ring connecting the arms, and the raised boss in the centre of the head, being features which are of common occurrence on the early Christian monuments of Wales² and Cornwall.³ Crosses of very similar character to the one at Whissonsett have been found at Fulbourn, Cambridgeshire, and at Cambridge.⁴ The ornament on the Whissonsett cross consists of interlaced work only, and the patterns are either simple plaits or are composed of Stafford knots.

The Norfolk and Cambridgeshire crosses which have been mentioned are probably of the same date⁵ as the recumbent sepulchral slabs, and may have been used as head-stones in connexion with them.

The decoration of the broken cross-shaft from the site of St. Vedast's Church, Norwich, now in the Norwich Museum, differs altogether from that on the recumbent sepulchral slabs and erect crosses just described, as the designs sculptured upon it are purely zoömorphic. The treatment of the animals with the head bent back, the double outline to the body, and the spiral curves where the limbs join the body, appear to be Scandinavian rather than either Celtic or Anglo-Saxon. This would indicate that the Norwich cross-shaft belongs to the middle period of pre-Norman art in Great Britain just after the first of the Viking invasions, when the Celtic influence through Northumbria was beginning to decline, but before the decadence of the style had finally set in. The zoömorphs on the Norwich stone may be compared with those on the monuments of the same age at Nunburnholm (Yorks.), Hickling (Notts.), St. Alkmund's (Derby), and at Kirk Braddan and Kirk Michael in the Isle of Man.

The Saxon churches of Norfolk do not present any examples of architectural details sculptured with figure subjects or ornament.

There are no pre-Norman inscriptions of any kind in Norfolk.

¹ J. R. Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, 110, 116, and 123.

² J. O. Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliae*.

³ A. G. Langdon, *Old Cornish Crosses*.

⁴ Now in the museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (*Arch. Journ.* xi, 70 ; xii, 201).

⁵ i.e. the end of the pre-Norman period.



BOWL OF FONT, SCULTHORPE



FONT, BURNHAM DEEPALE



FONT, FINCHAM

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

NORMAN SCULPTURE

The ecclesiastical sculptured stonework of the twelfth century may be considered to consist of three classes, namely, (1) symbolical, (2) decorative, and (3) architectural; although it is not always easy to draw a distinct line of demarcation between each. Symbolical sculpture is confined to figure-subjects, crosses, and other emblematical devices; decorative sculpture includes anthropomorphs, zoömorphs, foliage, and geometrical ornament, whilst architectural sculpture does not go beyond mouldings and alterations in the form of the detail to be ornamented.

Examples of symbolical sculpture of the twelfth century exist at the following localities in Norfolk :—

Fonts.—Burnham Deepdale, Fincham, Sculthorpe.

Tympana.—Mintlyn, Tottenhill.

Miscellaneous.—Haddiscoe.

Examples of decorative sculpture of the twelfth century exist at the following localities in Norfolk :—

Fonts.¹—Burnham Norton, Castle Rising, Hautbois, Hunstanton, Ingelthorpe, Plumstead (part of a leaden font), Shernborne, Little Snoring, Tofrees, South Wooton.

Doorways.—Aldeby, Barton St. Mary, Britlingham, Burlingham (South), Castle Acre, Castle Rising, Chedgrave, Cranworth, Croxton, Framlingham (East), Gissing, Haddiscoe, Hales, Heckingham, Kirby Cane, Limpenhoe, Mundham, Ovington, Runcton (South), Sheringham, Shouldham Thorpe, Snoring (Little), Thurlton, Thwaite, Wimbotsham, Wroxham.

The font at Burnham Deepdale has a square bowl supported on five short octagonal pillars, with cushion capitals, resting on a square base built of ashlar stones. The bowl only of the font is ancient, the stem and base being modern. All four faces of the bowl are sculptured, and the design is divided into two parts, namely, (1) a projecting frieze or horizontal band round the top, and (2) an arcade of four round-headed arches on each face occupying the lower part of the bowl.

The subjects represented on the four faces of the Burnham Deepdale font are as follows :—

South Face.—On the frieze at the top, a pair of lions (?) placed symmetrically facing in opposite directions with their tails twisted together and the ends floriated.

On the arcade below, beginning at the right and going towards the left.

1. A man seated on a chair with a drinking horn raised to his mouth, inscribed (IA)NVARIVS.

2. A man with a hood over his head, seated on a chair, warming his feet at the fire; inscribed (F)EBRVARIVS.

3. A man digging with a spade; inscribed MARTIVS.²

4. A man with a bill-hook pruning trees; uninscribed.

West Face.—On the frieze at the top, to the right a lion (?) with a floriated tail, and to the left foliage issuing from the mouth of a grotesque head at the corner.

On the arcade below, going from right to left—

1. A woman with long hair hanging down her back, standing, holding a banner in her right hand and having a tree in front of her; uninscribed.

2. A man standing; inscribed IVNIVS.

3. A man standing, hoeing the ground; inscribed IVLIVS.

4. A man bending down, binding a sheaf of corn; inscribed AVGVS(TVS).

¹ Several of these are engraved in J. S. Cotman's *Specimens of Norman and Gothic Architecture in the County of Norfolk*.

² The letters read from the top downwards in the opposite direction to the other two names of the months.

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North Face.—On the frieze at the top, a conventional tree in the centre, and foliage on each side issuing from the mouths of grotesque heads on the corners of the bowl.

On the arcade below, going from right to left—

1. A man standing with a flail over his shoulder threshing corn ; inscription obliterated.

2. A man standing with an inverted bottle in his hand, pouring wine or beer through a funnel into a vat ; inscription obliterated.

3. A man standing and bending forward, killing a pig ; inscription obliterated.

4. Four men standing behind a table feasting ; inscription obliterated.

East Face.—On the frieze at the top to the left a lion (?) with a floriated tail, and to the right foliage issuing from the mouth of a grotesque head at the corner of the bowl.

On the arcading below, four conventional trees, one under each arch.¹

The font at Fincham has a bowl, square on the outside and round on the inside, supported on five round columns, resting on a low square base or step. The upper and lower edges of the bowl are ornamented with a pattern composed of four-pointed stars, and each face is sculptured with figures under an arcade of three round-headed arches springing from columns with cushion capitals.

The subjects represented on the four faces are as follows :—

North Face.—The Temptation of Adam and Eve. In the centre, the Tree of Life with the serpent coiled round the trunk and biting at the fruit ; on the right, Eve covering her nakedness with the left hand and receiving the apple from the Serpent with the right ; and on the left of the tree Adam covering his nakedness with the left hand and raising the right to his ear in a listening attitude.

South Face.—The Nativity of Christ. Beneath the arch on the right the manger, with the heads of the ox and the ass appearing above it, and at the top the Star of Bethlehem ; beneath the central arch the Blessed Virgin standing ; and beneath the arch on the left St. Joseph also standing.

East Face.—The Adoration of the Magi. One king under each of the three arches, holding their respective gifts in their right hands.

West Face.—The Baptism of Christ. Under the central arch the Saviour immersed in the waters of the Jordan up to the waist ; under the arch on the right St. John the Baptist holding up his right hand in the attitude of giving the benediction, and having a book in his left ; and under the arch on the left a bishop standing with his book and crozier.²

The font at Sculthorpe is of the same shape as those at Burnham Deepdale and Fincham, but the bowl only is ancient. At each of the upper corners of the bowl is a grotesque head biting a three-cord plaited cable, which forms an ornamental moulding round the top. The lower edges of the bowl are decorated with narrow bands of geometrical patterns, those on each face being different.

The bowl of the Sculthorpe font is sculptured on all four faces, thus :—

East Face.—The Adoration of the Magi, the scene consisting of five figures under an arcade of intersecting round-headed arches springing from columns with cushion capitals. Each figure is under a separate arch. On the extreme right stands the Virgin and Child, next is St. Joseph also standing, on the left, and then the Three Kings kneeling in adoration and holding the gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh.

West Face.—In the centre at the top, a device composed of two square rings looped at the four corners and interlaced with each other ; on the right of this, a ring with four pointed loops interlaced with a circular ring ; on the left, a six-pointed star within a circle ; and below, a band of conventional foliage.

North Face.—A geometrical pattern consisting of a row of circular rings interlaced with two horizontal bars and with a row of smaller rings.

¹ The Burnham Deepdale font has been described and illustrated by the Rev. S. Pegge in *Arch.* x, 177, and the subjects represented upon it are enumerated in a paper by Mr. James Fowler 'On Mediaeval Representations of the Months and Seasons.'—*Ibid.* xliv, 137.

² The Fincham font has been described and illustrated by Dr. A. C. Fryer in *Arch. Journ.* lx, 10.



SOUTH AND WEST FACES OF THE FONT, BURNHAM DEEPDALE



NORTH AND EAST FACES OF THE FONT, FINCHAM

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

South Face.—Above, a scroll of foliage interlaced with intersecting semi-circular arched bands; and below in the centre, a device made by interlacing two oval rings with each other, having on either side of it ears of wheat (?) tied together in bunches of three.¹

The figure subjects sculptured on the Norman fonts of Norfolk are as follows :—

The Temptation of Adam and Eve (Fincham).
The Nativity of Christ (Fincham).
The Adoration of the Magi (Fincham and Sculthorpe).
The Baptism of Christ (Fincham).
The Labours of the Months (Burnham Deepdale).

All of these subjects are Scriptural, except the last. The first is taken from the opening chapters of the book of Genesis, and the next three from the life of Christ as related in the four Gospels. The Temptation of Adam and Eve is not infrequently represented on Norman fonts, there being other examples at Herringswell (Sussex), East Meon (Hants), Kirkby and Walton on the Hill (Lancs.), and Cowlam and Cotham (Yorks.). The symbolism is clearly explained by the text, 'For as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive' (1 Corinthians xv. 22). The subject of the Temptation of Adam and Eve was introduced into Christian art at the earliest period, as it is found on the paintings in the Roman catacombs of the third and fourth centuries, on the sculptured sarcophagi in Italy of the fifth and sixth centuries, and on the Irish crosses of the ninth and tenth centuries.² Curiously enough it is one of the few symbolical representations which survived after the Reformation in England and Scotland upon tombstones of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³ The chief peculiarities of the Temptation of Adam and Eve on the Fincham font are the realistic treatment of the Tree of Life,⁴ and the indicating of the eyes of the figures by means of drilled holes.⁵

The Nativity of Christ is a comparatively rare subject on Norman fonts, the only other case where it occurs being at West Haddon, Northamptonshire. It first appears in Christian art on the sculptured sarcophagi of the fifth century. On the Fincham font the manger with the infant Saviour, the heads of the ox and the ass, and the star of Bethlehem are reduced to their simplest elements so as to form a sort of hieroglyph suggesting the mediaeval Latin couplet.

The Adoration of the Magi is rather more common on Norman fonts than the Nativity, and there are other examples at Cowlam⁶ and Ingleton, Yorks. Perhaps the earliest sculpture of this subject is upon the sarcophagus of Isaac the Exarch (A.D. 644) in the church of San Vitale at Ravenna,⁷ and there are later representations of it upon the crosses at Monasterboice and Clones in Ireland,⁸ and on the rune-inscribed Franks Casket in the British Museum.⁹

It would have been thought that the Baptism of Christ would have been chosen by the Norman sculptor for the decoration of the fonts in our churches

¹ The Sculthorpe font has been described and illustrated by Mr. H. Jones in *Proc. Norf. and Norw. Arch. Soc.* vii (1872) 321.

² J. R. Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, 185.

³ Ibid.

⁴ The tree is usually very highly conventionalized, especially on the Irish crosses and on the fonts at Cotham and Cowlam.

⁵ Similar holes for eyes occur on one of the broken cross-shafts at Dewsbury (Yorks.), and on the coffin-lid at Wirksworth, Derbyshire, but they are most unusual in Norman work.

⁶ J. R. Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, 194.

⁷ J. W. Appell, *Monuments of Early Christian Art*, 27.

⁸ *Early Christian Symbolism*, 196.

⁹ Ibid. 198.

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in preference to all others. This, however, does not seem to have been the case, as there are only six instances known, namely at Castle Froome (Hereford), Bridekirk (Cumb.), Lenton (Notts.), West Haddon (Northants), Brighton (St. Nicholas), and Wansford (Northants).¹

The introduction of the figure of a bishop into this scene on the Fincham font is an unusual feature. The Baptism of Christ first makes its appearance in Christian art on the mosaics of the sixth century at Ravenna and on the Gaulish sarcophagi of about the same period, and there is a pre-Norman representation of it on the cross-shaft in the churchyard at Kells,² County Meath.

The labours of the twelve months of the year on the Burnham Deepdale font form a very interesting series, which has been fully discussed in the papers in the *Archæologia* already referred to. The ideas connected with the passage of time and the changes of the seasons were used by the mediaeval writers for purposes of symbolism, but the reason why the labours of the different parts of the year were introduced into art in the first instance was probably with the more utilitarian object of illustrating the ecclesiastical calendars.³ Having once become familiar with the appearance of the set of drawings which accompanied the months in the almanac the monkish artist was not slow to use them for purposes of decoration pure and simple. The only other Norman fonts in England, the subjects on which resemble those on the Burnham Deepdale font, are the one of stone at Thorpe Salvin, Yorks., and that of cast lead at Brookland, Kent.⁴ The former has the labours and occupations of the four seasons sculptured upon it, and the latter those of the twelve months, together with the corresponding signs of the Zodiac. The names of the months on the Brookland font are given in French, and as there are other similar leaden fonts in Normandy,⁵ it is most likely that the whole group is of foreign origin. A very perfect set of the labours of the twelve months is to be seen sculptured on the tympanum of the twelfth century doorway of the church of St. Ursin, at Bourges, in Belgium,⁶ and there are others less well-preserved in England on the arch-stones of Norman doorways at St. Margaret's extra Walmgate, York, and Calverton (Notts.).

The decorative sculpture (as distinguished from the symbolical upon the Norman fonts of Norfolk) is particularly good and deserves attention, more especially the interlaced patterns, which may possibly be a survival from the preceding Anglo-Saxon period. The interlaced work is of two kinds, (1) patterns forming a border or wide band of ornament, and (2) patterns composed of rings of different shapes adapted to fill a nearly square or circular space. Amongst the first of these are three-cord plaits (at Castle Rising, Inglethorpe, Sculthorpe, and Shernborne) intersecting circular rings combined with straight bars (at Inglethorpe and Sculthorpe), and a twist and ring, the twist being composed of double strands and the rings single (at Shernborne). The second class of interlaced work is composed of circular rings, oval rings, square rings with four exterior loops, pentagonal rings with five exterior loops, and square rings with a Stafford knot at each of the four corners. Combinations of these rings are frequently to be met with.

¹ Also formerly at Portchester (Hants).

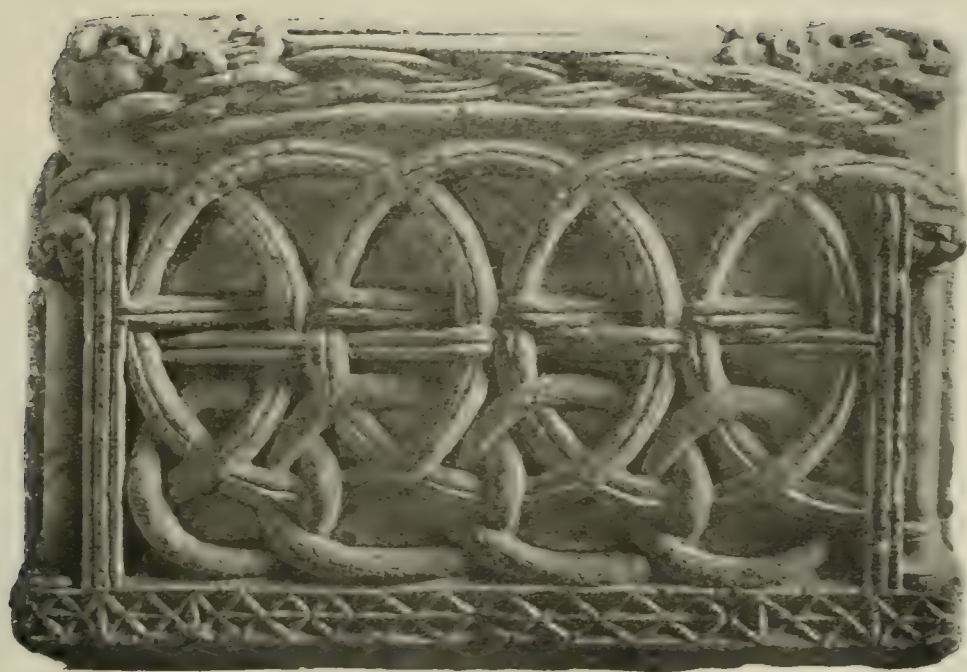
² J. R. Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, 231.

³ There are two very good illuminated Saxon calendars in the British Museum Library (Tiberius, B. v, and Julius, A. vi) ; see J. O. Westwood's *Miniatures*, 109, and Strutt's *Horda*, 1, pls. 10 and 12.

⁴ J. R. Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, 322.

⁵ De Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie, Architecture Religieuse*, 308.

⁶ *Ibid.* 279.



NORTH AND SOUTH FACES OF THE FONT, SCULTHORPE

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

The most remarkable specimen of zoöomorphic ornament is on the base of the font at Great Hautbois, which is composed of interlaced dragons, very much resembling Saxon work in style. As a general rule the zoöomorphic and anthropomorphic decoration on the Norman fonts of Norfolk consists of semi-human semi-bestial grotesque heads placed in the following different ways :—

Three heads in a horizontal row on one of the faces of the square bowl (Castle Rising).

Four heads, one at each of the lower corners of the bowl, and forming the capitals of the supporting columns (South Wotton).

Two heads, one at each of two of the upper corners of the bowl, with foliage issuing from the mouths (Burnham Deepdale).

Four heads, one at each of the upper corners of the bowl, with foliage issuing from the mouths (Toftrees).

Four heads, one at each of the upper corners of the bowl, with a plaited cable passing through the mouths (Sculthorpe).

Four heads, one in the middle of each face of the bowl at the bottom (Sherborne).

Foliage is used in the decoration of nearly all the Norman fonts of Norfolk, and is of the usual conventional kind which was common in the twelfth century in England.

Although there are so many fine Norman doorways in Norfolk, it is remarkable that only two of them should have sculptured tympana. These are at Tottenhill and Mintlyn, as already mentioned. The design on the Tottenhill¹ tympanum consists of a circular cross, with expanded ends to the arms, surrounded by a cable moulding which is continued along the edge of the lintel. The Mintlyn² tympanum is similar, but the circular space where the cross should be is left plain, possibly with the intention of having the cross painted.

The most characteristic examples of Norman doorways without tympana, but having elaborately sculptured arch mouldings, are at Heckingham, Chedgrave, Gissing, Hales, and Sheringham. The doorways at Barton St. Mary have beak-heads, and sometimes there are grotesque heads on the keystone of the arch (as at Kirby Cane), or at the lower ends of the hood-moulding (as at Sheringham). Geometrical star-patterns occur at Framlingham Earl and Sheringham, and interlaced work at Wroxham. The richest of the doorways have three orders of mouldings of the usual Norman type. Illustrations of a large number of the Norman doorways of Norfolk are given in J. S. Cotman's *Specimens of Norman and Gothic Architecture in the County of Norfolk*; *Specimens of Architectural Antiquities in various Counties in England*; and *A Series of etchings illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk*.

Amongst the miscellaneous architectural details exhibiting Norman sculpture, those deserving most notice are the niches with figures over doorways at Norwich and Haddiscoe.

¹ C. E. Keyser, *Norman Tympana and Lintels*, fig. 12.

² Cotman, *Architectural Etchings*, ser. 3, vol. 2, pl. 29.

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